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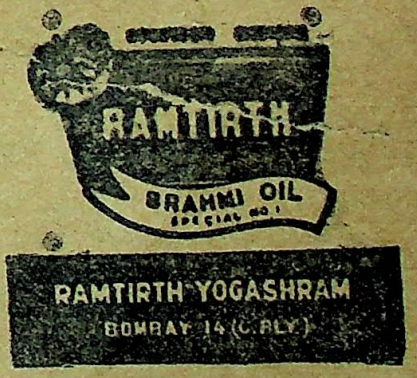

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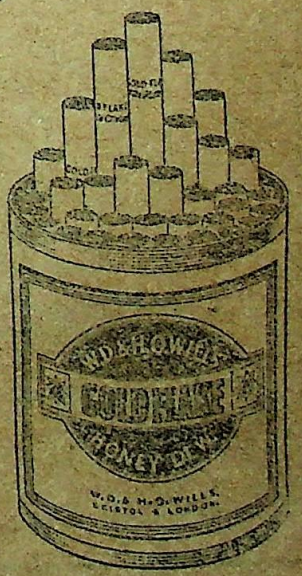

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VOL. CI. NO. 1 WHOLE NO. 601

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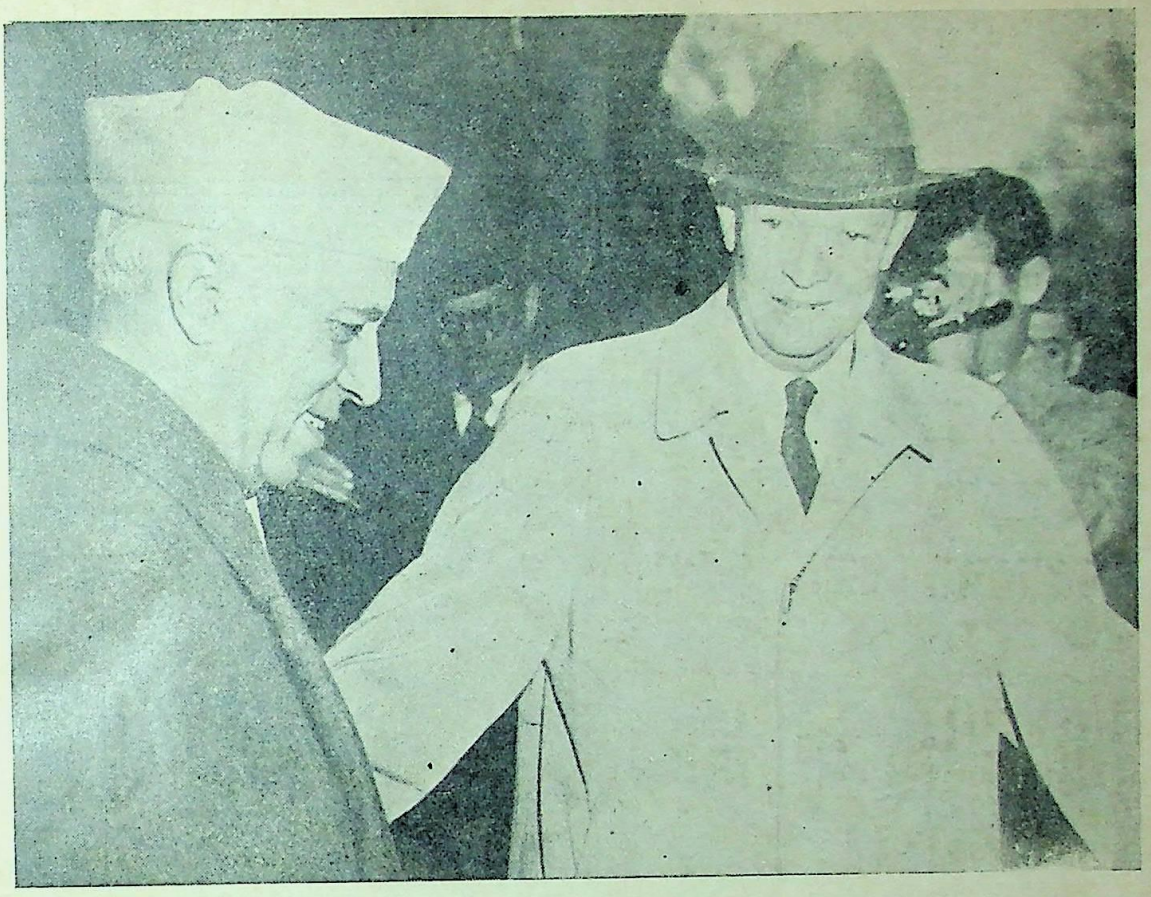

Prime Minister Nehru and President Eisenhower at Blair House in Washington

Civic reception to the Unesco delegates at Delhi. A section of the delegates attending the function

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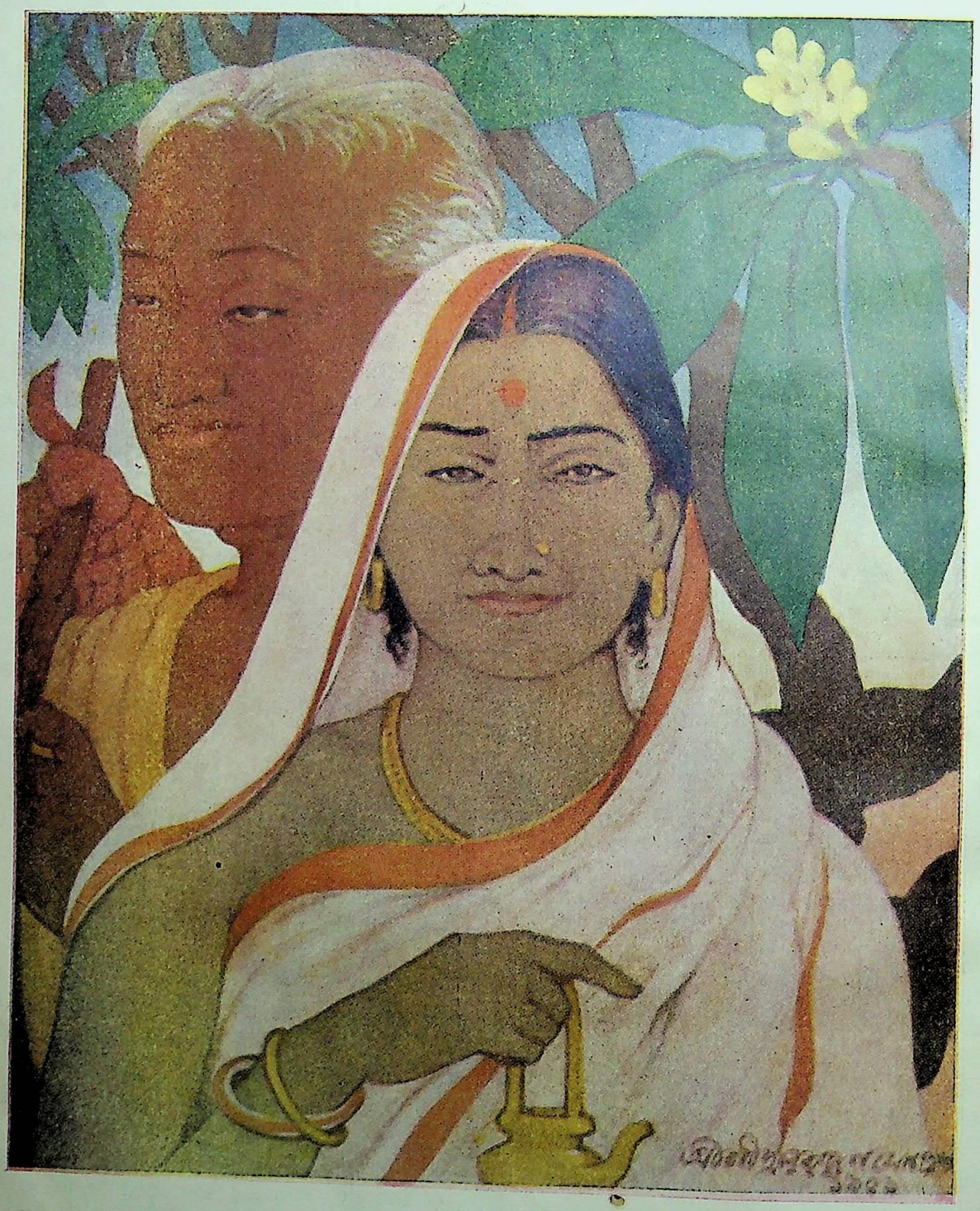

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1957

VOL. CI, No. 1 WHOLE No. 601

NOTES

1957—???

The augury for the New Year is a three-fold query. In the field of World Politics, the question is as between Peace and War, with the balance slightly restored towards peace. In the economic sphere, the effect of Suez and Hungary, has already resulted in the upsetting of world prices, which may end by severely affecting trade and industry of the West in general and that of the European nations in particular. And on the combined end-products of the reactions of world politics and economics, depends the progress of humanity.

The status of the United Nations assembly, as a factor for stability in World Politics, has been severely affected by the totally uncalled for aggression on Egypt by two of the five Permanent Members of its Security Council, and further aggravated by the dragooning of the peoples of Hungary by a third Member.

Momentous consultations have taken place, and are likely to continue for some time, between the Premiers of the People's Republic of China and India, and between the President of the United States and Pandit Nehru. How far these will succeed in restoring amity and peace, as between belligerent and suspicious power groups, is still a very complicated and involved question.

At home the elections are imminent. The draft manifesto of the Congress is out, and those of the opposition groups are being hastily recast, in the light of the Congress hand-out, and are likely to be issued any day. The lists of approved candidates, for the elections in the States and the Union, are being published daily. No great departure can be noted, in either the procedure or the quality and fitness of the nominees, where the Congress is concerned. A few absolute duds have been replaced by either unknown quantities or well-known nonentities, but most of the notorieties have remained undisturbed. The procedure, too, has retained the full flavour of Tammany Hall.

The draft manifesto of the Congress, of which a summary, taken from the *Statesman* of December 30, is appended at the end of these editorials, is a *rechauffe* of the often reiterated statements of the Congress mouthpieces. There are declarations of faith and hope, and claims for credit aplenty, but nothing inspiring and very little that can be substantiated on close scrutiny. It is, of course, subject to ratification at the coming session of the All-India Congress and as a matter, of course, it will be accepted. We hope the last paragraph will be deleted, for it contains the name of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatmaji is dead and the Congress should allow his shades to pass into oblivion in peace.

Regarding achievements, a great deal may be claimed in the terms of steel and concrete and in the terms of that highly elastic quantity —almost as elastic as the conscience of the Congress of today—namely, statistics. But the positive side is more than balanced, adversely, by the degradation and degeneration, physical, mental, moral *and educational,* where our peoples are concerned. It is an irony of fate that in that respect Congress has also achieved more in ten years than what the British Raj did between 1884 and 1947. All the same the Congress will win the elections, we believe. For, if the Congress means degeneration, the opposition means disruption and/ or chaos.

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The Second General Elections

The Second General Elections of the Union of India and the States would be held from February 25 to March 12, and all the results would be known by March 31, 1957, declared Sri Sukumar Sen, Chief Election Commissioner, on December 13. Only in one State—Himachal Pradesh—it would not be possible to hold elections by that time because large parts of the State would be snowbound during that period. The exact dates of polling in the different States would be made known later on.

The elections in 1957 would be held on a bigger scale than in 1952. There are at the moment 18 crores 70 lakhs of voters on the rolls as against 17 crores 50 lakhs in 1952.

There would be 2,518 constituencies for the State Assemblies; of these 583 were two-membered constituencies. These would elect 3,102 members in all to the State legislatures and of these 470 seats would be reserved for the scheduled castes and 221 for the scheduled tribes. In old Andhra area, however, there would be no elections to the State Assembly.

The six Kashmir members to the Lok Sabha would be nominated by the President in consultation with the State Assembly.

The number of polling stations would exceed two lakhs in place of 1,96,084 in 1951. The total number of ballot boxes would be 28.75 lakhs against 25.94 lakhs in 1951. Orders had been placed for printing 51 crore ballot papers.

The number of constituencies for election to the Lok Sabha (House of the People) would be 393, of which 305 would be single-member and 88 double-member constituencies. They would elect 481 members to the Lok Sabha. Nineteen more seats in the Lok Sabha would be filled by Presidential nomination of six members from Kashmir, and the indirect election of thirteen members from the Union territories. Three more persons would be nominated to represent North-East Frontier Agency (N.-E. F.A.), Andaman and Minicoy Islands. Seventy-four seats in the Lok Sabha would be reserved for the representatives of scheduled castes and 29 for the scheduled tribes.

Fewer political parties would be contesting the elections this February than in the first General Elections. Only four parties—Indian National Congress, the Communist Party of India, the Praja Socialist Party and the Bharatiya Jan Sangh—were able to secure recognition as national parties from the Election Commission. In 1951-52, the number of political parties contesting the elections was fourteen. Besides the four national parties eleven other parties got recognition as State parties from the Election Commission.

Tax on Education

The craze for doing new things sometimes overlooks the consequential developments. The system of new secondary education that is going to be introduced will not only bring chaos in the field of secondary education, it will also increase the cost of school education. We find that many high schools have introduced a "Development Charge" for the purpose of expansion under the new scheme and this charge is to be imposed on the students. Generally, the charge is Re. 1 per month or Rs. 12 per year. School education of late has become much costlier and this new levy will further increase the cost. In many cases school education is costlier than college education. Recently Mr. Deshmukh, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission, revealed in Calcutta that the Government of India is short of funds in respect of the expansion schemes for education. While the funds for secondary education have been raised from Rs. 22 crores in the first Plan to Rs. 51 crores in the second Plan, the cost of primary education has been reduced from Rs. 93 crores in the first Plan to Rs. 89 crores in the second Plan. In a country where barely 20 per cent of the population are literate, primary education calls for more financial expenditure for raising the literacy of the people.

The move for reorganizing secondary education is more political than academic. At present the bulk of the students come to the colleges after the Matriculation examination. But the three years degree course will act as a break to check the rush of students to the colleges. Under the present circumstances a large number of students cannot reach the degree course for various reasons and they pass simply the intermediate examinations and demand jobs or undertake agitation against the Government so long as they are unemployed. The new system will eliminate this type of middle class population by reducing them to the level of the working class. Those who will not be able to obtain degrees, will be offered the jobs of

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factory labour, simply because of the lack of higher educational qualifications. At least such people would not be able, as a matter of right, to claim any high grade clerical jobs either with the Government or with the mercantile firms. Those who are fortunate enough to pass the degree courses, will, of course, be limited in number and the Government may not feel much inconvenience in providing them with jobs.

The drive for the new type of secondary education will bring about a reorganization of our social structure inasmuch as it will eliminate considerably the middle class. The social structure will be mainly divided into two classes—the labourers and the high grade officers, the bottom and the top of the society, the middle being eliminated by the process of selection for higher education. We fail to understand why in these hard days the guardians of the students should be subjected to a compulsory levy for vagaries of the authorities in the name of educational reorganization. Who knows it will not go the way of the reorganization and re-reorganization of the railway classes? Planning is good, but when it turns into a frenzy for new things, it is dangerous. All the secondary schools in the country cannot be converted into higher secondary schools and that is admitted by the authorities. It will thus have another adverse effect to the extent that the scope of education is curtailed. The higher secondary schools not being adequate in number to the growing needs of the country, those who will be compelled to take education at the ordinary secondary schools would be placed at a disadvantage in the pursuit of higher college education.

Sermons on Taxation

Sermonising is a practice devised by man often to save him from many predicaments by making it a fine way of expressing nothing or speaking something unpleasant. The Union Finance Minister's speech at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at the Royal Exchange, Calcutta, on December 10, 1956, is just a sermon on higher taxation. The Finance Minister announced that the Government of India had decided to reconstruct the basis and structure of the taxation system in the country. In his view, taxation is to be linked up with a broader investment policy. That is the rationale of the taxation proposals he has recently put before the country. He says that there is no such thing as optimum taxation. Taxes originally considered impracticable are in course of time not only accepted but even acquire respectability. Income-tax at the early stages was considered an unpardonable encroachment on the liberty of the individual. But today a country that does not impose income-tax is generally considered extremely backward.

The Government considers that the taxation policy at this stage has to be determined in the light of two main considerations: (*a*) the requirements of the Second Plan and (*b*) the general economic situation. As regards the former, the Plan requires mobilization of financial resources on a scale not attempted hitherto. The Planning Commission has put forward a target of Rs. 850 crores by way of additinal taxation over the five-year period. The outlay required for carrying through the development programmes incorporated in the Plan will require Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 crores more than the total of Rs. 4,800 crores originally envisaged in the Plan. This is partly because some of the financial provisions in the Plan estimates were inadequate and partly because the higher estimates reflect the increased cost on account of higher domestic or external prices.

The Government view is that the general economic situation has also altered somewhat since the Plan was formulated. Prices have registered persistently an upward trend—the general index is now 430—and the danger of inflationary pressures getting the upper hand has to be safeguarded against by taking steps to mop up a part of the surplus purchasing power of the people. This is evident from the fact that the demand for food, cloth, steel and cement has been rising rapidly. "In a sense the creation of new demands all along the line is the very essence of developmental planning."

Two major decisions taken by the National Development Council in the second week of December last, were to raise the target for additional taxation during the Second Plan period and to lower the level of deficit financing contemplated earlier. The increase proposed in the additional taxation is Rs. 100 crores for the year 1957. Of this amount, Rs. 50 crores

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will be raised by the Centre and the other Rs. 50 crores by the States. The Council has fixed the outlay on the Plan during 1957-58 at Rs. 900 crores. The proposed outlay for the next year is Rs. 100 crores more than that in the current year. The Council agrees that the Central and State Governments should undertake additional taxation so as to make this outlay possible. As regards deficit financing, whose limit was previously fixed at Rs. 1,200 crores, the Government view seems to be that deficit financing to the tune of Rs. 250 crores per year may be safe for the first three years but subsequently there will be great inflationary pressures on the economy of the country. In pursuance of this taxation policy, the Government has imposed taxation on capital gains and an increase in super-tax on dividends. There has also been an increase in the customs duties on luxury articles.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari observes that an underdeveloped economy suffers from insufficient demand, investment opportunities and production. The vicious circle has to be broken at various points, that is, by a simultaneous expansion of demand and production. One part of the economic policy for the Plan period is to increase production, especially of articles of general consumption like food and cloth, and the other part is an appropriate tax policy aimed at regulating the flow of purchasing power so as to ensure that development proceeds under conditions of economic stability.

The Second Plan is undoubtedly much too ambitious in so far as it oversteps the known and practicable resources of the country. It envisages a rise in national investment from 7 per cent to 10 per cent at the end of the Plan period during which a total amount of Rs. 7,200 crores will be spent (Rs. 4,800 crores in the public sector and Rs. 2,400 crores in the private sector). Taxation is inevitable in modern times, but there is a limit to the taxable capacity of the people. The Finance Minister forgets that in India because of dual polity there is almost invariably double taxation, directly or indirectly, both by the Union taxation as well as by the States' levies. The spate of excise duties and sales tax together constitute a heavy taxation on the people.

In this connection another point should be taken into consideration and it is the growing inflationary pressure which is also admitted by the authorities. Inflation is a disguised form of taxation and it involves the transfer of income from those who are too poor to save to those who are too rich to consume. The expansive inflation which is now making itself felt on the entire economy of the country is itself a measure of taxation that increases the cost of living. Had the price level been pegged then the burden of taxation would not have been much grudged in so far as it attempted to mop up the excess purchasing power. The inflationary spiral has been further worsened by the imposition of control on the import of consumer goods like butter, blades, etc. The result is that the prices of almost all the commodities have increased considerably during the recent weeks. The rise in prices will increase the cost of living and so also the prices of finished goods. The rise in prices will make the fixed income groups poorer, and the variable income groups richer thereby causing unequal distribution of national wealth. In the face of inflationary pressure more and more consumer goods should be made available. Instead, the authorities are pursuing a reverse course by restricting the availability of consumer goods.

The Government of India is relying upon taxation measures to curb the inflation. It is, however, a matter of great regret that they do not take into consideration the fact that the common people of low and middle income groups are subjected to hardships on account of multifarious taxation systems and in addition higher prices. The launching of the Second Plan has enmeshed the Government in a vicious circle of ever-increasing expenditures, to meet which they are tapping this source and that, but without ever reaching the actual targets, which are shifting. Mere planning on an ambitious scale does not bring materialisation and unrestricted taxation will defeat its own purpose.

We are, however, not opposed to every kind of taxation measure. We agree that there is justification for the imposition of capital gains tax and the super-tax. But we object to the spate of excise duties on essential consumer goods which unnecessarily increase the price and so also the cost of living. The prices of commodities on which excise duties have been imposed have been raised by the dealers at a

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much higher rate than what is warranted by the excise duty. In order to do justice to the taxable capacity of the low and middle income groups, purchase tax should be introduced in lieu of the sales tax. In almost all Western countries purchase tax is in vogue as that does better justice to the people. Further, the same commodity should not be subject to double taxation by the imposition of excise duty as well as sales tax. It is better to impose taxation at the source by means of income-tax, super-tax and capital gains tax. In taxes where the incidence can be shifted, there is fraud in all the stages and the price level increases and the higher price is itself a form of disguised taxation. Higher price means higher cost of production in the end and that means enhanced cost of the Second Five-Year Plan.

Problems of Tea Industry

Indian tea industry is said to have been passing through a period of crisis that has been generated through falling exports. The tea industry is the second largest industry in India, coming next to the cotton textile industry. The total capital investment in tea industry is estimated at Rss. 113.06 crores. Of this amount, Rs. 40.51 crores (or 35.8 per cent) represent Indian and Rs. 72.55 (or 64.2 per cent) represent non-Indian capital. Between 1939 and 1953, the figures of shareholdings reveal an over-all fall of 10.4 per cent in the case of the non-Indion sector and a corresponding rise in respect of the Indian sector.

Until recently, the tea exports occupied the first place in India's export trade, but in 1955 the export of jute manufactures headed the list of India's exports. There has been a progressive fall in tea exports. India exported 442 million lbs. of tea in 1950-51; 429 lbs. in 1951-52; 427 lbs. in 1952-53; 471 lbs. in 1953-54; 459 lbs. in 1954-55 and 404 lbs. in 1955-56. The value of tea exports which stood at Rs. 147.75 crores in 1954-55, came down to Rs. 109.14 crores in 1955-56. In recent years the tea export markets have become highly competitive. India has to depend on foreign markets for the disposal of her tea production. In 1955, India's tea production was 665 million lbs. as against 641 million lbs. in 1954. The internal consumption does not exceed 200 million pounds and the balance has to be exported. India mostly produces inferior quality tea; among her production 50 per cent represents common teas, and only 25 per cent is good tea. The remainder 25 per cent is medium quality tea. In recent years there has been a glut of common teas in the world market and India's difficulty has all the more been aggravated by her excessive production of common teas.

Ceylon is the closest rival to India in tea export. Ceylonese tea is mostly of good quality, 75 per cent of her tea production consists of good quality tea. In 1955, Ceylon produced 380 million pounds of tea and her teas enjoy a monopoly in the markets of New Zealand, South Africa and Middle East countries. The United Kingdom is the biggest market for India's common teas. But in other countries where common teas have a demand, Indian tea is handicapped because of her higher prices. Indonesia, East Africa, Japan and Formosa have the advantage of exporting teas at a much cheaper price. The total world production of tea in 1955 was 1,350 million lbs. as against 1,326 million lbs. in 1954. The total consumption in 1955 was 1,259 as compared with 1,275 in 1954. In 1955, there was a world surplus of 91 million pounds of tea as against 51 million pounds in 1954. This surplus tea production includes mostly common teas and in this India's share is considerable.

The high prices of India's tea are mainly responsible for falling exports. The Plantation Enquiry Commission estimates that the cost of production of hundred pounds of tea was Rs. 131 in 1953. This works out to Re. 1-5 per pound. But in 1955 and 1956, the cost of production has further increased owing to higher payments made to labour. Further, the Union export duty of eight annas per pound must be added to the cost. Then come the Assam Carriage Tax of one anna per pound and the West Bengal Entry Tax of one anna per pound. Lastly, the high cost of railway freight has contributed to the high price of tea in general. The average cost per pound of tea comes to nearly Re. 1-12. But the prices at the Calcutta auctions often do not fetch the cost price of the producers.

The tea industry is the largest employer of organised labour in the country, providing employment to nearly eleven lakhs of workers. The Plantation Enquiry Commission estimates

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that the tea production in India will rise to 710 million pounds per year by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan. This would mark an increase of about 45.5 million pounds over the present level of production. The Commission finds that the future of the tea industry is closely linked with the cost of production. India has to produce good quality tea in order to face successfully the growing competition in international market and to develop the internal market also. Unless India makes rapid progress towards producing better quality tea, at a comparatively cheaper price, her overseas markets will be very considerably lost. Improved methods of production and increased productivity of labour will have to help in turning out better quality teas. At present the general charges and payments to labour form the largest parts of the total cost of tea production.

Although the rapid Indianisation in the tea industry has been a welcome feature, it has not brought unmixed good. The Indian owners of tea gardens are more interested in quantity, rather than in quality. Quality has been sacrificed to a great extent in order to raise larger volume of tea crops. This aspect of our tea trade was referred to by the Union Finance Minister in his speech to Export Advisory Council on November 27, 1956. Mr. Krishnamachari said that if the recent changes in the ownership and management of tea gardens were in any way likely to jeopardize the export trade in tea, "the Government will have to take a more serious interest in the management of the tea gardens."

In recent weeks there has been increasing demand from overseas markets. The stocks in London are low and the demand for higher exports to London auctions is increasing. It is gratifying to note that Russia has purchased twenty million pounds of Indian tea at the Calcutta auctions and Ireland is also purchasing a considerable quantity. The export quota system unnecessarily pegs Indian tea exports. The authorities should remember that Britain is the best buyer of India's common teas and it will be a great loss to India if the U.K. market is not fully utilised. The price of the export quota has been steadily rising and in the first week of December last it went up to 102 pies per pound. The ceiling of export for direct sale in London in 1955-56 was fixed at 140 million pounds. For the 1956-57 season the export quota has been fixed at 160 million pounds. The Government of India's hesitant attitude in the grant of export quota is unfortunate as it discourages further export to London. The Plantation Enquiry Commission recommends that the export quota system should be abolished. This will affect to some extent the income of the small producers. The Commission has made recommendations that these producers should be granted assistance like subsidised issues of manures and supplies of equipment accompanied by technical assistance.

The provisional estimates of production for the year 1956 place North-India tea production at 540 million pounds and the figure for the South Indian tea gardens is estimated at 125 million pounds. Domestic consumption is estimated to be between 180 to 200 million pounds and thus nearly 465 million pounds will be available for export. The record of tea, which competes with jute for primacy of place in our export trade, is better in 1956 than in 1955. In the first nine months of 1956, India exported as much as 356 million pounds as against 260 million pounds in the corresponding period of 1955. The external price of tea is fortunately tending to rise again and it is hoped that tea will continue to make its rightful contribution to our foreign exchange resources. To promote export, the ceiling of 160 million pounds for the London auctions seems to be inadequate. The Tea Board is reported to have recommended for a fresh release of 10 per cent export quota of the best crop basis. The Government of India so far have released export quota to the extent of 50 per cent of the best crop basis, and this amounts to 346.5 million pounds. As 84 million pounds of tea were exported during the current season under special licences, the total shipments come to about 430 million pounds as compared with 450 million pounds shipped in 1954-55 and 466 million pounds in 1953-54. Further release for export will not cause any shortage in the internal market as the demands in the Calcutta auctions are poor.

The Plantation Enquiry Commission has made a notable suggestion with regard to retail distribution of tea in India. The Commission finds that packet tea sold in India was on the average 52.94 per cent of the total amount of

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tea estimated to be available for internal consumption during the four years 1951-1954. The effect of a higher rate of excise duty on tea sold in packages than on loose tea has been to stimulate the retail distribution of tea in loose form rather than in packages. The Commission considers this to be undesirable since it has the effect of encouraging the distribution of an article of human consumption in a less hygienic form. Such a practice facilitates adulteration of tea with other materials. The Commission, therefore, rightly recommends that the differential rates of excise duties on packed and loose tea should be abolished and the old uniform rate of duty of three annas per pound on all tea restored. For all producers whose total production does not exceed 5,000 pounds a year, the excise duty should continue to be levied at the present rate of one anna per pound only.

In order to increase the consumption of Indian tea it is imperative that the prices should be considerably lowered. If blenders reduce their overheads and share of profits, at least in respect of the popular grades, it will lower the price and internal consumption is sure to expand. The Plantation Enquiry Commission feels that the prices of tea are high and call for reduction if internal consumption is to be increased. The Tea Board may undertake packing and distribution under its own distinguishing labels. As regards the profits earned by the tea industry, the Plantation Enquiry Commission finds that generally speaking the ratio of gross profits to total capital invested in the industry has been high. The remuneration paid to the managing agents is based partly on a percentage of gross sales and partly on a percentage of profits, a fixed minimum in certain cases being prescribed. This results in substantial payments having to be made to the managing agents as their commission, even when profits are low or non-existent as in 1951 and 1952.

The Commission feels that the tea industry has to bear several types of taxes which contribute in no small degree towards raising the prices. For determining the world price of tea for fixation of the slab for export duty, the Commission recommends that instead of taking only the previous month's weighted average of the prices ruling at the London auctions, the preceding six months' average should be taken into consideration. The agricultural income-tax on tea plantations should also be made uniform for all States. The agricultural income-tax on tea industry may be levied and collected by the Central Government and then distributed to the States on the same principle on which the divisible pool of the income-tax is now distributed. The Commission has also recommended the aboltion of the West Bengal Entry Tax of one anna per pound as this is inconsistent with the policy of encouraging the auctions in Calcutta. The Assam Carriage Tax of one anna per pound should also be abolished.

As regards the marketing of tea primary sales, the brokers have come to occupy an unusually strong position in the marketing of tea in Calcutta. The business is concentrated in a few hands. The valuation at present is practically determined by the same broker in his dual capacity. He communicates both to the seller and the buyer the prices and thus exercises considerable influence over the auction prices. The selling and the buying brokers should be separate and they must not have any connection with the management nor should they be major shareholders in any tea estate or any connection with the trade and exports of tea. The Tea Board should regulate and control the sale of tea in the Cochin and Calcutta auctions.

With regard to the financial requirements of the industry, the Plantation Enquiry Commission finds that the annual average of the working capital requirements for the three years 1951 to 1953 works out to Rs. 1,290 for North India and Rs. 727 for South India. The main resources are reserves and advances by the managing agents. The brokers and commercial banks constitute the external sources of finance. The total bank advances during the three years ending 1953 were on the average Rs. 36.82 crores per year. The levy by some of the banks of a charge on gross sale proceeds in addition to interests is unjustified and the Reserve Bank should see that this undesirable practice is stopped. The State Bank should open branches in tea plantation areas so as to be the main source of supply of working capital to the tea industry. In this respect the tea plantation should be placed on the same footing with other agricultural productions.

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India and the Commonwealth

The British attack on Egypt naturally provoked in many minds thoughts regarding the usefulness of India's continued membership of the Commonwealth. Criticisms of India's Commonwealth ties began to be voiced even in quarters hitherto considered to be sympathetic to Britain. The hostility of at least a section of Congressmen found expression in a resolution moved during the last Calcutta session of the All-India Congress Committee. The resolution failed to secure adoption only because of Pandit Nehru's vigorous opposition. Among those who had raised their voices against the Commonwealth, the most notable was Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, who in an article in the *Swarajya* had called for immediate severance of the Commonwealth ties.

The matter was discussed in the Rajya Sabha on December 7 when a Communist Member from West Bengal, Shri Satyendranarayan Mazumdar, introduced a resolution seeking the Government of India to discontinue India's membership of the Commonwealth.

Moving his resolution Shri Mazumdar referred to India's past opposition to the Commonwealth and said that the central fact against which India's Commonwealth ties were to be judged was the maintenance of world peace. The Commonwealth was supposedly an organization for stabilizing world politics. The Egyptian events had shattered that myth. The British Government had not cared to consult India, who was stated to be an equal partner of the Commonwealth, before the aggression upon Egypt had been launched. India's gains from such ties, if there were any, were not clear to many Indians. On the other hand, India's association with Britain gave the British Government considerable advantage inasmuch as the British Government could use India's good name to "hide their real intentions from the people of the world, from the people of Britain itself."

Intervening in the debate immediately after Shri Mazumdar had spoken Shri Nehru said that it had been the privilege and policy of India to "be a bridge between countries and not to break bridges that already exist. There is enough breakage in the world for us not to add to it."

Shri Nehru said: "Mr. Mazumdar referred to the feeling in a strong section of the people in regard to this matter. I am prepared to admit that there are many people in this country who, for sentimental or other reasons, would advocate this or approve of it if it takes place. I don't deny that. I think also that those very people or many of them, if we once explain to them, may change their views on the subject. It is very easy in any issue of this type to get people to agree to a sentimental approach to a problem of this type. But it would be a bad day when the Government's policy in such matters is governed by sentiment only, and by the sudden passions of the moment. The member has referred to Rajaji repeatedly and, in fact, based his argument mainly on what Rajaji has stated in this connection. Anything Rajaji says deserves our closest and most earnest attention. He is one of our wise men who has had a great deal of experience. Nevertheless, I feel that even when wise men become unconnected with public affairs and do not have all the aspects of a particular problem, then their wisdom is likely to go astray simply because it is not based on a factual appreciation of the situation apart from other aspects of it. It is a little dangerous in such cases to offer an opinion which is really based on a reaction to some events."

Shri Nehru said that Shri Mazumdar was mistaken when he said that India had always stood for dissociation from the Commonwealth. What India had been opposed to, Shri Nehru said, was Dominion Status and not association. India today had many types of association—trade, cultural, etc.—with different countries. She had no political association "which binds us the slightest with any country." Perhaps, the only other country in the world with such a record was Switzerland. Almost every other country had a binding treaty "tying itself with some other country, whether it is political or military alliance." There were the NATO, SEATO, Warsaw Treaty and the Baghdad Pact. India was the freest. From that point of view India was "less entangled and less committed" than almost any other country. But at the same time, curiously enough, we have the closest association with many countries and sometimes opposing countries."

He said that the idea that one could be friendly only with a person or a country whose

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policy was identical was a dangerous conception. That was the other way of saying that "you must be in conflict with any country from whom you differ."

In reply to a question by Shri H. D. Raja Shri Nehru said that though the United States of America was not a member of the Commonwealth she was in many ways more associated with the Commonwealth than India was. The association of Britain and the USA was closer in several ways than the association of the Commonwealth countries *inter se*.

The *Hindu* in an editorial article on December 9 writes that nothing had happened during the nine years since independence to show that the reasons, on which India had deliberately decided to retain the tenuous link with the Commonwealth, had lost their force. India's attitude to the Commonwealth was based on a careful analysis of the basic facts that governed international relations. The Commonwealth link was a product of history. Its continuance facilitated the smooth working of certain economic and other relationships which, whatever their origin, have now been voluntarily accepted as being of mutual advantage, the *Hindu* points out.

The newspaper adds that India's membership of the Commonwealth had not prevented her from denouncing even those military alliances which other members of the Commonwealth were members. Neither had India hesitated to denounce the Anglo-French attack on Egypt. "And it is at least arguable that India's moral authority in this crisis was enhanced, not diminished, by the fact that she was a member of the Commonwealth and that she was so sure of her position that she did not think it necessary to seek to reinforce it by threatening to quit the Commonwealth."

"This does not mean," the *Hindu* adds, "that India would in no conceivable circumstances give up the Commonwealth connection. Mr. Nehru has plainly said that he is not making a fetish of it."

The Gomulka Report

The Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland (PZPR) held in October, 1956, was an event of momentous importance in the Communist world. The Plenum restored the ousted leader Gomulka to his position as the leader of the Party and made way for Marshal Rokossovsky's return to the Soviet Union where he was soon to join the Soviet Cabinet as Deputy Defence Minister. For a Communist State such peaceful changes in authority were remarkable, no doubt; but more significant were the disclosures made in the Plenum about Communism in action in Poland.

Communist "self-criticism," with which the world by now largely familiar, is, as a matter of fact, always carefully designed to conceal the defects of Communism from the public eye. While a single wrong decision involving legality by a non-Communist government with an otherwise clean record would be denounced as legal murder, the deliberate and planned murder of innocent people in the Communist lands are termed as 'mistakes' or mere 'violation of legality'. (Mr. Gomulka, by the way, had also to refer to this aspect of Communist practice in his report. Referring to the Polish Party's characterisation and assessment of the various factors responsible for the utter bankruptcy of the Polish economy, he said that the Party's resolutions gave a "milder appraisal" of the past mistakes. "The Central Committee of the Party has failed, at least, to draw the necessary Party consequences with regard to the people who bear the responsibility for this state of affairs," he said). Considered against such a background the Polish Party's disclosures are of momentous significance.

Mr. Gomulka in his speech before the Eighth Plenum castigated the very Communist system in Poland. His criticism of the Communist system was apparently shared by a number of other responsible members of the Party. Mr. Gomulka said: "In order to change all the bad features of our life, to change the state in which our economy is at present, it is not enough to replace some people with others which is very easy. In order to remove from our political and economic life all the bad things which are hampering its development and which have been accumulated for years, *it is necessary to change a great deal in our system of People's Government, in the system* of organization of our industry, *in the methods* of work of the State and Party apparatus" (emphasis added).

How had the Communist system functioned

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in Poland? By falsification, exploitation and outright butchery. Statistics were falsified, workers exploited and doubters liquidated.

While the Six-Year Plan had been a failure it was advertised as a great success. "The juggling with figures which showed a 27-per cent rise in real wages during the Six-Year Plan proved a failure. It only exasperated the people even more and it was necessary to withdraw from the position taken by poor statisticians," Mr. Gomulka said.

There had been "unpardonable thoughtlessness" in the management of the mining industry. "The system of work on Sundays was introduced, and this could not but ruin the health and strength of the minds, and at the same time made it difficult to maintain colliery installations in proper working order. The practice was also introduced of employing soldiers and prisoners in some of the collieries," Mr. Gomulka said. With such slave labour 14.6 million tons of coal had been extracted in six years.

Grave mistakes had been made in agricultural policy, by the efforts of enforced collectivisation, Mr. Gomulka criticized the "thoughtless agricultural policy in the past period" which had resulted in the "economic ruin of a great number of peasant farms listed in the category of Kulak holding." Agricultural collectivisation had proved a failure in spite of many state facilities for collective farms. "When estimating the value of overall production per hectare of arable land", Mr. Gomulka said, "we arrive at the following picture: Individual farms 621.1 zloyts, co-operative farms 517.3 zloyts, and State farms 393.7 zloyts, at constant prices. Thus the difference between individual and co-operative farms amounts to 16.7 per cent, while in comparison with State farms, individual farm production was higher by 37.2 per cent."

Summing up the position of the agricultural co-operatives, Mr. Gomulka said: "It is a sad picture. In spite of great outlays, they had smaller results and greater costs of production. I do not mention the political aspect of the problem."

The economic policies followed by the Polish Communist Party and the Government had resulted in a situation where, to quote Gomulka, "We found ourselves in the situation of an insolvent bankrupt. We had to ask our creditors for a moratorium. In the meantime a considerable part of these credits in the shape of machines and installations has so far found no application in production and will not find any such application for long years to come, and part of it must be considered irretrievably lost."

The political situation had been no better. There was the cast-iron dictatorship of the few over the rest of the country. The constitution had been marked more by its violation than observance. Parliament—the *Sejm*—had been a mockery having had no control over the Government. How law and justice had worked?

"In Poland too," said Mr. Gomulka, "tragic events occurred when innocent people were sent to their death. Many others were imprisoned, often for many years, although innocent, including Communists. Many people were submitted to bestial tortures. Terror and demoralization were spread . . . phenomena arose which violated and even nullified the most profound meaning of the people's power."

In short, Poland under Communist rule, according to the topmost Communist leader of the land, had been marked by "provocation, blood, prisons, and the sufferings of innocent people."

People had been arrested on the streets and after seven days of interrogation released unfit to continue their lives. Though the tortures and bestialities of the "people's police" had been known to every citizen of Poland, the Communist Chiefs had sat cool and indifferent even after repeated requests of intervention by other responsible men. Medieval methods had been employed to extract confession of guilt: the prisoners had often been compelled "to remain standing in their own excrement," their fingernails torn apart. Another form of such torture had been to compel people freeze in the winter frost outside. When the Communist leaders had been approached to stop such atrocities "they did not want to listen."

That the Communist system itself was responsible for such a state of affairs in Poland even the Communist leaders themselves have begun to realize. Mr. Gomulka's remarks have been quoted above. Another top leader of the Polish Communist Party, Mr. Leon Wudzki, also reiterated that the defects lay in the Communist system itself. "Theory is one thing," he

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said, "but practice has been another. However beautiful the theory sounded, in practice we had such phenomena as unwillingness to work, shirking of duties, bureaucracy, fanaticism, opportunism, chauvinism, anti-semitism and falsehood. The masses dared not criticise us; their mouths were locked and they turned away from us because we in our attitude towards them were double-faced. We said one thing and did another. We liked power . . ."

"We said one thing and did another," Mr. Ludz said. This, however, has been the honourable practice of the Communists all over the world. It is still their dominant practice. Here in India, we have found the Communist Party turning away from truth and printing tendentious Soviet reports on the happenings in Hungary as whole truths. In their eagerness to forestall any serious criticism of the Communist system, which they want to hold up as perfect and all-righteous—the crimes and other misdeeds being ascribed to the whims of one man or other, the editors of the *New Age*, monthly organ of the Communist Party of India, in printing Gomulka's report have carefully omitted the first part in which Gomulka criticized the "system" of People's Government, the "system" of the organization of industry, the "methods" of work of State and Party apparatus.

Nehru's U.S. Tour

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, paid a six-day visit to the United States of America from December 16 to 21. Subsequently, he also visited Canada where he had talks with Canadian Government leaders. This was Shri Nehru's second visit to the USA as Prime Minister of India. The first visit had taken place in 1949.

Political observers attached great importance to Shri Nehru's talks with President Eisenhower—particularly in view of their effects on the solution of such outstanding questions as Kashmir, Middle East and China's admission into the United Nations. In the USA itself the talks were highly publicized and one prominent American commentator went so far as to describe the Nehru-Eisenhower talks as the most significant international development since the summit conference in Geneva.

The *New York Times*, for example, wrote:

". . . Nehru is one of the great figures of our times—and it is a time of giants. He is a man of remarkable culture and personal charm, a mind that has thousands of years of Brahmin refinement behind it, but one moulded at Harrow and Cambridge. . . . No one can take him away one inch from the India he helped so much to become free and to stay free, but he is a man we can talk to, and one we can and do welcome to our shores without reserve.

"It is good that Mr. Nehru has at last managed to get here, that he will see President Eisenhower alone and at length, that he will renew his acquaintance with the United States and the American people whom he has not seen since 1949. Surely nothing but advantage can come from this visit and we hope it will prove a pleasure as well as a benefit to Mr. Nehru."

On his arrival at the National Airport at Washington, Shri Nehru was received by Vice-President, Richard M. Nixon. In a speech of welcome, Mr. Nixon said:

"This visit has a great deal of significance for a number of reasons. This is a decisive moment in history. You represent the largest democracy in the world, and the United States is the second largest democracy in the world and, while as free and independent sovereign nations our governments do not always agree on policy, we have and share a common dedication and devotion toward developing the kind of a world in which individuals can be free, in which nations can be independent, and in which peoples can live together in peace.

"And we know that the conversations that you have with President Eisenhower and with other members of our government, will not only contribute to better understanding between our two governments and our two peoples, but that it will contribute to the cause of world peace, based on freedom and justice, to which we are all devoted.

"We only regret that your visit here is brief, that you cannot see more parts of our country, but I can assure that all of our 167 million American citizens share this expression when I say we are glad to have you with us, and while you are here, this certainly will be your home."

Reciprocating the sentiments expressed by the Vice-President, Mr. Nixon, Shri Nehru said:

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"You mentioned, Mr. Vice-President, of the ideals that govern this great Republic, the ideals of independence and individual freedom. I can assure that we, in India, adhere to those ideals and that we are going to continue to adhere to them, whatever else may befall us.

"We belive in the freedom of the individual, the freedom of the human spirit, and in many other things, too. I have found that there is so much in common, even though we are separated by half the world, between this great Republic and the Republic of India."

The President, Mr. Eisenhower, welcomed Shri Nehru at the White House, saying:

"Mr. Prime Minister, this is an event to which I have long looked forward. It is a privilege and an honour to welcome you to this land—to this house."

The Indian Prime Minister thanked the President and said:

"I have been looking forward to this visit for a long time, and now that I am here I feel happy to be not only your guest, Mr. President, but among the American people who are so very friendly and hospitable."

No agenda was fixed for the talks between the two statesmen. The long hours they spent together were devoted to a discussion of various topics of mutual and general international relations. The first inkling of the nature of the talks was given by Shri Nehru during his conference with Pressmen on November 19 in which six hundred and seventy-five newspapermen were present.

Shri Nehru said that as a result of his private talks with President Eisenhower he had "gathered the impression that the policy of the United States is a flexible policy adapting itself to circumstances. How it will apply this policy I do not know. But it is not as rigid as I thought."

Asked about his impressions of U.S. views about India's policy of non-alignment, Shri Nehru said: "I should imagine there is more understanding of it and, if I may say so, perhaps, a little more appreciation of it."

He disclosed that he had conveyed to the U.S. President the gist of recent talks with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai in regard to some matters of common interest. He, however, declined to answer a question whether the U.S. policy toward China was less rigid than before.

Shri Prem Bhatia, *Statesman's* political correspondent, writes: ". . . White House sources think the visit has achieved the following valuable results:

"1. It has brought the two leaders closer together and enabled them, at a personal level, to know each other much better.

"2. Through the establishment of this vital personal contact the two leaders have been enabled to appreciate the strains and stresses of their national backgrounds inasmuch as these influence their international policies.

"3. They have thereby made easier the 'follow-up' tasks of diplomats on both sides. In other words, subsequent discussions at a lower level on questions considered by the two leaders will be smoother.

"4. Of greater immediate importance, especially to the U.S.A., is a demonstration through Mr. Nehru's visit that India and the U.S.A. stand together in their search for peace. As 'peace' was the principal objective of Mr. Eisenhower's election campaign this is no small gain.

"Summing up the results of Mr. Nehru's talks with Mr. Eisenhower, the President's knowledgeable Press Secretary, Mr. James Hagerty, told me that the effect on the women of America, who constitute 53 per cent of the nation's voters of the Prime Minister's insistence on peace had been 'tremendous.'

"'After all don't forget,' he explained, 'it's the women in any country who suffer most from war. And, in America, women are very influential in making public opinion'."

After his talks with President Eisenhower Shri Nehru arrived at New York on December 20. There he addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations. In his speech before the Assembly Shri Nehru said that the events in Egypt and Hungary had ushered in a certain new phase of historical development. "We have seen in the last few months how world opinion reacts to what it considers evil doings. That is one of the healthiest signs in recent months."

The mere existence of the United Nations was significant. Recently, however, it had shown that "it can face problems courageously and deal them with a view to their ultimate solution. I think that, perhaps, of the many things that have happened in recent years, this is one of the most hopeful."

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Referring to the various military pacts and alliances, Shri Nehru said that even if one conceded that such pacts and alliances had some justification at an earlier stage their futility should by now be clear to all. Those pacts did neither add to the strength of a nation since they only made that country or some other country hostile. "Arms are piled up and disarmament becomes more and more difficult. Hatreds continue; in fact, the cold war continues."

Shri Nehru continued: "We have seen that the biggest and strongest nations cannot do their will because of this world opinion. Therefore, we have developed a very strong protection against a country acting wrongly. Why not take that for our protection instead of armaments and the rest? Why not do away with the system of military alliances and pacts, and face each other frankly and openly and, if there is a quarrel, deal with it in the manner individuals deal with a quarrel, trying to settle it by arguments here in the UN and elsewhere?"

He referred to the presence of foreign troops in different countries and said: "We have seen and we know that the presence of foreign forces in a country is always an irritant. It is never liked by that country; it is abnormal." It did not produce even the intended sense of security. Even from a military point of view the presence of foreign troops could be hardly justified in these days when all wars would shape as world wars and would be fought with missiles hurled from vast distances.

Pandit Nehru said that two things must be aimed at:

"One is that, according to the UN Charter, countries should be independent. A country that is dominated by another country should cease to be dominated by that country. No country in the wide world—or at any rate very few countries—can be said to be independent in the sense that they can do anything they like. There are restraining factors, and quite rightly.

"In the final analysis, the UN itself is a restraining factor in regard to countries misbehaving or taking advantage of their so-called independence to interfere with the independence of others.

"Every country's independence should be limited in the sense that it should not interfere with the independence of others. The first thing, then, is to have this process of the independence of countries extended until it covers the whole world.

"Secondly, there is this idea—these ideas are all allied and overlapping—that we can ensure security by increasing our armaments. This notion has been rather exposed recently because obviously the other party can increase its armaments, too, and so, in a sense, the balance of arms would vary but little. In any event, total destruction may well be the result.

"Therefore, this maintenance of armed forces all over the world on foreign soil is basically wrong, even though such maintenance is with the agreement of the countries concerned. These countries may agree to it through fear of somebody else, in order to seek protection, but it is not a good way of thinking.

"Now, if we could remove these armies, and together with such removal, bring about some measure of disarmament—although I admit the difficulty in doing so suddenly—I believe the atmosphere in the world would change completely.

"I think the natural result would be a much more rapid progress towards peace and the elimination of fear. Furthermore, I do not see how you can make progress so long as you, I, and all of us are constantly afraid and are thinking of becoming more powerful than the other country and speaking to the other country from a position of strength. Obviously the other country thinks in the same way and there can be no great improvement in the situation so long as it is approached from this standpoint."

Giving his impression of the results of talks between Pandit Nehru and President Eisenhower, K. Balaraman, *Hindu's* correspondent in Washington, writes:

"True, the accomplishments of the summit meeting are in the realm of the intangible at present, but their beneficent effect, in course of time, could be considerable. Close personal contact with the President has been established, a strong base of Indo-American friendship has been laid, mutual suspicions between their respective countries have been allayed, the President now has better appreciation of India's policies and objectives and Mr. Nehru for his part has gained better understanding of America's policies. Nothing

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but good, both for the United States and India, could come out of all this."

Egypt and Hungary

The Anglo-French aggression on Egypt and the Soviet aggression on Hungary have been the two issues agitating the people's minds for the last quarter of a year. The Egyptian issue has been simple and people throughout the world had no difficulty in identifying the aggressors—Britain and France—and in condemning them.

Not so in the case of Hungary however. Evasive Soviet propaganda relayed by the Communist press throughout the world combined with equally tortuous Western exaggeration and insinuation have greatly confused the matter. In this context the views of the Government of India, which had all along refused to be drawn into any provocative action or gesture toward the Soviet Union or the Government of Hungary, have served to clear the truth from the mist of conflicting East-West propaganda.

Opening a two-day debate in the Lok Sabha on foreign affairs, Pandit Nehru said: "The major fact stands out that the great majority of the people of Hungary wanted a change, political, economic or whatever the changes were, and actually rose in insurrection after demonstrations, etc., to achieve it and ultimately they were suppressed." While it was true that some outsiders and internal fascist elements had also been present, Shri Nehru added, "The major fact is that the people of Hungary or a very large part of them, claimed freedom from outside control or interference, objected to the Soviet forces (remaining in Hungary) and wanted them to withdraw and wanted some internal changes in Government. That is a basic fact which, I think, nobody can deny."

Another feature of the Hungarian situation was "the extraordinary demonstration of passive resistance" of the people after the fighting had stopped. The people of Budapest had refused to go back to work, refused to take part "in any other normal activities at a time when the city was suffering very greatly by the stoppage of work during the period of armed conflict.

"This resistance of vast numbers of people in a passive and peaceful way," declared Pandit Nehru, "seemed to me more significant of the wishes of that country rather than an armed revolt which might be organized by some groups here and there."

"There is little doubt that the present movement in Hungary was a popular movement. It was a movement with the great masses of the people behind it, with the workers and young people in it. May be there are a number of people against it—we cannot speak about all of them—but this (the fact that the people as a whole are behind it) has become even more patent by this passive resistance of the people in spite of the heavy armed strength being opposed to them."

Pandit Nehru said that while in Hungary there had been no "immediate aggression" in the sense of something immediately happening as there had been in the case of Egypt, it was a "continuing intervention" of the Soviet troops in Hungary.

The Soviet Armies might have been justified to be present in Hungary under the Warsaw Pact "but that is a small matter. The fact is that subsequent events have shown that the Soviet armies were there against the wishes of the Hungarian people. That is clear enough and if, that is so, any other explanation is not adequate." In the same way as in Egypt, in Hungary too "on a first view of events one sees the great forces of the Soviet Union triumphing in a military way in Budapest and in Hungary."

Pandit Nehru said that he had no doubt about the ultimate victory of the Hungarian people.

"Another aspect of this question," said Pandit Nehru, "is that we have these ideas (of Communism and other 'isms') which people of great merit and of integrity have pursued. Communism gradually became somewhat more respectable in people's eyes, in the sense that Communist Governments functioned as other Governments did. Nevertheless it had that aspect of some kind of a religion being spread, and often spread by intervention. The most recent instance (of intervention) is the fact that undoubtedly the Government in Hungary was not a free Government but an imposed Government and that the people of Hungary were not satisfied with it. If in ten years (since a Communist Government was established in Hungary after the last War) people could not be converted to

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that particular theory, it shows a certain failure which is far greater, it seems to me, than the failure of a military coup. It indicates that all of us, whether we are Communists or non-Communists or anti-Communists, have to think afresh.

"Therefore, apart from the outward features of the present crisis, there is this crisis of conscience, a spiritual crisis almost, in people's minds and I hope that more strong reactions to events will not smother this spiritual crisis and this attempt to find a better way of international co-operation."

Replying to the debate on his speech Shri Nehru told the Lok Sabha on November 20 that the events in Hungary resulting in suppression by Soviet troops would probably have taken a "different turn if there had been no invasion of Egypt." So far as the Soviet Communism was concerned, he added, "Quite apart from its military adventure, it has done something which has uprooted the deep faith in it of many Communists."

On November 24, the Soviet authorities in Hungary abducted Imre Nagy, former Hungarian Prime Minister, who had taken refuge at the Yugoslav legation at Budapest, Mr. Nagy had come out of his shelter at the Yugoslav legation following a Yugoslav-Hungarian agreement which guaranteed the safe conduct of Mr. Nagy and eleven of his supporters together with fifteen women and seventeen children. The party also included the world-renowned Marxist intellectual, Lukas. No sooner had the Hungarian leader and his party come out of the precincts of the Yugoslav legation than the Russian (it was not Hungarian) police party swooped upon them and eventually forced them to go to Rumania instead of to their own homes where they had been scheduled to go under the agreement. The Yugoslav Government took up the matter with the Kadar Government as it involved a breach of the agreement concluded between the two Governments but the Hungary Government proved itself unable to honour its own agreement.

Referring to Nagy's abduction by the Russian forces in his own homeland Pandit Nehru said in the Rajya Sabha on December 3 that it was a serious matter and it showed that the Hungarian Government had either broken its assurance to Yugoslavia or had found itself unable to keep it.

Shri Nehru reiterated his earlier assertion that the Hungarian upsurge had been a popular rising against the Hungarian authorities in which a large number of people, including workers and trade unions had participated. Everybody including the Communists had admitted that grave errors had been committed by the Hungarian Government and the Communist Party and that the Hungarian people had been justified in their voice and objecting to those things, which had been admitted as mistakes. "But it is sad," Shri Nehru said, "that they went too far in that direction. May be they went too far, but the point is, it was undoubtedly a popular upheaval against certain leading people in their own country."

Shri Nehru said that two things needed to be recognised: the Hungarian people had the right to fashion their own destiny as they liked and the Soviet troops should be withdrawn. In this matter the Government of India had been addressing the Hungarian and Soviet Governments.

He referred to charges of large-scale deportation of Hungarians from Hungary to the Soviet Union and said that India had sponsored a resolution in the United Nations along with some other countries suggesting that the UN Secretary-General and some UN observers should go to Hungary. It was a matter of profound regret that the Hungarian and Soviet authorities had not allowed the UN observer to go there. The Hungarian and Soviet Governments "have said that this will be an infringement on their sovereignty, that these people from outside unsettle settled things. They said that there are hundreds of foreign correspondents and that they do not hide things. But the fact remains that it is most unfortunate that they have not allowed the Secretary-General or the UN observers to go there," Shri Nehru said.

On December 4, the Hungarian Government invited the Secretary-General of the United Nations to visit Hungary and Mr. Hammerskjoeld announced that he would go there on December 16. The Hungarian Government, however, promptly said that December 16 would not suit them and that while they had no objection against a visit by the UN Secretary-General the visit could not be ar-

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ranged until at a later date than December 16. The Secretary-General declared that a later visit would not be worthwhile. As a matter of fact, the UN Secretary-General had not been allowed entry even till the end of the year.

The situation in Hungary, in the meanwhile, was tense and Soviet bullets confined to take toll of helpless Hungarian lives. Workers refused to join work and the workers staged a highly successful general strike on December 11 even in the teeth of determined opposition by the Kadar Government. The "liberating" role of Soviet troops was given by the following account taken from a *Reuter's* dispatch:

"Budapest, December 6.—The British Legation opened its doors yesterday to a group of Hungarians staging an anti-Russian demonstration beneath the guns of Soviet tanks. One of the tensest moments came when two Soviet tanks charged into women marching to lay wreaths at a statute of Sandos Petoefi, poet hero of the 1848 revolution. All the time the Indian Charge d'Affaires here, Mr. Rahman, drove round the square in a car plying the Indian flag." Guerilla fighting continued even up to December 11.

On December 11, the Hungarian Delegation at the United Nations walked out of the General Assembly in protest against what Mr. Imre Horvalh, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, described as the World Organisation's "continued interference" in Hungary's internal affairs. "The walk-out occurred," reported *Reuter*, "while the UN had before it proposals by India urging direct negotiations between the UN and Moscow against the background of a 48-hour general strike in Hungary and guerilla fighting in western areas."

On December 13, Prime Minister Nehru reverted to the situation in Hungary in his speech in the Rajya Sabha. Shri Nehru disclosed that Indian diplomatic representatives had estimated that about 25,000 Hungarians and 7,000 Russians had been killed during the recent disturbances. Shri Nehru confirmed the fact that although large-scale clashes had stopped a considerable measure of passive resistance continued. He quoted Shri K. P. S. Menon, Indian Ambassador to Hungary, as saying that the atmosphere in Budapest was reminiscent of Civil Disobedience days in India. The Indian diplomatic representatives—Dr. J. N. Khosla and Shri K. P. S. Menon—had stated that there was no doubt about the essentially nationalist character of the upheaval. What had been described as reactionary as well as foreign elements had been present but they had played a small part.

Moscow radio broadcast Shri Nehru's statement but omitted the number of the killed. The Hungarian Government clamped a ban on all meetings and demonstrations on December 14. The punishment for violation of that order was imprisonment ranging from six months to five years.

More than one lakh and thirty-four thousand Hungarians had to leave their country since October 23 for fear of their lives.

The impact of the events in Hungary was so great that even some Communists were also beginning to see truth about Hungary as would appear from the Polish Communist leader, Mr. Gerzy Morawski's speech before the Italian Communist Party Congress in Rome on December 12. Mr. Morawski, a member of the Polish Communist Party's Political Bureau, declared that the Hungarian uprising and the Poznan revolt had been "entirely due to our own errors." According to *Reuter*:

"The 1,064 Italian delegates had on previous days heard an authoritative Soviet spokesman as well as their own leaders, state that the uprisings were caused by the 'revolutionary campaign launched by the Western imperialists.'

"An unexpected burst of applause greeted the Polish delegate's declaration that the Hungarian and Poznan rebellions could not be 'reduced simply to diversionary and provocative activities inspired from abroad.'

"Madame Katerina Furtseva, only woman member of the Soviet Presidium and leader of the Soviet delegation, and Signor Togliatti, Italy's Communist leader, sat motionless as a bigger wave of applause followed Mr. Morawski's statement that 'coercive measures must be supported by the great majority of the working class—they must be in accordance with Socialist humanity and must be approved by the masses.'

"Mr. Morawski, after appealing for more democratic methods within the Communist system, added that the relations between the Communist parties of individual countries must

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be governed by 'the independence and autonomy of each party'.

"His attack on the official line was immediately continued by the Italian Communist labour leader, Signor di Vittorio, who insisted that 'measures of repression can only be used if they are backed by the mass of the working classes'."

Not so the Indian Communists however. They are doing their best to prove themselves as best pupils of the Kremlin as ever. Thus the Party's weekly organ *The New Age*, December 23, editorially castigated the Indian press and the Government for their support of the Hungarian nationalists in their fight against Soviet military dominaton. It has no words of sympathy for the thousands of Hungarians killed. All its tears are exclusively reserved for the "heavy Russian casualties!"

Even Shri Nehru is not spared. The weekly sharply takes him to task for his characterisation of the Hungarian uprising as a national movement and calls this "the imperialist assessment of the developments in Hungary." All the Indian Communists were interested in was "what would have happened to Hungary's Socialist system if the insurgents had triumphed." The "socialist system" for which the *New Age* shows such concern had been characterised, *viz.*, to borrow a phrase from Gomulka, "provocation, blood, poisons and the sufferings of innocent people." Unless you are ready to uphold such a system you must be an American agent—such is the way of Communist logic! The fact that a great number of well-meaning people can yet be persuaded to take such a view is, indeed, symptomatic of a great "spiritual crisis" of our times.

Japan's Seat in UN

Japan became the eightieth member of the United Nations on December 18, when the General Assembly unanimously approved a resolution, moved by fifty-one nations including India, the USA, USSR and Britain, calling for her admission. All the seventy-seven nations present on that occasion voted for the resolution. Two States, Hungary and South Africa, were absent.

Reuter says: "A great burst of applause went up as Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand, the Assembly President, announced the result."

Speaking on the occasion Mr. Shigemitsu, the Japanese Foreign Minister, told the members of the General Assembly that Japan desired to occupy an honoured place in the organization striving for "the preservation of peace and the banishment of tyranny, slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from earth." He expressed Japan's determination to strive for peace and national security and existence.

Japan was convinced, he said, that no nation was responsible to itself alone but, rather, that the laws of political morality was universal. Japan would utilize the UN Charter as a guide to conduct and honour its obligations.

The recent happenings in the Middle East, Mr. Shigemitsu continued, had demonstrated the tremendous role the United Nations could play in the maintenance of peace. The UN could play an equally significant role in solving the problems of disarmament. "Being the only country which has experienced the horrors of the atomic bomb, Japan knows its tragic consequences," he said. That was why the Japanese Diet (Parliament) had adopted a resolution on last February calling for the prohibition of the use and testing of nuclear bombs. "It came from a desire that mankind may not again be visited by the horrors of mass destruction. I earnestly hope that under UN leadership the great task of disarmament will be successfully consummated, and mankind secured from a calamitous fate and relieved from the inhibitive psychology of fear," said Mr. Shigemitsu.

Turning to the East Asian situation Mr. Shigemitsu referred to the tension existing in the area and said, "I believe we should separate ourselves from ideological issues and devise a realistic approach to the practical problems involved."

Earlier on December 12, the United Nations Security Council had unanimously endorsed Japan's entry into the world body.

Last year (1955) during the "package deal" admission of sixteen new members into the UN, Japan failed to secure an admission because of a Soviet veto against her as a retaliatory measure against KMT's veto against the entry of Outer Mongolia. This year (1956) also Outer Mongolia's admission was vetoed by

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Formosa. The voting in the Security Council was four (Peru, Iran, Soviet Union and Yugoslavia) in favour of Outer Mongolia's admission, two (Cuba and Formosa) against; and five (Australia, the USA, Britain, France and Belgium) abstentions. This meant that even without a KMT veto Outer Mongolia would not have been admitted.

Japan's admission into the membership of the United Nations was a welcome news to the Indian people. The Government of India had consistently advocated her admission into the UN. India was again a co-sponsor of the resolution calling for Japan's admission which the General Assembly eventually approved unanimously. The Japanese people, as Mr. Shigemitsu pointed out, had undergone the worst suffering during the last war and they were likely to have had realized the follies of warfare. Mr. Shigemitsu's maiden speech before the UN, indeed, reflected that sentiment. In such circumstances, Japan may be assumed to become a factor of peace and stabilisation in East Asia. As a highly developed industrial country with a long tradition of culture, Japan could play a very significant role in many other fields of activity in the international sphere.

While speaking of Eastern Asia it is impossible to forget that China, Asia's largest republic, was as yet unrepresented in the United Nations. It does not require much thought to realize that without the co-operation of a bloc consisting of one-fifth of the world's population, it was not possible to maintain peace.

The question of admission of China had a further bearing on the broader question of greater Asian representation in the various organs of the United Nations. The Security Council, the principal executive organ of the world organization, as at present constituted had no East Asian State in its ranks with the exception of Formosa which was recognised by no Asian country of any great significance. Africa was not represented at all. Such disproportionate representation of the different parts of the world in an organization which claimed itself to be a world forum, could hardly be called satisfactory. Such a situation has arisen only because of the fact that the UN had been designed by its framers as a predominantly Western body. The framers of the UN had apparently little idea of the sweeping change that were to occur in Asia and Africa after the Second World War.

The United Nations as an international organisation thus today found itself unable to adjust itself to the changed circumstances. Hence, arose the need for the revision of the Charter. The Charter could not be amended even if only one of the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council (Britain, the USA, France, the Soviet Union and Formosa) would oppose one or the other provision of amendment. The Soviet Union clearly indicated that it was in no mood to tolerate any proposal for revision of the Charter unless China was immediately admitted into the UN. In spite of its seemingly obstructive nature the Soviet stand in reality only underlined the need for a stricter adherence to the principles of international law and morality since under the present circumstances the exclusion of China from her rightful seat in the UN could not be justified on any reasonable ground whatsoever.

The Bhoodan Movement :

A conference of Bhoodan workers was held at Palni in Tamilnad from the 19th to the 22nd November in which several significant decisions were adopted for the guidance of the Bhoodan Movement. The most important of the decisions was the resolution calling for dissolution of the organisation that had so long been carrying on the work of Bhoodan.

The Bhoodan Movement had been launched on 18th April, 1951. At the Sarvodaya conference held at Sevapuri in April, 1952, the Sarva Seva Sangh had adopted a resolution for the collection of twenty-five lakh acres of land in the following two years. In course of the past five years nearly five and a half lakh donors had donated forty-two lakh acres of land and nearly five lakh acres had been distributed to one and a half lakh landless families. *Sampattidan* (gift of property) amounting to eleven lakhs of rupees annually had been obtained from sixty-seven thousand donors.

During the initial stages of the movement a number of local committees had been set up to help propagate the ideas of Bhoodan and the Movement had to rely on financial assistance from Gandhi Nidhi. In view of the progress made and the wide popular response to the

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ideals of Bhoodan, the Sarva Seva Sangh decided to dissolve the organisational set-up which had so long been carrying on the Movement from January 1, 1957. The Movement would henceforth be carried on individually by devoted workers in their own locality. There would no more be any financial assistance from the Gandhi Nidhi but financial assistance might be asked from State and Central Governments.

The New American Ambassador

President Eisenhower announced on November 28 the appointment of the new American Ambassador to India. The President named the Democratic statesman, Mr. Ellsworth Bunker to succeed Mr. John Sherman Cooper as America's diplomatic leader to this country.

The Draft Manifesto of the Congress

We reproduce below the summary of the draft manifesto of the Congress, as given in the *Statesman* of December 30:

"New Delhi, December 29.—In its draft manifesto for the general elections, the Congress Party has reiterated its objective of establishing a 'fully Socialist order of society' through democratic and peaceful means, and has pledged itself to work for building the 'noble edifice of a new India' on this basis.

"Appealing for a 'renewal from the people of that faith and confidence which they have given the Congress in such abundant measure in the past,' the manifesto expresses the party's determination to labour for the advancement of the people and for world peace.

"The draft, drawn up by Mr. Nehru prior to his departure for the U.S.A., was released to the Press today. It will be presented to the Indore session of the Congress next week for ratification.

"It claims that both in the field of international affairs and domestic problems, 'India's star has grown brighter and her achievements have been notable.'

"Drawing a perspective of the changes in India, the draft says: 'The revolution in India can only be completed when the political revolution is followed by an economic as well as a social revolution. These two latter are gradually taking shape. But, according to India's own genius and method, they take place peacefully and co-operatively. Considerable progress has been made and changes will continue, so that ultimately we can establish a full Socialist order of society, giving freedom, welfare and equality of opportunity to all.'

"Nine of the draft's 55 paragraphs deal with foreign policy. The objectives of this policy, it says, are avoidance of war and maintenance of friendly relations with all countries.

"On Goa, it declares that it is impossible for India 'to tolerate a colonial enclave in any part of its territory.' Nevertheless, 'attempts to solve this problem have been peaceful and will continue to be peaceful. These attempts must and will succeed.'

"The Congress will continue to seek peaceful solutions of the problems between India and Pakistan. 'Even though Pakistan committed aggression on Indian territory in Kashmir, India has pursued peaceful methods and will continue to adhere to them.'

"The manifesto says that world peace can be assured only on the basis of Panch Shila. It hails the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries and warns that no attempt should be made to deal with these countries in the old colonial way. 'We have seen recently that such attempts are doomed to failure, just as we have seen that any imposition of foreign authority or ideology cannot succeed,' it adds.

"Pointing out that avoidance of military pacts and alliances is another aspect of India's foreign policy, the manifesto notes that India has sought and obtained the 'friendship and co-operation of nations which are often hostile to each other and has been of some service to the cause of peace in Korea and Indo-China.'

"The 6,000-word draft indicates the Congress line of action in regard to economic planing and says that in economic relations there should be 'no exploitation and no monopolies, and disparities in income should be progressively lessened.' It sets the aim of a 'national minimum in the general standard of living so that everyone has the necessaries of life, and the opportunity for education, for maintaining his health and for productive work.'

"The manifesto says that while help from any friendly source must be welcomed, 'the principal burden of finding resources must inevitably fall on the people of the country. But it should be spread out in such a way as to fall

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on those who are in a better position to shoulder it. The structure of taxation is being reconstructed with this object in view.'

"In regard to agriculture, the draft manifesto advocates progressive introduction of ceilings on land holdings and stresses the desirability of encouraging intensified methods of cultivation on a co-operative basis. It underlines the need of fulfilling the new target of a 35 to 40 per cent increase in food production by the end of the Second Plan period and points to the role of community projects and national extension blocks in bringing about a revolutionary change in the countryside and developing a 'spirit of self-reliance and joint endeavour in our village people.'

"The co-operative principle, it says, led to industrial democracy, with the progressive participation of workers in industry. Progressive lessening of unemployment and its final elimination is also envisaged. It emphasizes the necessity of maintaining industrial peace as well as peace in educational establishments and says: 'Where any problems or controversies arise, they should be solved by peaceful and co-operative methods without stopping or slowing down the great machine of production which is so essential to the march of the nation to the next stage in its journey to a Socialist commonwealth.'

"Referring to the conflicts that preceded the reorganization of States, the manifesto says: 'In spite of the strong feelings which these changes had aroused, the people of India showed their basic resilience and vitality and their capacity for peaceful adjustment, even when they disagreed. The feeling of provincial separateness is still strong and has to be combated. At the same time, minorities, whether religious or linguistic, must have assurance and the feeling of playing their full part in the varied activities of the country.'

"Elaborating the Socialist concept, the draft says: 'Socialism does not merely signify changes in the economic relations of human beings. It involves fundamental changes in the social structure, in ways of thinking and in ways of living. Caste and class have no place in the Socialist order that is envisaged by the Congress. It is important, therefore, that these new ways of thinking and of living should be encouraged, and old ideas about privilege on the basis of birth or caste or class or money or the hierarchy of office, should be discarded, men should be judged by their labour, their productive and creative efforts and their services to society and humanity. The dignity of labour should be recognized.'

"On the Second Plan, the draft manifesto says: 'It represents the combined wisdom of the country and has to be given effect to by the joint effort of all our people. This Plan represents broadly the approach to the problems of India in the various fields of national activity. It is a flexible plan and will have to be adjusted from time to time as circumstances demand and as the resources of the country permit. Already certain important changes are being made in regard to resources and the target for food production as well as other matters. The experience of other countries has shown how difficult it is to keep a proper balance between industry and agriculture and between heavy, light and small-scale industries. We have to profit by this experience and aim at a balanced, and at the same time, rapid growth. The growth of heavy industry is essential if we are to industrialize our country and not be dependent on others. But this has to be balanced by small-scale and cottage industries.

"In conclusion, the draft manifesto says: 'For three generations, it has been the privilege of the Congress to serve and identify itself with the people of India. For over 60 years, it was the standard-bearer in India's struggle for freedom and, under the inspired leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, it achieved success and opened a new chapter in India's long history. For 10 years, it has been responsible for the governance of this great country. The work it has done in Government, or among the people, during these 10 years is before the country for the people to judge. The great adventure still beckons to every person in India and to the success of that adventure the Congress has dedicated itself. It seeks again, therefore, a renewal from the people of India, of that faith and confidence which they have given it in such abundant measure in the past. With renewed strength, firmly based on the goodwill of the people, it is determined to labour for the advance of the Indian people and for world peace."

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GANDHI : MAN OF THE PAST OR OF THE FUTURE ?

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By Dr. ATINDRANATH BOSE, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.

"Gandhi's teachings cannot be squared with the belief that man is the measure of all things and that our job is to make life worth living on this earth." So wrote George Orwell in 1949 in an essay because Gandhi had condemned alcohol, meat and sex-indulgence; and he goes on, "One must choose between God and Man, and all 'radicals' and 'progressives' from the mildest liberal to the most extreme anarchist, have in effect chosen man."

The Western critic would not have been worth quoting unless we too were making the same choice of Man against God, *i.e.*, for alcohol, meat and sex against the humanitarian urge and restraint of the soul. Only the Indian epicure wears a false face and pays homage to Gandhi while the Western makes no difference between doctrine and deed. Gandhi is lost to India. He has been rejected by the elite and forgotten by the masses.

It is time to probe into this enigma. Gandhi lives in our history as the architect of freedom but Free India has abjured his ideals. He guided the nation's destiny for twenty-five years. For him the struggle was a part of his experiments with a higher philosophy and idealism. It was expected that India fighting under Gandhian leadership should be a testing ground of Gandhian philosophy. This has not happened in spite of full-throated professions to the contrary. New India is not being built after his vision.

His Realism and Statesmanship

The bedrock of Gandhi's leadership was not his philosophy of truth and non-violence but his astute sense of realism. His technique of *satyagraha* or non-violent resistance was eminently suited to a disarmed nation at a backward state of self-consciousness. This technique and the economic programme of *charkha* gave the nation its much-needed unity and spirit of resistance. As the movement gathered momentum and extremist forces reared their head urging for a more radical programme, he met them half-way and moved with time. He accepted the resolution for complete independence and stole the Leftist thunder. He reconciled himself to the programme of non-co-operation through the legislatures and appeased the Swarajists. After 1935 the national movement began to stagnate under the pressure of the constitutionalists who were willing to backslide from struggle into reforms. But in the fateful year of 1942 Gandhi again rose equal to the occasion and gave the spur to the national struggle through the historic August resolution of the Congress.

Gandhi undertook a fast unto death at Poona to resist the political dissociation of the *harijans* from Hindu society. It is likely that he would have gone to the same length to stop the partition of India had not his lieutenants, all in a body, signed the deed and offered him a *fait accompli*. Unlike many of his disciples, he hardly allowed his political judgment to be clouded either by opportunistic interests or by idealistic utopia.

Truth Above Independence

His realism was different from political opportunism. Throughout the struggle he placed his philosophical principles at the top of national interest. Non-violence was higher than independence. He would better be in eternal slavery than in freedom through violence. For, such freedom will only relapse into a new and worse bondage. On this crucial issue critics of the Left chafed against his leadership and doubted his sense of realism. They accused Gandhi of mixing religious and moral issues with politics and thereby retarding political progress. But Gandhi's ideas were clear on this point. National interest is not confined to the scoring of an immediate gain. Freedom is to be attained; but it is also to be preserved and spread among the masses. National interest lies in the stabilisation of freedom and in its distribution among the largest number. Fraud and violence do not lead to this goal. The human material must be moulded so as to receive the prize of liberty. This is the task of *satyagraha* performed through struggle and service under hard spiritual discipline. The alchemist is to turn base metal into gold, to revive the spiritual values in man and make them the fibre of the social organism and a safe guarantee of freedom. Anything which militates with these values is anti-national whatever proximate political purpose it may serve.

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Logic of the Masses

Yet Gandhi did not underrate the value of the immediate and the temporary. When Rabindranath raised his voice against the bonfire of foreign cloth "before the very eyes of our Motherland shivering and ashamed in her nakedness," and against the confusion of moral laws with economic science Gandhi politely refused to draw a distinction between economics and ethics. It is immoral and sinful to buy things which perpetuate the misery of others. "I must consign the foreign garments to the flames and thus purify myself, and thenceforth rest content with the rough *khadi* made by my neighbours." The need of feeding the hungry millions transcends all other standards of value and judgment. Before this supreme task ethics and economics meet and lose their distinction. And food cannot be given. It can only be earned by labour. So the problem of economics as well as of ethics is to find productive occupation for all. Whatever stands on the way is fit to be destroyed. Even God, said Gandhi, cannot face the hungry except in the form of food. This is how he chose between God and man.

Thus Gandhi recast the immediate material issues into the mould of his spiritual philosophy. He had no qualms to pass the earthquake of Bihar as the curse of God against the sin of untouchability. Rational minds like those of Subhas and Rabindranath could not stand such magical formulation of social issues. With Gandhi, God, ethics, food and politics were all identified. This was true to the logic of the masses and so his appeals went straight into their hearts. This was the secret of Gandhi's realism and of his leadership.

Philosophy *vs.* Reality

Gandhi's philosophy is an indivisible piece. But it was cut across by the inexorable *milieu* of contending forces. His countrymen dissociated his *satyagraha* from his ideology. It was reduced to non-violent resistance and accepted as a useful technique of struggle. It became a means separated from Gandhian ends and broke down completely when the national struggle reached its peak. This could be so because his methodology had a pragmatic and an idealistic aspect while his philosophy was purely idealistic. The latter went far ahead of time and reality. It was an attack upon the two pillars of modern civilization, *viz.*, the State and technology. With Gandhi the State is "violence in a concentrated and organised form." His Ramarajya is a society of anarchy where man, spiritually regenerated, lives under self-made rules of morality free from the coercion of the State. As the State is an instrument of violence and tyranny, so the mechanised industry is a vehicle of exploitation and greed. Man must get rid of the two soulless machines of State and mechanised production so as to be master of his own self. As a necessary step he advocated compulsory bread labour for all. Physical labour is the corner-stone of *sarvodaya*, in liberty, equality and peoples' rule devoted to the welfare of all.

This philosophy is the very negation of modern Western civilization which has also revitalised the East. The two outstanding contributions of the West to modern progress are the democratic state and scientific production. The only hope of moribund East of rising to its feet again is supposed to lie in the acceptance of these ideals. Europe owes her vitality to these; India must not lag behind. So argued the Leftists and decried Gandhian philosophy as opposed to science and progress.

Time was with them and not with Gandhi. The stateless and classless society presumes a spiritual maturity and moral consciousness which are still a distant mirage. Everywhere the State is centralizing power and running headlong for machines of production and weapons of destruction. The capitalist and the socialist have no difference on this issue. The difference is only over control. The spirit of man and his moral being are stifled by this mad craze for power and wealth. Such a philosophy deserves lip service but is to be silently passed by. Hence, Gandhi had to cry in the wilderness and "plough a lonely furrow." And so after the fighter had led the struggle, the dreamer had to retire and leave the field for his lieutenants who claimed a better sense of reality and agreed not to march ahead of time.

It is no wonder that Gandhian philosophy was thrown overboard and buried seven fathoms deep. The wonder is the currency given to the lie that Free India is progressing along the path shown by Gandhi.

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THE FUTURE?

Gandhi was an anarchist; man has enslaved himself to the State. Gandhi wanted to go back to the moral nature; man is a prisoner of artificiality. Gandhi sought for a life enriched by the spirit; man is absorbed in the worship of mammon. So Gandhi remained a visionary far away from his time. But history moves on. The forms of today fade into the darkness of the past, while the shadows of today assume forms of reality with a new dawn. The State and the productive machine have come on the stage of history with their lease of life. They have no seal of immortality. Gandhi brought the advance message of the future when their life will terminate. And he remained an enigma to those who live in the present.

Gandhi, the father of the Indian nation, was the true representative of an age of rebirth. Gandhi, the philosopher of the spirit, was a misfit in the age which is groping within a maze of violence and greed. This is the reason why Gandhi is deadened into a god who needs to be worshipped without fear and regard.

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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(X) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom *(Continued)*

BY D. N. BANERJEE,

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I

WE propose to deal in this article with certain aspects of Article 22 of our Constitution as interpreted by our Supreme Court.

II

Article 22 which has provided for "protection against arrest and detention in certain cases" and thus found a place in the Part of our Constitution dealing with our Fundamental Rights, has laid down as follows :

"22. (1) No person who is arrested shall be detained in custody without being informed, as soon as may be, of the grounds for such arrest nor shall he be denied the right to consult, and to be defended by, a legal practitioner of his choice.

(2) Every person who is arrested and detained in custody shall be produced before the nearest Magistrate within a period of twenty-four hours of such arrest excluding the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the court of the Magistrate and no such person shall be detained in custody beyond the said period without the authority of a Magistrate.

(3) Nothing in Clauses (1) and (2) shall apply—

(*a*) to any person who for the time being is an enemy alien; or

(*b*) to any person who is arrested or detained under any law providing for preventive detention.

(4) No law providing for preventive detention shall authorise the detention of a person for a longer period than three months unless—

(*a*) an Advisory Board, consisting of persons who are, or have been, or are qualified to be appointed as Judges of a High Court, has reported before the expiration of the said period of three months that there is in its opinion sufficient cause for such detention:

Provided that nothing in this sub-clause shall authorise the detention of any person beyond the maximum period prescribed by any law made by Parliament under sub-clause (b) of clause (7); or

(*b*) such person is detained in accordance with the provisions of any law made by Parliament under sub-clauses (a) and (b) of clause (7).

(5) When any person is detained in pursuance of an order made under any law providing for preventive detention, the authority making the order shall, as soon as may be, communicate to such person the grounds on which the order has been made and shall afford him the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order.

(6) Nothing in Clause (5) shall require the authority making any such order as is referred to in that clause to disclose facts which such authority considers to be against the public interest to disclose.

(7) Parliament may by law prescribe—

(*a*) the circumstances under which, and the class or classes of cases in which, a person may be detained for a period longer than three months under any law providing for preventive detention without obtaining the opinion of an Advisory Board in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (a) of clause (4);

(*b*) the maximum period for which any person may in any class or classes of cases be detained under any law providing for preventive detention; and

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(c) the procedure to be followed by an Advisory Board in an inquiry under sub-clause (a) of clause (4)."

It may be noted in this connexion that, so far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, the expression "the Legislature of the State" is to be substituted for the word "Parliament" in clauses (4) and (7) of Article 22 as quoted above.

Let us now see how Article 22 has been interpreted by our Supreme Court. As Das J. of the Supreme Court pointed out[1] in the course of his judgment in *A. K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras*, Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22 "lay down the procedure that has to be followed when a man is arrested. They ensure four things: (*a*) right to be informed regarding grounds of arrest, (*b*) right to consult, and to be defended by, a legal practitioner of his choice, (*c*) right to be produced before a Magistrate within 24 hours[2] and (*d*) freedom from detention beyond the said period except by order of the Magstrate." "These four procedural requirements," he added, "are very much similar to the requirements of the procedural due process of law as enumerated by Willis.[3] Some of these statutory protections are also to be found in our Code of Criminal Procedure." Thus Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22 "provide safeguards," to quote the words of Kania C.J.,[4] "in respect of arrest and detention," and constitute, as observed[5] by Mukherjea J., "the fundamental rights relating to arrest and detention." These safeguards or fundamental rights "are excluded," as we shall shortly see, "in the case of preventive detention by Article 22(3)," although safeguards of another character in connexion with such detention have been "provided by Clauses (4) to (7) of the same Article."[6]

With regard to the meaning of the expression "as soon as may be" in Clause (1) of Article 22, we may state here that we shall deal with it later on in connexion with Clause (5) of the Article.

Before, however, we leave Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22, we should like to refer to an interesting point of constitutional law: What exactly is meant by "arrest and detention" in these Clauses? Does "the recovery of a person as an abducted person and the delivery of such person," under the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act, 1949,[7] into "the custody of the officer-in-charge of the nearest camp for the reception and detention of abducted persons" constitute "arrest and detention" as contemplated by Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22? This question arose in connexion with the case known as *"The State of Punjab* vs. *Ajaib Singh and Another."*[8] The Supreme Court of India held[9] in this case on November 10th, 1952:

(*a*) that "the physical restraint put upon an abducted person in the process of recovering and taking that person into custody without any allegation or accusation of any actual or suspected or apprehended commission by that person of any offence of a criminal or *quasi*-criminal nature or of any act prejudicial to the State or the public interest, and delivery of that person to the custody of the officer-in-charge of the nearest camp under Section 4 of the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act (LXV of 1949) is not arrest and detention within the meaning of Article 222(1) and (2) of the Constitution";

(*b*) that "the fundamental right conferred by Article 22 gives protection against such arrests as are effected otherwise than under a warrant issued by a Court on the allegation or accusation that the arrested person has, or is suspected to have, committed, or is about or likely to commit, an act of a criminal or *quasi*-criminal nature or some activity prejudicial to the public or the State interest"; and

(*c*) that "there is indication in the language of Article 22(1) and (2) that it was designed to give protection against the act of the executive or other non-judicial authority."

1. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 325.
2. Of course, as shown before, "excluding the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the court of the magistrate."
3. See in this connexion my preceding article in *The Modern Review* for July, 1956, pp. 31-32.
4. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, referred to in foot-note 1 above, p. 116.
5. See *ibid*, p. 251.
6. See *ibid*, pp. 116 and 325.
7. The expression "abducted person" was defined by Section 2(1)(a) of this Act as "a male child under the age of sixteen years or a female of whatever age who is, or immediately before the 1st day of March 1947, was a Muslim and who, on or after that day and before the 1st day of January, 1949, has become separated from his or her family, and in the latter case includes a child born to any such female after the said date."—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1953, Vol. IV, Part III, March, 1953, p. 261.
8. Criminal Appeal No. 82 of 1952. See *ibid*, pp. 254-72.
9. See *ibid*, pp. 254-55.

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We are not concerned here with the facts[10] of the case. We may, however, refer to one or two matters in this connexion for a proper appreciation of the constitutional position. Section 4 of the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act, 1949, which had come into force on December 28th, 1949, provided that "if any police officer, not below the rank of an Assistant Sub-Inspector or any other police officer specially authorised by the State Government in that behalf, has reason to believe that an abducted person resides or is to be found in any place, he may, after recording the reasons for his belief, without warrant, enter and take into custody any person found therein who, in his opinion, is an abducted person, and deliver or cause such persons to be delivered to the custody of the officer-in-charge of the nearest camp with the least possible delay." Now it had been argued that this provision violated Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 22 of the Constitution and was, therefore, *ultra vires* the Constitution. A Full Bench of the Punjab High Court unanimously agreed with this view. Delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court, Das J., however, stated,[11] among other things:

"Broadly speaking, arrests may be classified into two categories, namely, arrests under warrants issued by a Court and arrests otherwise than under such warrants . . . Turning now to Article 22(1) and (2), we have to ascertain whether its protection extends to both categories of arrests mentioned above, and, if not, then which one of them comes within its protection. There can be no manner of doubt that arrests without warrants issued by a court call for greater protection than do arrests under such warrants. The provision that the arrested person should within 24 hours be produced before the nearest Magistrate is particularly desirable in the case of arrest otherwise than under a warrant issued by the Court, for it ensures the immediate application of a judicial mind to the legal authority of the person making the arrest and the regularity of the procedure adopted by him. In the case of arrest under a warrant issued by a Court, the judicial mind had already been applied to the case when the warrant was issued and, therefore, there is less reason for making such production in that case a matter of a substantive fundamental right. It is also perfectly plain that the language of Article 22(2) has been practically copied from Sections[12] 60 and 61 of the Code of Criminal Procedure which admittedly prescribe the procedure to be followed after a person has been arrested without a warrant. The requirement of Article 22(1) that no person who is arrested shall be detained in custody without being informed, as soon as may be, of the grounds for such arrest indicates that the clause really contemplates an arrest without a warrant of court, for, as already noted,[13] a person arrested under a court's warrant is made acquainted with the grounds of his arrest before the arrest is actually effected. There can be no doubt that the right to consult a legal practitioner of his choice is to enable the arrested person to be advised about the legality or sufficiency of the grounds for his arrest. The right of the arrested person to be defended by a legal practitioner of his choice postulates that there is an accusation against him against which he has to be defended. The language of Article 22(1) and (2) indicates that the fundamental right conferred by it gives protection against such arrests as are effected otherwise than under a warrant issued by a Court on the allegation or accusation that the arrested person has or is suspected to have committed, or is about or likely to commit, an act of a criminal or *quasi*-criminal nature or some activity prejudicial to the public or State interest. In other words, there is indication in the language of Article 22(1) and (2) that it was designed to give protection against the act of the executive or other non-judicial authority. The *Blitz* case (Petition No. 75 of 1952) . . . proceeds on this very view, for there the arrest was made on a warrant issued, not by a court, but, by the Speaker of a State Legislature and the arrest was made on

10. For details see *ibid*, pp. 254-72
11. See ibid, pp. 264-71.

12. Section 60. "A police-officer making an arrest without warrant shall, without unnecessary delay and subject to the provisions herein contained as to bail, take or send the person arrested before a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the case, or before the officer-in-charge of a police station."

Section 61. "No police-officer shall detain in custody a person arrested without warrant for a longer period than under all the circumstances of the case is reasonable, and such period shall not, in the absence of a special order of a Magistrate under Section 167, exceed twenty-four hours, exclusive of the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the Magistrate's Court."—*Ibid*, p. 267.

13. Das J. had earlier stated: "The point to be noted is that . . . the warrant (issued by a Court) *ex facie* sets out the reason for the arrest, namely, that the person to be arrested has committed or is suspected to have committed or is likely to commit some offence. In short, the warrant contains a clear accusation against the person to be arrested. Section 80 (of the Code of Criminal Procedure) requires that the police-officer or other person executing a warrant must notify the substance thereof to the person to be arrested, and, if so required, shall show him the warrant. It is thus abundantly clear that the person to be arrested is informed of the grounds for his arrest before he is actually arrested."—*Ibid*, pp. 264-65.

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the distinct accusation of the arrested person being guilty of contempt of the Legislature. It is not, however, our purpose, nor do we consider it desirable, to attempt a precise and meticulous enunciation of the scope and ambit of this fundamental right or to enumerate exhaustively the cases that come within its protection. Whatever else may come within the purview of Article 22(1) and (2), suffice it to say for the purpose of this case, that we are satisfied that the physical restraint put upon an abducted person in the process of recovering and taking that person into custody without any allegation or accusation of any actual or suspected or apprehended commission by that person of any offence of a criminal or *quasi*-criminal nature or of any act prejudicial to the State or the public interest, and delivery of that person to the custody of the officer-in-charge of the nearest camp under Section 4 of the impugned Act[14] cannot be regarded as arrest and detention within the meaning of Article 22(1) and (2)."

Das J. added :

"The taking into custody of an abducted person under the impugned Act[15] is not an arrest within the meaning of Article 22(1) and (2). Before the Constitution came into force it was entirely for the Legislature to consider whether the recovered person should be produced before a Magistrate as is provided by Sections 100 and 552 of the Criminal Procedure Code in the case of persons wrongfully confined or abducted. By this Act,[16] the Legislature provided that the recovered Muslim abducted person should be taken straight to the officer-in-charge of the camp, and the Court could not question the wisdom of the policy of the Legislature. . . . After the Constitution, Article 22 being out of the way, the position in this behalf remains the same . . . The (Punjab) High Court erred on the construction they put upon Article 22."

The Supreme Court also declared[17] in connexion with the case under our consideration:

"If the language of an Article is plain and unambiguous and admits of only one meaning, then the duty of the Court is to adopt that meaning irrespective of the inconvenience that such a construction may produce. If, however, two constructions are possible, then the Court must adopt that which will ensure smooth and harmonious working of the Constitution and eschew the other which will lead to absurdity or give rise to practical inconvenience or make well-established provisions of existing law nugatory."

III

Let us now pass on to Clauses (3), (4), (5), (6) and (7) of Article 22. As will appear from Clause (3) of the Article, as quoted before, the safeguards provided in Clauses (1) and (2) thereof, as explained above, are not to apply to an enemy alien, or to any person who is arrested or detained under any law providing for preventive detention. A detenue, therefore, need not, as Das J. has observed,[18] be produced before a Magistrate and "he is not to have the assistance of any lawyer for consultation or for defending him." Now the question is: What is meant by preventive detention? "There is no authoritative definition," says Mukherjea J.,[19] "of the term 'Preventive Definition' in Indian law . . . The word 'preventive' is used in contradistinction to the word 'punitive.' To quote the words of Lord Finlay in *Rex* vs. *Halliday*,[20] 'it is not a punitive but a precautionary measure.' The object is not to punish a man for having done something but to intercept him before he does it and to prevent him from doing it. No offence is proved, nor any charge formulated; and the justification of such detention is suspicion or reasonable probability and not criminal conviction which can only be warranted by legal evidence." Thus for preventive detention "action must be taken," to quote Kania C. J.,[21] "on good suspicion. It is a subjective test based on the cumulative effect of different actions, perhaps spread over a considerable period," and the purpose of such detention is to prevent an individual "not merely from acting in a particular way but . . . from achieving a particular object." But "a person is punitively detained," says Fazl Ali J.,[22] "only after a trial for committing a crime and after his guilt has been established in a competent court of justice." It may also be noted here that under Article 246 of our Constitution, taken along with Item 9 in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule thereto, our Parliament has an exclusive power to make laws in respect of preventive detention "for reasons connected with Defence, Foreign Affairs, or the Security of

14. *I.e.*, the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act, 1949.
15. See foot-note 14.
16. See foot-note 14.
17. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1953, Vol. IV, Part III, March, 1953, p. 258.
18. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, pp. 325-26.
19. *Ibid*. pp. 249-50.
20. "(1917) A.C. 260 at p. 269."—*Ibid*, p. 249, foot-note.
21. *Ibid*, pp. 121-22.
22. *Ibid*, pp. 146.

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India" as well as for "persons subjected to such detention." And it has also, under the same Article, taken along with Item 3 in List III in the same Schedule, a concurrent power of legislation, along with some States, in respect of preventive detention "for reasons connected with the security of a State, the maintenance of public order, or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community" as well as for "persons subjected to such detention."

Let us now analyse Clauses (4), (5), (6) and (7) of Article 22 and see their implications. We shall first deal with Clauses (4) and (7) in this connexion. As shown before, under Sub-clause (a) of Clause (4) no law providing for preventive detention can "authorise the detention of a person for a longer period than three months unless an Advisory Board consisting of persons who are, or have been, or are qualified to be appointed as, Judges of a High Court, has reported before the expiration of the said period of three months that there is in its opinion sufficient cause for such detention." This provision, however, is subject to the limitation that nothing in it can "authorise the detention of any person beyond the maximum period prescribed by any law made by Parliament under Sub-clause (b) of Clause (7)" of Article 22. Secondly, under Sub-clause (b) of Clause (4) no law providing for preventive detention can authorise the detention of a person for a longer period than three months unless "such person is detained in accordance with the provisions of any law made by Parliament under Sub-clauses (a) and (b) of Clause (7)" of the Article. And, as shown before, Clause (7) has laid down that Parliament may by law prescribe—

"(*a*) the circumstances under which, and the class or classes of cases in which, a person may be detained for a period longer than three months" under a law providing for preventive detention without obtaining the opinion of any Advisory Board referred to above;

"(*b*) the maximum period for which any person may in any class or classes of cases be detained under any law providing for preventive detention; and

"(*c*) the procedure to be followed" by the Advisory Board referred to above.

On a careful perusal of Clauses (4) and (7) of Article 22 together, it appears, in the first place, that preventive detention up to three months[23] and without any reference to an Advisory Board, is permitted under our Constitution, provided that the law which permits this has been duly enacted; that, secondly, Article 22 contemplates, as Fazl Ali J., has observed,[24] "three classes of preventive detention":

"(1) Preventive detention for three months";

"(2) preventive detentoin for more than three months on the report" of an Advisory Board; and

"(3) preventive detention for more than three months" without any reference to any Advisory Board; and that

thirdly, preventive detention is also permissible for any length of time, subject, of course, to the requirements or the duration of any validly enacted law providing for such detention.[25] As Kania C.J. has pointed out,[26] Clause (4) of Article 22 "opens with a double negative." Put in a positive form it means, he says, that a law which provides for preventive detention for a period longer than three months must contain a provision establishing an Advisory Board as required by the Constitution, and that the Board "has to report before the expiration of three months if in its opinion there was sufficient cause for such detention."[27] The proviso to Sub-clause (a) of Clause (4) "further enjoins that even though the Advisory Board may be of the opinion that there was sufficient cause for such detention, *i.e.*, detention beyond the period of three months," yet the detention is not to be permitted beyond the maximum period prescribed by any law made by Parliament under Sub-clause (b) of Clause (7) of Article 22.[28] Further, the whole of Sub-clause (a) of Clause (4) has been made "inoperative by Article 22(4)(b) in respect of an Act of preventive detention passed by Parliament under Clause (7)(a) and (b)."[29]

There is another subtle point to be noted in this connexion. What is the exact meaning of the words "such detention" occuring at the end of Sub-clause (a) of Clause (4)? Do they

23. And not "for less than three months" as Kania C.J. seems to think.—See *ibid*, p. 118.

24. *Ibid*, p. 180.
"If one," Fazl Ali J. has also observed, "has to find some kind of label for these classes for a clear understanding of the subject, one may label them as 'dangerous,' 'more dangerous,' and 'most dangerous'."—*Ibid*, p. 180.

25. Also see Basu, *A Commentary on the Constitution of India*, 1951, p. 184.

26. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 117.

27. *Ibid*, p. 117.

28. *Ibid*, p. 117.

29. *Ibid*, p. 117.

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mean simply "preventive detention," or preventive "detention for a longer period than three months"? Judges of our Supreme Court have differed in regard to their interpretation.

"If the first interpretation is correct," rightly says Fazl Ali J.,[30] "then the function of the Advisory Board would be to go into the merits of the case of each person and simply to report whether there was sufficient cause for his detention. According to the other interpretation, the function of the Advisory Board will be to report to the Government whether there is sufficient cause for the person being detained for more than three months."

While Kania C.J.[31] and Fazl Ali and Mukherjea JJ.[32] appear to agree with the second interpretation, Patanjali Sastri J. is "inclined to think[33] that the words 'such detention' in Sub-clause (a) refer back to the preventive detention mentioned in Clause (4) and not to detention for a longer period than three months."

"An Advisory Board," he has argued,[34] "composed as it has to be of Judges or lawyers, would hardly be in a position to judge how long a person under preventive detention, say, for reasons connected with defence, should be detained. That must be a matter for the executive authorities, the Department of Defence, to determine, as they alone are responsible for the defence of the country and have the necessary data for taking a decision on the point. All that an Advisory Board can reasonably be asked to do, as a safeguard against the misuse of the power, is to judge whether the detention is justified and not arbitrary or *mala fide*."

Although there is some force in what Patanjali Sastri J. has stated, we feel, on the whole, inclined to agree with the interpretation which Kania C.J. and Fazl Ali and Mukherjea JJ. have put on the words "such detention" in Clause (4)(a). At any rate, the language of this Clause is not free from difficulties.

So far as Clause (7) of Article 22 is concerned, we may first note what Kania C.J. and Mahajan J. have observed in the course of their judgments in *A. K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras*.

"Article 22(4) and (7) permit," says Kania C.J.,[35] "the non-establishment of an Advisory Board expressly in a Parliamentary legislation providing for preventive detention beyond three months . . . The important Clause to be considered is Article 22(7). Sub-clause (a) is important for this case.[36] In the case of an Act of preventive detention passed by the Parliament this clause contained in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights, thus permits detention beyond a period of three months and excludes the necessity of consulting an Advisory Board, if the opening words of the Sub-clause (a) are complied with. Sub-clause (b) is permissive. It is not obligatory on the Parliament to prescribe any maximum period. It was argued that this gives the Parliament a right to allow a person to be detained indefinitely. If that construction is correct, it springs out of the words of Sub-clause (Clause?) 7 itself and the Court cannot help in the matter. Sub-clause (c) permits the Parliament to lay down the procedure to be followed by the Advisory Board in an inquiry under Sub-clause (a) of Clause (4). I am unable to accept the contention that Article 22(4)(a) is the rule and Article 22(7) the exception. I read them as two alternatives provided by the Constitution for making laws on preventive detention."

And Mahajan J. has stated[37]:

"The question for consideration . . . is what object was sought to be accomplished when the Constitution included Clause (7) in Article 22. It seems clear that the real purpose of Clause (7) was to provide for a contingency where compulsory requirement of an Advisory Board may defeat the object of the law of preventive detention. In my opinion, it was incorporated in the Constitution to meet abnormal and exceptional cases, the cases being of a kind where an Advisory Board could not be taken into confidence. The authority to make such drastic legislation was entrusted to the Supreme Legislature but with the further safeguard that it can only enact a law of such a drastic nature provided it prescribed the circumstances under which such power had to be used or in the alternative it prescribed the classes of cases or stated a determinable group of cases in which this could be done. The intention was to lay down some objective standard for the guidance of the detaining authority on the basis of which without consultation of an Advisory Board detention could be ordered beyond the period of three months. In this connexion it has to be remembered that the Constitution must have thought of really some abnormal situation and of some dangerous groups of persons when it found it necessary to dispense with a tribunal like an Advisory Board which functions *in camera* and which is not bound even to give a personal hearing to the detenue and whose proceedings are privileged. The law on the subject of preventive detention in order to avoid even such an

30. *Ibid*, pp. 170-71.
31. *Ibid*, p. 117.
32. *Ibid*, pp. 171 and 281.
33. *Ibid*, p. 210.
34. *Ibid*, pp. 210-11.
35. *Ibid*, pp. 118-19.
36. *I.e.*, *A. K. Gopalan* vs. *The State of Madras*
37. *Ibid*, pp. 234-35.

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innocuous institution could only be justified on the basis of peculiar circumstances and peculiar situations which had to be objectively laid down and that was what in my opinion was intended by Clause (7). If the peculiarity lies in a situation outside the control or view of a detained person, then it may be said that the description of such a situation would amount to a prescription of the circumstances justifying the detention for a longer period than three months by a law without the intervention of an Advisory Board. If, however, the abnormality relates to the conduct and character of the activities of a certain determinable group of persons, then that would amount to a class of cases which has contemplated to be dealt with under Clause (7). In such cases alone arbitrary detention could be held justifiable by law beyond a period of three months."

The next point to be considered is: What are the exact implications of the opening words, "the circumstances under which, and the class or classes of cases in which,' in Sub-clause (a) of Clause (7) of Article 22? In the *A. K. Gopalan* case, the majority[38] of the Supreme Court have held that Article 22(7)(a) "means that Parliament may prescribe *either* the circumstances under which, *or* the class or classes of cases in which, a person may be detained for a period longer than three months without reference to an Advisory Board," and that "it is not necessary that the Parliament should prescribe both."[39] Their arguments are as follows:

"It is argued," says Kania C.J.[40] "that Article 22(7) permits preventive detention beyond three months, when the Parliament prescribes 'the circumstances in which, and the class or classes in which,' a person may be detained. It was argued that both these conditions must be fulfilled. In my opinion, this argument is unsound, because the words used in Article 22(7) themselves are against such interpretation. The use of the word 'which' twice in the first part of the Sub-clause,[41] read with the comma put after each, shows that the legislature wanted these to be read as disjunctive and not conjunctive. Such argument might have been possible (though not necessarily accepted) if the Article in the Constitution was 'the circumstances and the class or classes of cases in which . . .' I have no doubt that by the Clause,[42] as worded, the legislature intended that the power of preventive detention beyond three months may be extrcised *either* if the circumstances in which, *or* the class or classes of cases in which, a person is suspected or apprehended to be doing the objectionable things mentioned in the Section.[43] This contention therefore fails."

"As I read Article 22(7)," remarks[44] Patanjali Sastri J., "it means that Parliament may prescribe either the circumstances or the classes of cases or both."

Mukherjea J. has said:[45]

"I am also unable to hold that both 'circumstances' as well as (*sic*) 'classes' have to be prescribed in order to comply with the requirement of Sub-clause (a) of Article 22(7). The Sub-clause (a) of the Article lays down a purely enabling provision and Parliament, if it so chooses, may pass any legislation in terms of the same. Where an optional power is conferred on certain authority to perform two separate acts, ordinarily it would not be obligatory upon it to perform both; it may do either if it so likes . . . I am of opinion that it is not obligatory on Parliament to prescribe both the circumstances and the classes of cases."

And Das J. has stated:[46]

"Clause (7)(a) . . . is an enabling provision empowering Parliament to prescribe two things. Parliament may prescribe either or both. If a father tells his delicate child that he may play table tennis and badminton but not the strenuous game of football, it obviously does not mean that the child, if he chooses to play at all, must play both table tennis and badminton. It is an option given to the child. Likewise, the Constitution gives to Parliament the power of prescribing two things. Parliament is not obliged to prescribe at all but if it chooses to prescribe it may prescribe either or both. Clause (7)(a), in my opinion, has to be read distributively as follows: The Parliament may prescribe the circumstance under which a person may be detained for a period longer than three months and Parliament may prescribe the class or classes of cases in which a person may be detained for a period longer than three months. That appears to me to be consonant with

38. Consisting of Kania C.J., Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea, and Das JJ.—*Ibid,* p. 92.

39. Fazl Ali and Mahajan JJ. have, however, held that Article 22(7)(a) "means that both the circumstances and the class or classes of cases (which are two different expressions with different meanings and connotations) should be prescribed," and that "the prescription of one without the other will not be enough."—*Ibid,* p. 92.

40. *Ibid,* pp. 126-27.

41. *I.e.,* Sub-clause (a) of Clause (7) of Art. 22.

42. *I.e.,* Clause (7)(a) of Article 22.

43. Reference here is to Section 12 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.

The objectionable things mentioned in the Section are "acting in any manner prejudicial to—

(a) the defence of India, relations of India with foreign powers or the security of India; or

(b) the security of a State or the maintenance of public order."—*The Supreme Court Reports,* April and May, 1950, pp. 93-94.

44. *Ibid,* p. 216.

45. *Ibid,* pp. 280-82.

46. *Ibid,* pp. 330-31.

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sound rules of construction. Further, the circumstances and the class or classes of cases may conceivably coalesce."

It may also be noted here that in the course of his judgment in a later case[47] Patanjali Sastri J. reiterated on May 7th, 1951, the interpretation which the majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court had put on the opening words of Clause (7) (a) in connexion with the *Gopalan's* case. "According to the majority view in *Gopalan's* case," he observed,[48] "Sub-clause (a) of Clause (7) being an enabling provision, the word 'and' should be understood in a disjunctive sense." Kania C.J. also appears to have agreed with this view.[49]

Another legal point was clarified by a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court in connexion with the later case referred to above. The Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act, 1951, which had "extended the operation of the Preventive Detention Act of 1950 for a period of one more year, that is, up to 1st April, 1952," had been "attacked on the ground that it did not fix any maximum period for detention."[50] By a majority the Supreme Court held[51] that "the Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act, 1951, was not invalid on the ground that it did not fix a maximum period for detention, inasmuch as the Act itself was to be in force only for a period of one year and no detention under the Act could be continued after the expiry of the Act."

"Although the new Act," said Patanjali Sastri J.[52] one of the Judges in majority, "does not in express terms prescribe in a separate provision any maximum period as such for which any person may in any class or classes of cases be detained, it fixes, by extending the duration of the old Act till the 1st April, 1952, an over-all time-limit beyond which preventive detention under the Act cannot be continued. The general rule in regard to a temporary statute is that, in the absence of special provision to the contrary, proceedings which are being taken against a person under it will *ipso facto* terminate as soon as the statute expires (*Craies on Statutes*, 4th Edition, p. 347). Preventive detention which would, but for the Act authorising it be a continuing wrong, cannot, therefore, be continued beyond the expiry of the Act itself. The new Act thus in substance prescribes a maximum period of detention under it by providing that it shall cease to have effect on a specified date."

It may, however, be remembered in this connexion that Sub-clause (b) of Clause (7) is, as shown before, "permissive," and that "it is not obligatory on the Parliament to prescribe any maximum period" for detention.

We shall now deal with Clauses (5) and (6) of Article 22 as quoted before. Fortunately, there have been several decisions in our Supreme Court involving these clauses. As Mahajan J.[53] has observed in the course of his judgment in the *Gopalan* case, "certain procedural rights have been expressly safeguarded by Clause (5) of Article 22." Under it, "a person detained under a law of preventive detention has," says he,[54] "a right to obtain information as to the grounds of his detention and has also the right to make a representation protesting against an order of preventive detention. This right has been guaranteed independently of the duration of the period of detention and irrespective of the existence or non-existence of an Advisory Board. No machinery, however, has been provided or expressly mentioned for dealing with this representation." Thus the Constitution is, as Kania C.J. has also rightly pointed out,[55] "silent as to the person to whom the representation "has to be made, or how it has to be dealt with." "But," he further observes,[56] "that is the procedure laid down by the Constitution. It does not, therefore, mean that if a law made by the Parliament in respect of preventive detention does not make provision on these two points it is invalid."[57] Another

47. *S. Krishnan and Others* vs. *The State of Madras (and other Petitions)*.—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part VI, June, 1951, pp. 621-29.

48. *Ibid*, p. 628.

49. *Ibid*, p. 623.
Bose J., however, does not appear to have agreed with the view.—*Ibid*, pp. 643-44.

50. *Ibid*, p. 621.

51. *Ibid*, p. 622.

52. *Ibid*, p. 628.

53. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 223; also see *ibid*, pp. 326-27.

54. *Ibid*, pp. 223-24.

55. *Ibid*. p. 118.

56. *Ibid*, p. 118.

57. It may, however, be noted here as a matter of fact that under Section 7 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, a representation could be made by a detenue against a detention order, in a case where such order had been made by the Central Government or to that Government, and in a case where it had been made by a State Government or an officer subordinate thereto, to the State Government; and that under the Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act, 1951, such

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point to be noted in this connexion is that "right to an oral hearing and right to give evidence are not necessarily implied," according to Kania C.J., and Mahajan and Das JJ.,[58] "in the right to make a representation given by Article 22."[59] In elucidation of this point Kania C.J. has stated in the course of his judgment in the *Gopalan* case:[60]

Clause (5) of Article 22, "which prescribes what procedure has to be followed as a matter of fundamental right, is silent about the person detained having a right to be heard orally or by a lawyer. The Constituent Assembly had before them the provisions of Clause (1) of the same Article. The Assembly having dealt with the requirements of receiving grounds and giving an opportunity to make a representation has deliberately refrained from providing a right to be heard orally. If so, I do not read the Clause as guaranteeing such right under Article 22(5) . . . It was contended that the right to make a representation in Article 22(5) must carry with it a right to be heard by an independent tribunal; otherwise the making of a representation has no substance because it is not an effective remedy. I am unable to read Clause (5) of Article 22 as giving a fundamental right to be heard by an independent tribunal. The Constitution deliberately stops at giving the right of representation. This is natural because under Article 22(7), in terms, the Constitution permits the making of a law by Parliament in which a reference to an Advisory Board may be omitted. To consider the right to make a representation as necessarily including a right to be heard by an independent judicial, administrative or advisory tribunal will thus be directly in conflict with the express words of Article 22(7)."

And Das J. has stated :[61]

The learned Counsel[62] for the petitioner[63] "insists on what he calls an effective opportunity of being heard in person before an impartial tribunal which will be free to examine the grounds of his detention and whose decision should be binding alike on the detenue and the executive authority which detains. The claim may be reasonable but the question before the Court is not reasonableness or otherwise of the provisions of Article 22(4) to (7). Those provisions are not justiciable, for they are the provisions of the Constitution itself which is supreme over everybody. The Court can only seek to find out, on a proper construction, what protection has, in fact, been provided. The Constitution has provided for the giving of the grounds of detention although facts as distinguished from grounds may be withheld under Clause (6), and the right of representation against the order of detention. It has provided for the duration of the detention. There the guaranteed fundamental procedural rights end. There is no provision for any trial before any tribunal. One cannot import the condition of a trial by any tribunal from the fact that a right of representation has been given. The right to make representation is nothing more than the right to 'lodge objections' . . . The representations made will no doubt be considered by the Government . . . Clause (5) does not imperatively provide for any oral representation which a hearing will entail. Indeed, the exclusion of the provisions of Clauses (1) and (2) (of Article 22) negatives any idea of trial or oral defence. The Court may not, by temperament and training, like this at all but it cannot question the wisdom or the policy of the Constitution. In my judgment as regards preventive detention laws, the only limitation put upon the legislative power is that it must provide some procedure and at least incorporate the minimum requirements laid down in Article 22(4) to (7). There is no limitation as regards the substantive law. Therefore, a preventive detention law which provides some procedure and complies with the requirements of Article 22(4) to (7) must be held to be a good law, however odious it may appear to the Court to be."

And

"It is now settled by the decision of the majority (of the Supreme Court) in *Gopalan's* case," says Patanjali Sastri J.[64] in the course of his judgment in *The State of Bombay* vs. *Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya*, "that Article 21[65] (of the Constitution) is applicable to preventive detention except in so far as the provisions of Article 22(4) to (7) either expressly or by necessary implication exclude its application, with the result that a person cannot be deprived of his personal liberty even for preventive purposes, 'except according

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representation was to be made "to the appropriate Government."

58. *Ibid*, p. 91.

59. It may, however, be noted here that Section 9 of the Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Act, 1952, made, as will appear from what follows, some improvement in this respect:

"The Advisory Board shall, after considering the materials placed before it and, after calling for such further information as it may deem necessary from the appropriate Government or from any person called for the purpose through the appropriate Government or from the person concerned, and if in any particular case it considers it essential so to do or *if the person concerned desires to be heard, after hearing him in person,* submit its report to the appropriate Government within ten weeks from the date of detention."—(The italics are ours).

60. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 122-23.

61. *Ibid*, pp. 327-28.

62. Mr. M. K. Nambiar.

63. Mr. A. K. Gopalan.

64. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part II, February, 1951, pp. 189-90.

65. We have dealt in detail with this Article in our articles in this series in *The Modern Review* for April and July, 1956.

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to procedure established by law.' Part of such procedure is provided by the Constitution itself in Clauses (5) and (6) of Article 22 . . . If this procedure is not complied with, detention under the (Preventive Detention) Act (of 1950) may well be held to be unlawful, as it would then be deprivation of personal liberty which is not in accordance with the procedure established by law."

Thus the Supreme Court has practically held by a majority, in connexion with *Gopalan* case, that "Article 22 does not form a complete code of constitutional safeguards relating to preventive detention;" that "to the extent that provision is made in Article 22 it cannot be controlled by Article 21"; but that "on points of procedure which expressly or by necessary implication are not dealt with by Article 22, Article 21 (of the Constitution) will apply."[66] Again, what Kania C.J. has observed in this connexion in the course of his judgment in the *Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya* case is also worthy of note here.

"In order," he has said,[67] "that a legislation permitting preventive detention may not be contended to be an infringement of the Fudamental Rights provided in Part III of the Constitution, Article 22 lays down the permissible limits of legislation empowering permitting preventive detention and as and when such mum procedure that must be included in any law permitting prebentive detention and as and when such requirements are not observed the detention, even if valid *ab initio,* ceases to be 'in accordance with procedure established by law' and infringes the fundamental right of the detenue guaranteed under Articles 21 and 22(5) of the Constitution. In that way the subject of preventive detention has been brought into the Chapter on Fundamental Rights."

"The true meaning and effect" of Clauses (5) and (6) of Article 22 also came in for a detailed consideration by the Supreme Court in connexion with the case referred to above, *The State of Bombay* vs. *Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya.* Space does not permit us to go into the details of this case or to quote at length the remarkably lucid judgment of the majority of the Court as delivered by Kania C.J. on 25th January, 1951. We shall only refer here to some of the 'principles' which the Supreme Court laid down in connexion with this case—principles which have since materially influenced the decisions of this Court in several later cases.

Briefly speaking, the facts of the case are as follows.[68] The respondent, Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya, had been arrested on 21st April, 1950, under Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.[69] On 29th April, 1950, he was "supplied with the ground for his detention which was as follows: 'That you are engaged and are likely to be engaged in promoting acts of sabotage on railway and railway property in Greater Bombay'." Thereupon the respondent filed a *habeas corpus* petition on 31st July, 1950, contending that the ground supplied was "delightfully vague" as it "did not mention the time, place or nature of the sabotage or how" he had promoted it, and that, as "the ground gave no particulars" as required by the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, his detention was illegal and *mala fide.* Pending the disposal of the petition, the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, sent a communication to the respondent on 26th August, 1950, giving further particulars "in connection with the grounds on which a detention order" had been made against him under Sub-section (1) of Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950. When the matter came up before the High Court of Bombay, "the respondent's petition was granted." The High Court held that if these further "particulars had been furnished at the time when the grounds were furnished on the 29th of April, 1950, very likely" it "would have come to the conclusion that the grounds were such as would have led the detenue to know exactly what he was charged with and to make a proper representation." As this had not been done, "the only grounds" which the Court had to consider and which were "furnished in the purported

66. *The Supreme Court Reports,* 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 90.
67. *The Supreme Court Reports,* 1951, Vol. II, Part II, February, 1951, p. 174.

68. See *ibid,* pp. 167-212: Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction, Case No. 22 of 1950.
69. Section 3(1) of this Act laid down:—
(1) "The Central Government or the State Government may—
(a) if satisfied with respect to any person that with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to—
(i) the defence of India, the relations of India with foreign powers, or the security of India, or
(ii) the security of the State or the maintenance of public order, or
(iii) the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community, . . . it is necessary so to do, make an order directing that such person be detained."

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compliance of Article 22(5) were the grounds furnished" to the detenue on 29th April, 1950. And "as these grounds were not such as to enable the detenue to make a proper representation, there was a violation of" a fundamental right and a contravention of a statutory provision. "That violation and that contravention" could not be "set right by the detaining authority by amplifying or improving the grounds already given." The High Court added: "As we said before, the point of time at which we have to decide whether there was a compliance or not with the provisions of Article 22(5) is the 29th of April, 1950, when the grounds were furnished, and not when further and better particulars were given on the 26th of August, 1950." As we shall shortly see, the Supreme Court did not agree with this line of approach.

The Supreme Court first held[70] in this case unanimously:

"Under Section 3[71] of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, it is the satisfaction of the Central or the State Government, as the case may be, that is necessary, and if the grounds on which it is stated that the Central Government or the State Government are satisfied have a rational connection with the objects which were to be prevented from being attained, the question of satisfaction cannot be challenged in a court of law except on the ground of *mala fides*."

In elucidation of this point Kania C.J. stated,[72] among other things:

"The wording of the Section[73] . . . . clearly shows that it is the satisfaction of the Central Government or the State Government on the point[74] which alone is necessary to be established . . . The satisfaction of the Government, however, must be based on some grounds. There can be no satisfaction if there are no grounds for the same. There may be a divergence of opinion as to whether certain grounds are sufficient to bring about the satisfaction required by the Section. One person may think one way, another the other way . . . Whether in a particular case the grounds are sufficient or not, according to the opinion of any person or body other than the Central Government or the State Government, is ruled out by the wording of the Section. It is not for the Court to sit in the place of the Central Government or the State Government and try to determine if it would have come to the same conclusion as the Central or the State Government. As has been generally observed, this is a matter for the subjective decision of the Government and that cannot be substituted by an objective test in a court of law. Such detention orders are passed on information and materials which may not be strictly admissible as evidence under the Evidence Act in a court, but which the law, taking into consideration the needs and exigencies of administration, has allowed to be considered sufficient for the subjective decision of the Government."

The Supreme Court also held[75] by a majority in the *Atma Ram Vaidya* case:

"Clause (5) of Article 22 confers two rights on the detenue, namely, first, a right to be informed of the grounds on which the order of detention has been made, and secondly, (a right) to be afforded the earliest opportunity to make a representation against the order; and though these rights are linked together, they are two distinct rights. If grounds which have a rational connection with the objects mentioned in Section 3 (of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950) are supplied, the first condition is complied with. But the right to make a representation implies that the detenue should have information so as to enable him to make a representation, and if the grounds supplied are not sufficient to enable the detenue to make a representation, he can rely on the second right. He may if he likes ask for further particulars which will enable him to make a representation. On an infringement of either of these two rights the detained person has a right to approach the court (of law) and complain that there has been an infringement of his fundamental right, and even if an infringement of the second right under Article 22(5) is alone established he is entitled to be released by the Court."

Further[76]—

"The 'grounds' for making the order which have to be communicated to the person detained as soon as may be are conclusions of facts and not a complete (detailed) recital of all the facts. These grounds must be in existence when the order is made. No part of tht grounds can be held back, and after they have been once conveyed there can be no addition to the grounds. All facts leading to the conclusion constituting the ground need not, however, be conveyed at the same time. If a second communication contains no further conclusion of fact but only furnishes some of the facts on which the first-mentioned conclusion was founded, it does not amount to a fresh ground."[77]

70. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, February, 1951, p. 168.
71. See foot-note 69 above.
72. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, February, 1951, pp. 175-76.
73. *I.e.*, Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950. See foot-note 69 above.
74. See foot-note 69 above.
75. *The Supreme Court Reports*, February, 1951, pp. 168-70 and p. 184.
76. *Ibid*, pp. 169-70 and 178-80.
77. As regards the contents of the second communication, therefore, says Kania C.J., "the test appears to be whether what is conveyed in the second communication is a statement of facts or events,

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The test, therefore, is whether what is conveyed in the second communication is a statement of facts or events, which facts or events were already taken into consideration in arriving at the concluson constituting the ground already supplied. So long as the later communcations do not make out a new ground, their contents are no infringement of the two procedural rights of the detenue mentioned in Article 22, Clause (5). They may consist of a narration of facts or particulars relating to the grounds already supplied. But in doing so the time factor in respect of the second duty, *viz.*, to give the detained person the earliest opportunity to make a representation, cannot be overlooked."

With regard to the question of vagueness of the ground supplied, the Supreme Court declared:[78]

"What is meant by 'vague'? Vague can be considered as the antonym of 'definite.' If the ground which is supplied is incapable of being understood or defined with sufficient certainty, it can be called vague. It is not possible to state affirmatively more on the question of what is vague. It must vary according to the circumstances of each case . . . If on reading the ground furnished it is capable of being intelligently understood and is sufficiently definite to furnish materials to enable the detained person to make a representation against the order of detention it cannot be called vague . . . It cannot be disputed that the representation mentioned in the second part of Article 22(5) must be one which on being considered may give relief to the detained person."

The Supreme Court, therefore, further declared:[79]

"The question whether the vagueness or indefinite nature of the statement furnished to the detained person is such that he was not given the earliest opportunity to make a representation is a matter *within the jurisdiction of the court's inquiry and subject to the court's decision.*"[80]

The Supreme Court added:[81]

"The conferment of the right to make a representation necessarily carries with it the obligation on the part of the detaining authority to furnish the grounds, *i.e.*, (the) materials on which the detention order was made. In our opinion, it is therefore clear that while there is a connection between the obligation on the part of the detaining authority to furnish grounds and the right given to the detained person to have an earliest opportunity to make the representation, the test to be applied in respect of the contents of the grounds for the two purposes is quite different. . . . . For the first, the test is whether it is sufficient to satisfy the authority. For the second, the test is, whether it is sufficient to enable the detained person to make the representation at the earliest opportunity."

So far as the time-factor was concerned, the Supreme Court held:[82]

"Clause 22(5) lays down two time-factors. The first is that the grounds should be supplied 'as soon as may be.' This allows the authorities reasonable time to formulate the grounds on the materials in their possession. The time element is necessarily left indeterminate because activities of individuals tending to bring about a certain result may be spread over a long or a short period, or a larger or a smaller area, or may be in connection with a few or numerous individuals. The time required to formulate the proper grounds of detention, on information received, is bound to vary in individual cases. There is no doubt that no express words are used to suggest a second communication from the authority to the detained person. But having regard to the structure of the Clause dealing with the two rights connected by the word 'and,' and the use of the words 'as soon as may be' and 'earliest opportunity' separately, indicating two distinct time-factors, one in respect of the furnishing of grounds and the other in respect of the making of the representation, the contingency of a second communication after the grounds are furnished, is not excluded. However, the second communication should not be liable to be charged as not being within the measure 'as soon as may be.' Secondly, it must not create a new ground on which satisfaction of the Government could be suggested to have been arrived at. In our opinion, if these two conditions are fulfilled, the objection against a later communication of details or facts is not sufficient to cause an infringement of the provision made in Article 22(5)."

Finally, so far as the case of *The State of Bombay* vs. *Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya* was concerned, the Supreme Court held[83] unanimously that "on the facts of the case there was no infringement of any fundamental right of the respondent or contravention of any constitutional provision as he had been supplied with suffi-

which facts or events were already taken into consideration in arriving at the conclusion included in the ground already supplied. If the later communication contains facts leading to a conclusion which is outside the ground first supplied, the same cannot be looked into as supporting the order of detention and therefore those grounds are 'new' grounds . . . it must not create a new ground on which satisfaction of the Government could be suggested to have been arrived at."—*Ibid*, pp. 180-82.

78. *Ibid*, p. 170 and pp. 184-85.
79. *Ibid*, p. 170 and p. 183.
80. The italics are ours.
81. *Ibid*, pp. 183-84.
82. *Ibid*, pp. 180-81.
83. *Ibid*, p. 169.

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cient particulars as soon as he raised the objection that the grounds supplied were vague and the respondent was not, therefore, entitled to be released." The Supreme Court also declared[84]:

"The summary rejection by the High Court (Bombay) of the later communication solely on the ground that all materials in all circumstances must be furnished to the detenue when the grounds are first communicated, is not sound . . . The Court set the respondent free only because of its view that after 29th April no further communication was permirsible. In our opinion, this view is erroneous . . . We, therefore, allow the appeal" (against the judgment and order of the Bombay High Court).

As we have stated before, the principles laid down by the Supreme Court in the *Atma Ram Vaidya* case were followed by it in some later cases. For instances, we may refer here to the case of *Tarapada De and Others* vs. *The State of West Bengal*. Briefly speaking, the facts of this case were as follows.[85] The Preventive Detention Act, 1950, "was passed on 26th February, 1950, and on the same date detention order under this Act were" served on a large number of persons[86] who had been previously detained under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930. The grounds of detention were first served on these persons on 14th March, 1950, and on 16th July, 1950, the Government served on them "supplementary grounds" in continuation of the grounds already furnished on the 14th of March. A second set of grounds were also communicated to them on the 22nd or the 23rd of July, 1950. They applied to the High Court of Calcutta "for writs of *habeas corpus* contending that the orders of detention" served on them "were invalid on various grounds." The High Court rejected their applications. Thereupon they appealed to the Supreme Court under Article 132(1) of the Constitution of India.

The Supreme Court held[87] in this case:

(*i*) "that in the particular circumstances of the case, especially in view of the fact that a large number of cases had to be dealt with (on one day) on the passing of the Preventive Detention Act in February, 1950, it cannot be said that the grounds were not communicated to the appellants 'as soon as may be' within the meaning of Article 22(5)";

(*ii*) that "it cannot be held that the appellants were not given the 'earliest opportunity' to make a representation, as required by Article 22(5), merely because further details and facts were communicated to the appellants on the 16th July and 22nd (or 23rd) July as these later communications did not contain any new or additional grounds though they were described as 'supplementary grounds,' but only furnished details of the heads of grounds furnished on the 14th March";[88] and

(*iii*) that "merely because a ground is vague it cannot be considered that it is no ground at all and therefore cannot be sufficient to 'satisfy' the authorities; a 'vague' ground does not stand on the same footing as an irrelevant ground, which can have no connection at all with the satisfaction of the Government."[89]

Finally, the Supreme Court declared,[90] for the reasons stated in its judgment in the *Atma Ram Vaidya* case:

"We are . . . unable to accept the contention that if the grounds are vague and no representation is possible there can be no satisfaction of the authority as required under Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act (1950).[91] This argument mixes up two objects. The sufficiency of the grounds, which gives rise to the satisfaction of the Provincial Government, is not a matter for examination by the court. The

84. *Ibid*, pp. 188-89.
85. See *Ibid*, pp. 212-20.
86. One hundred in number, according to Das J. —See *ibid*, p. 219.
To be very accurate, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, received the assent of the President on 25th February, 1950, and was published in the *Gazette of India* on 26th February, 1950.
87. *Ibid*, pp. 212-20.

88. Kania C. J.: "A description of the contents of the second communication as 'supplementary grounds' does not necessarily make them additional or new grounds. One has to look at the contents to find out whether they are new grounds . . . Examining the contents of the later communication in that way we find that they only furnish details of the second heads of the grounds furnished to the appropriate appellant on 14th March, 1950, in respect of his activities. We are unable to treat them as new grounds and we agree with the High Court (Calcutta) in its conclusion that these are not fresh or new grounds. We do not think it proper to consider the true effect of the communication only by reading its opening words. The whole of it must be read and considered together."—*Ibid*, p. 217.

89. Kania C.J.: "It was . . . argued that the grounds being vague, they could not be considered as grounds at all and therefore they could not be sufficient to 'satisfy' the authorities. On this point we have nothing to add to what we have stated in our judgment in Case No. 22 of 1950 (*i.e.*, the *Atma Ram Vaidya* case). We are unable to accept the contention that 'vague grounds' stand on the same footing as 'irrelevant grounds.' An irrelevant ground has no connection at all with the satisfaction of the Provincial Government which makes the order of detention."—*Ibid*, p. 218.
90. *Ibid*, pp. 213 and 218-19.
91. See foot-note 69 above.

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sufficiency of the grounds to give the detained person the earliest opportunity to make a representation can be examined by the court, but only from that point of view. We are, therefore, unable to accept the contention that the quality and characteristic of the grounds should be the same for both tests. On the question of satisfaction, as has been often stated, one person may be, but another may not be, satisfied on the same grounds. That aspect, however, is not for the determination of the court, having regard to the words used in the Act.[92] The second part of the enquiry is clearly open to the court under Article 22(5). We are, therefore, unable to accept the argument that if the grounds are not sufficient or adequate for making the representation the grounds cannot be sufficient for the subjective satisfaction of the authority."

92. *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950. See foot-note 69 above.

The subtle point of distinction between the requirements of two tests referred to above should not be missed by the reader.

Considerations of space do not permit us to refer to certain other important aspects of Article 22 of our Constitution in this article. We propose to do it in our next article in this series.

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THE BRIDE OF THE DESERT

By Prof. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D.

One day, so goes the legend, the unlettered Emperor Akbar seated in his circle of literary satellites, greeted his favourite princely poet Prithviraj Rathor of Bikanir with a smile of banter and said:

"Kunwarji, your *beli* has been made a morsel of by the camel of Dhola."

This is in allusion to the fact that Prithviraj had written a love poem, *Kisan-Rukmani ri beli* (the creeper bower of Lord Krishna and Rukhmini), which the Emperor used to hear with delight and admiration. Envious of the poetic fame of the Rathor, Rawal Har Rai Bhati of Jaisalmir had the popular ballad of *Dhola-Maru ra Duha* collected and compiled by a Jain poet, Kushalram, and sent it on to Akbar. This unadorned tale of love, breathing genuine airs of the wind-swept Desert, fascinated the Emperor so much as to bring forth this candid remark on his own favourite masterpiece of Prithviraj. And the remark was not perhaps unfair. The *beli* (creeper) of the palace balcony of Delhi was a luxuriant product of imperial patronage trimmed delicately by the poetic genius of scholarly Prithviraj and forced to blossom voluptuously with a fragrance of artistic artificiality; whereas *Dhola-Maru ra Duha* was verily the wild *bela* (Jasmine) bush of the Thal (Desert) of Rajputana springing to life in the rainy season, and flowering sweet and scanty in the midst of wide fields of prosaic *bajra* that clothe the grey sands with a garment of green for a short span of time. How the *chameli* (a variety of Jasmine) of the imperial gardener could possibly emulate the fragrance of the hardy *bela* of the desert nursed by the hand of Nature?

However, this story is not serious history except for the fact that long before the Age of Akbar this folk-song of the Desert had assumed the form of a connected love poem, the origin and authorship of which lie buried in obscurity. This ballad is in spoken Dingal or Rajasthani Hindi as distinguished from the imitative literary Dingal of later times. Competent critics hold the tale as very old (*ghana purana*),—older than the Muslim conquest of Delhi. In origin it was perhaps a folk-tale of Maru, later on versified by a number of unknown hands with variations and amplifications though the essentials have been left intact. In popularity even in its countryside abridged penny-print, *Dhola-Maru ra Duha* is a hot favourite with the half-literates of Rajputana and Central India.

We have it on the authority of the Old Mayor of Ajmer, M. M. Gaurishankar Ojah, that even now in Ajmer a procession of Dhola-Maru is taken out on the occasion of the *Holi* festival. Its chief feature is the frolicsome beating of the male folk by merry women with their shoes;—a fit retribution of the man with divided love as Dhola the hero of the tale had been.

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H. E. Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister and H. E. Mr. Ho Lung, Vice-Premier of the People's Republic of China with Sm. Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal

His Holiness Dalai Lama at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

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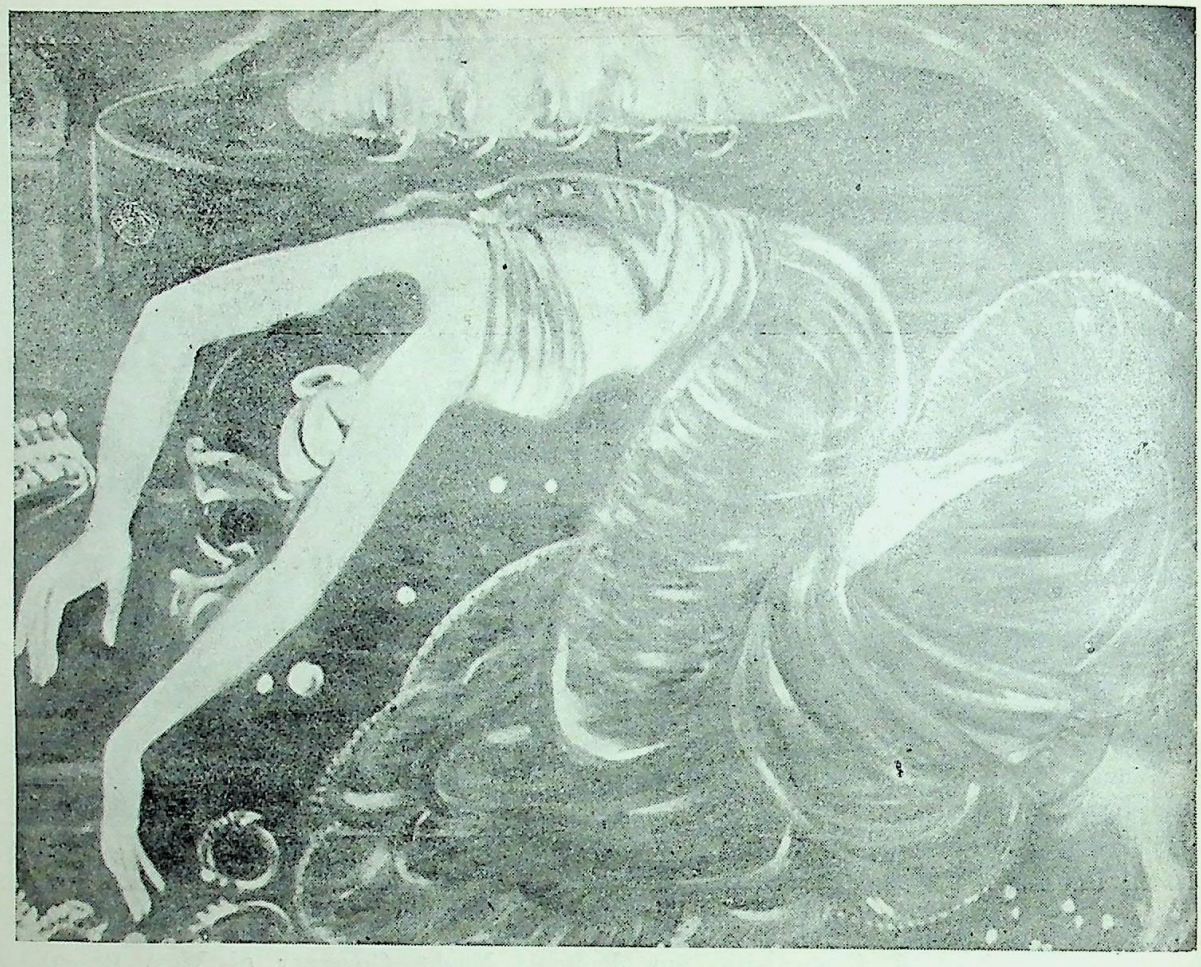

"Nati-ki-Puja"—Death of a devotee dancer (*oils*), 1948

Broken string

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(2)

Who was Dhola, the hero of the ballad? Later versions of this ballad (with two variants) give us that "Marabani was a Bhati lady, her lover Dhola a Chauhan." One variant adds, "Dhola was born in Maru (the Desert), and another makes Dhola a Kachhwah prince."*

Tod has a long story to tell about Dhola, whom he identifies with Dulah Rai, the legendary founder of the Kachhwah dynasty in the Dhundhar country identical with the modern Jaipur territory. In the fourth century A.D. there was a king named Nala, who established the Kachhawaha Kingdom of Narwar in the modern Gwalior region. Thirty-third in descent from Nala was Sodadev, whose son was Dhola Rai. Dhola Rai was an infant when his father died. His mother went away westward, and sought shelter with the Minas of Khoh situated a few miles from the city of Jaipur. When Dhola Rai grew up he treacherously killed the friendly Minas and founded a kingdom there. One day when Dhola Rai with his pregnant wife Marabani was returning after a visit to the temple of the Devi, the Minas surprised and killed him, and his wife Marabani somehow escaped. She gave birth to a son named, Kakil, who afterwards recovered his father's kingdom.

Tod has made here a mess of the early history of the Kachhwahs only to connect Nala with Dhola of the legend, whose father he is said to have been. At any rate Tod has murdered fine poetry and given us indifferent history.

Similarly, there is confusion about the parentage and tribe of Marabani. In the poem itself she is simply described the daughter of Pingal Rai, the ruler of Pugal, lying 25 kos w.w. north of Bikanir on the border of Jaisalmir, and the scene of many a bloody conflict between the Bhatis and Rathors. Kushalram, who made the first collection and compilation of *Dhola-Maru ra Duha* introduces the heroine of the poem as the daughter of Pingal Rai *Parmar*, a grandchild of Samant Singh on the side of her mother, Umade (Umadevi). So Marabani's paternal clan is given as Parmar by some and Bhati by others. And herein lies the key of internal evidence to the approximate age of the ballad. In the earlier centuries of Rajput history the Panwar or Paramara tribe held ascendancy over the whole land from the northern bank of the Chambal and right across Rajputana and Sindh as far as the Indus, and hence the saying: *"Sara bhun Pamar ka."* The Bhatis at this time had their principalities scattered in the Panjab and Afghanistan long before Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. The Bhatis under the pressure of Muslim conquest gradually moved towards the desert of Rajputana and dislodged the Paramaras. So this ballad must have been composed at a time when the modern region of Jaisalmir was ruled by the Paramaras, and the Sumrahs were in possession of Sindh with a sprinkling of the Parihars in between. When the fame and memory of the once powerful Paramaras faded away in the Desert of Rajputana, and the Bhatis came to rule in Jaisalmir, of which Pugal was a portion Marbani was given a Bhati parentage; because, Bhati women of Jaisalmir had the reputation for intelligence and beauty. Even to this day they say in Rajputana:

Marwar nar nipje, nari Jaisalmir;
Sindah turahi santra, karhal Bikanir.

[*I.e.*, man of Marwar, woman of Jaisalmir, the horse of Sindh and the camel of Bikanir are the best of their species.]

Bhati brides were sought for by every ruling house of Rajputana, and the ascendancy of Bhati queens over their husbands very often created political troubles. Pratap was set aside in favour of his younger brother, Jagmal, born of a Bhati queen; Maharajah Gaj Singh Rathor of Marwar disinherited his fiery eldest son, Rao Amar Singh, for the sake of Jaswant's Bhati mother, and there are similar instances in lesser households. So the later ministrels made Marabani a Bhati. This was appropriate if not accurate; because, the Bhati beauty is par excellence the pride of Maru (Desert).

Marabani's rival and co-wife is named Malavani (Sans. Malavika). Kushalram makes her the daughter of a fictitious king Bhim. This raises a strong suspicion that these kings, queens and princesses are only fictitious characters in regal setting in conformity with the psychology and tradition of a monarchical age. Literary critics have nevertheless a weakness to seek history where there is none or very little. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century love epics were woven around such stories with similar regal setting in Bengal, Avadh, and the Mughal

* *Dhola-Maru ra Duha*; Introduction, p. 20; *Nagri-pracharini Sabha* edition.

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court.* It is un-literary to run after shadows of history in such stories. Marabani and Malavani are mere poetic types, and they stand for all that is waterless Maru and the well-watered Malwa respectively. Marabani is a creation of the ministrel's fancy, no more and no less historical than the ladies of Scottish ballads.

(3)

To give a substance of the story of Dhola-Maru in translation is as cruel as de-hydrotizing a Bussorah rose for export. However, our interest in the poem is not literary but historical, and as such rather prosaic. History itself can have no appeal if the historian fails to discover the spirit of history that permeates contemporary literature, from which we have to pick up also the flesh and blood of history. So with due apology we venture to reproduce the story abridged from the historian's angle of vision :

There was a king named Nala in Narwar. He had no male issue for a long time, and so he made a vow to make a pilgrimage to the holy lake of Pushkar (6 miles from Ajmer). Soon after, a son was born to the Rajah, Salha Kumar by name, but better known by his pet name, Dhola. When the boy grew three years old, Rajah Nala with his wife and child started on his pilgrimage from Narwar *via* Chanderi and Bundi. It happened to be a lean year of scanty rainfall (*dukal*) in the Rajputana Desert. Prince Pingal of Pugal was forced to leave Pugal with his people and move on to Pushkar for temporary sojourn,—as the people of the desert have to do the same *uchal* (migration with family, tenants and cattle) in years of food and water famine. Rajah Pingal also came with his wife and a little daughter, one and a half year old Marabani. The Rani of Pugal insisted on getting her little daughter married to Dhola.

There was nothing unusual about such a marriage in a country where betrothals take place between children in their mothers' wombs, and they become eligible for marriage as soon as born—a fact that anybody can learn moving intimately in remote countryside unaffected by modern legislation.

* Cf. *Mrigavati* of Kutuban Shaikh written in the time of Sayyid Husain Shah of Bengal; half a dozen *prem-gathas* mentioned by Jaisi, which were written before his own work, *Padmavat*; *Chitravali* of Usman of Ghazipur in the reign of Jahangir; *Indravati* of Muhammad in the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah, etc.

However, "This *padmini* (girl of beauty an auspicious signs) of Pugal was married to Dhola the future lord of Narwar. Rajah Pingal re turned to Pugal when *sukal* (plenty) came an brought back with him Marabani as she was ye a child."

Youth comes upon Marabani and makes he restless for her beloved. She dreams, she rave and gets irritated at the voice of the *papiha* cry ing for its mate, "*Pee ava*" ("Come, my dear") when clouds darken the sky in the month of *Aso* (July). The month of Shravan brings heav downpour ; peacocks dance in glee on distan hills ; frogs fill the space with their deep an sonorous croaking in tune with the joyous voic (*keka*) of the peacock; and the lightning flash making unphappy Marabani cling to her solitar bed. Alas! clouds have their season ; but th eyes of Marabani are doomed to shed tears fo ever. Oh god of wind, blow in the directio where my beloved lives, and after touching h body return hither to touch mine ; and that wi be like the gift of *lakh-pasav* (Sans. *laksha-prasad* extravagant charity to a Charan). From the bus of leafless *karir*, the *kurari* bird (female heron Sans. *Chakravaki*) moans plaintaively whic alone shares Marabani's pangs of separation.

Rajah Pingal sends messenger after messen ger on swift camels to fetch Dhola from Narwar but none ever returns to Pugal In the meantim Dhola in his youth was married to Malavani a very devoted, very charming but exceptionall jealous and resourceful daughter of Rajah Bhi of Malav-garh. Once a very rich horse merchan halted at Pugal on his way back from Narwa He told the Rajah that Dhola was very much e tangled in the snares of love and beauty of Mal vani, and that she had arranged things in such way that all messengers from Pugal meet the doom on the way. So Rajah Pingal at la thought of sending his *purohit* (family priest) t invite Dhola ; but his clevever queen advise sending *Dhadhis*, a wandering tribe of low clas musicians clever at disguise.

The *Dhadhis* managed to reach Narwar an by bribing the palace-guards secured a place fo their halt beneath the window of the palace wher Dhola used to sleep. Whole night the wande ing musicians sang of the beauty of Marabar and of her pangs of separation from Dhola wh was in Narwar. The volume of their music i *Malhar Raga* raised for four *prahars* a veritable

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love-stirring storm of the rainy season when lowering clouds roar in the sky. Dhola woke up in the morning, learnt of his Bride of the Desert from the disguised strangers, and became a changed man.

(4)

Dhola now solicits the permission of Malavani to start on a travel abroad, keeping the secret to himself. Malavani says :

Tantri-nad, tanbol-ras, surahi sugandh-au jahan;
Asan turi ghari gauradi, kasa-u disa-aur tiyan?
[How does a man think of going abroad, having the music of *vina*, and juice of betel, rich scents, a mare to ride, and a fair wife in his own house?]

Dhola takes to subterfuges. He says he will go to Idar to procure ornaments for her ; but Malavani retorts that she would rather buy such ornaments at a heavier price at home. He asks for permission to go to Multan where good horses can be had very cheap. She says that lakhs of horses for him will come over here, and he could have his choice of a fine and spirited horse. Dhola says that he will go to Cutch where large-humped camels that can travel a *jojana* (four miles) in a *ghari* are abundant. Malavani objects, saying that alluring black-eyed damsels also abound there. A sea voyage to procure unbored pearls is also turned down by Malavani as too risky. Next he seeks her permission to go to Gujarat promising to bring for her fine clothes of the Deccan that would become her body. Malavani is not to be deceived; she says she will procure thousand such clothes, and wear silk *pattola* to please her beloved.

When all her attempts to dissuade Dhola from his project failed, she bound Dhola by a promise that he would not leave her while awake. She gives up sleep and Dhola gets no opportunity. Dhola's mind travels to the land of his bride of the desert, and becomes disconsolate when the rainy season sets in after waiting for two long months of summer. Dhola dreams of Pugal and the charms of the desert in the rainy season :

Bajriyan hariaiyan bichi bichi belan phul;
Jau bhari buta-au bhadrav-au Maru-des amul.
Dhar neeli dhan oundri, shari gah-gah-i gamar;
Maru-des suhaman-u sanvani sanji var.
[Green is the land with *bajra*, and *bela* creepers are in flower here and there in their midst. If it rains in the month of Bhadra the Maru country beats other climes in beauty.

The earth is blue (dark green), but pale white is the beloved; homes of villagers resound with the noise of joyous activity; the evening of Shravan must be very charming.]

(5)

Dhola keeps his camel ready in harness for departure, but Malavani keeps her vigil. She approaches the camel and tries to tempt the beast with a good feed and tender care if it pretend to be lame, and thus delay the departure of Dhola. The camel, high-spirited and true to salt like a Rajput, gives her at first a rebuff saying, "I myself have left just now my mate in tears and loneliness. If I do not carry out the errand of my *malik* I shall be visited with the Creator's curse." However, the tears of a lady in distress melted the heart of the beast and shook his loyalty. The camel pretended to be lame by dragging one leg behind ; but its trick was exposed by Dhola's mother. Malavani overhears Dhola's words, and tears wash down the collyrium of her eyelids. She sighs and says to herself in bitter mortification :

Dungar-kera vahala, aunchha kera neha;
Vahata vaha-i utamla, jhatak dikhav-i chheh.
[The mountain torrent and the affection of a faithless lover that flow in mad impetuosity at the start, snap off too soon.]

One night Malavani fell dead asleep, and Dhola put his feet on the stirrup. The camel neighs to give a warning to Malavani, and the kettle-drum of departure roars at the gate. Malavani hurries disconsolate to the window, and sees only the back of Dhola urging the camel to speed. Malavani's mind pursues the truant lover through hills and desert, and enquires of *jal* tree in green verdure :

"Without water in the desert how is that thou keepest so green? Is there untimely rains, or did my beloved water thee on his way?"

The *jal* replies, "There has been neither untimely shower, nor has your lover sprinkled me. Dhola passed beneath my shade, and tied his camel to my branch."

From her lonesome palace Malavani lets loose her *sugga* (parrot) to carry a false news of her death to turn back Dhola. The parrot sighted him while he was crushing the twig of a tree to make a tooth-brush for cleansing mouth in the morning near a tank between Chanderi and Bundi. Dhola hears the news numoved, and tells the parrot to do him a service; namely, to go back and have the funeral ceremony of Mala-

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vani performed with nine maunds of sandal wood and one maund of *agaru !* The parrot gives him blessing to attain his object, and returns to Narwar. When the parrot came back with a sample of Dhola's concern for her, she fell to lamentation :

She pours forth her heart thus :

"Oh God! Why didst thou not make me a *babul* of the desert so that my beloved might cut a branch of it to make a whip for his camel, and thereby I might feel his touch? . . .

"Oh God! Why didst thou not make me a dark cloud so that I might from above protect Salha Kumar (Dhola) in his journey from the rays of the sun? . . .

"Farewell! Oh beloved of a strange clime (*pardesi*) like the *surahi* (earthen bottle) of wine in the hands of a drunkard in intoxication, you have drunk out of me to the lees and broken out the bottle to pieces."

(6)

Meanwhile Dhola reaches the bank of the Pushkar, and beyond it lay the vast expanse of sands, where the camel alone is to stand by him not only as his mount but also his friend, philosopher and guide. Those who know the Desert know full well that the camel and the camel-rider have their own language to talk, and so none should be surprised when Dhola and his camel on their way speak in poetic Dingal !

Dhola urges the camel to drink deep, as he would have to go without water ahead, saying :

"Thou wilt not drink out of small hollows of scanty water. Where shall I find for thee another large and brimful tank?"

The camel retorts :

"Verily this is an ill-favoured land where camels get no grass but only thorny brambles."

Dhola cajoles his camel to make a *kalewa* (breakfast) with the founder of the *karil*. The camel is adamant, and says he would not eat wretched *karil* even if he has to make fifty fasts. Dhola remonstrates :

"Karaha, des suhaman-au je moo-n sasar badi;
Amba sarikhau ak gini, jali kariran jhadi."

[Oh camel! Blessed is this land where lies my father-in-law's house. Consider the *ak* (Sans. *akanda*, a poisonous herb eaten only by goats and camels) of this country as *am* (mango fruit), and the *karil* as the flowering *kadamba* (a favourite of lovers).]

On the way from Pushkar to Pugal Dhola meets a lonely goatherd (*gadaria*) tending his flock in frolicsome mood.

"Ho! Youngman of shining white teeth, whither dost thou hie on camel's back braving the biting cold wind of the desert? Have you a sweet wife (*mugdha*) to meet?"

Wrapped in poetic reverie and bereft of common sense, Dhola was startled and poetry oozed out of his lips:

"The tree of Maru cast off its bark out of a piece of which God created the moon, and put it too high in sky (as luck would have it!)."

Unfortunately the simple rustic could make out "Maru" only from Dhola's graceful metaphor, and he said in exultation.

"Now you have to hear something unpleasant from me. Maru is my companion, Maru is the sharer of my affection."

At this Dhola became un-nerved and crest-fallen thinking that Maru was a lost game. The more sensible camel rebukes him sharply : "This Maru must be another woman ; the *gadaria* tells a lie." Dhola with a heavy heart moved forward, and fell in with a Charan sent by Umra (of Sindh), who had an evil eye on the Bride of the Desert. The Charan deceitfully says to Dhola.

"Alas ! Maru for whom you, over head and ears in love, are hurrying is now an old hag with white hairs."

Dhola felt depressed and unable to decide for himslf, he says to the camel,

"What shall I tell the people of Narwar now after returning?"

The camel's patience reaches its limit, and snubs his master again for listening to the words of wicked men and rustics and falling into their trap. But the mind of Dhola yet wavers like the leaf of a *pepul* tree and he pulls back the reins of his camel homeward. At this critical moment Bishu Charan appeared to reassure Dhola about Marabani. He thus argues with Dhola and extols the beauty and virtues of women of the Maru country :

"Marabani was one and a half years old when her husband was of three. If her youth is gone, how is it that you are still in full bloom of youth?"

"(Marabani) is pure in character like the tide of the Ganges; in intelligence (*mati*) she is Saraswati; and in conduct (*sila*) a Sita. There is no woman to compare with her. . . . Her large eyes are like those of a *khanjan* bird, whose restless movements captivate the on-looker. One woman of Maru is worth giving one hundred thousand Iraqi horses in exchange."

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But Dhola is not convinced. He says to the Charan :

"Don't say misleading words only to please the mind of another (*para-mana-ranjan karan-i*). Tell me exactly what you have seen of her."

The Charan continues :

"Thal bhura, ban jhankhora, nahi su champau ja-i
Guno sugandhi Marabi, mahaki sahu banara-i.

. . . .

Maru see dekhi nahin, an mukh doy nayananha
Thori so bhole pada-i, dinayar ugantanha

. . . .

Maru-des upanniyan, sar jayaun paddhriyanha
Kadua bol na janahi, meetha bolaniyanha."

["*Thal* is grey; its heath is barren and no *champa* flower blooms there; yet the virtues of Maru women make its wilderness fragrant . . . I have not seen the face of a second woman like hers. Yes, when the god of Light appears in early dawn, it has an illusory vision resembling somewhat the beauty of Marabani. . . . Women born in Maru country have tall and straight stature like arrows. Harsh speech they know not, speaking always soft and sweet . . ."]

Dhola rewards Bishu Charan with a *muhar* and sends him forward to break the news of his arrival at Pugal before sun-set. He becomes impatient, and pressing the poor camel between his thighs, deals ten strokes at a time on its back in his anxiety to reach Pugal before the bride of the desert retires to sleep. He cajoles the camel when strokes fail :

Karaha, Vaman rup kari, chinhu chalne pag puri;
Tun thakau, hun usanau, bhuin bhari, ghar duri.

[*I.e.*, "Oh camel, be like Vamana (Vishnu) and cover the distance with the four legs. Thou art fatigued, and I too am tired; whereas distance is long, and the destination a far cry."]

The camel tells him to be patient, tie his own turban tight and let loose the reins.

(7)

When rolling clouds gathered thick on the evening sky, Dhola at last reached the outskirts of Pugal. He gets a rebuff from a man at the well in return for his words of sympathy for the sweating wretch who retorts ;

"Go your own way. You need not have any headache for me. I work at the well till midnight to fill the reservoir."

On the sixteenth day after Dhola's arrival, Rajah Pingal gave him leave to depart with Marabani. On the second day of their departure Dhola with his party halted in a place where at night the *pihuna* serpent attracted by the scent of musk from Marabani's mouth, drank off by its breath the life of the sleeping lady. Dhola prepares to burn himself with the corpse of Marabani. At this time a Jogi with his female counterpart appears and rebukes him :

"Nar narisun kyaun jala-i, narsuin nari jalanta
Salha Kumar, Jogi kaha-i ahalau kema maranta."

[With man a woman burns herself; why should a man burn himself with a woman? Oh, Prince, why should you die in vain?]

At this Dhola gets angry and tells the Jogi to go his own way, and not interfere with other men's affairs. However, at the entreaty of the Jogin, the Jogi restores Marabani to life.

Dhola now decided to travel unencumbered with only Marabani on his own camel. Some of his retinue were given leave to go back to Pugal, the rest were asked to come up with baggages in the rear. Spies of wicked Umra took this news to their master. Umra pursued Dhola and Maru with a large cavalcade. Marabani, a child of the desert, scented danger as she could understand from dust that some horsemen must be coming behind them.

In the meantime Umra overtakes the camel of Dhola and shouts from his halting place, "Thakur, why travel alone ? Come and let us have *ammal*." Dhola makes his camel kneel down to rest, ties its two hind legs—and handing over the reins and whip to Marabani to stand watch at a distance, joins Umra's party. Umra cordially treats him to opium, wine and music. A *dommi* (female musician) of Marabani's *peehar* (father's place) happened to be with the party of Umra. She communicates by the tunes of her *tantri* (*vina*) a warning to the lonely lady exposed to danger by Dhola's indiscretions :

"The *tantri* is playing *jhan jhan* merrily; husband is drinking wine with Umra, and the camel lying to rest . . . This a desolate place in the *Thal*. Now the wife is to be snatched away, and husband killed, What foolery is this ? Shun the stranger. Oh Marabani, you were once a very clever girl. If you care for your husband, strike the camel with the *chhri*."

Marabani becomes agitated and whips the camel, which at once dashes forward with tied legs. Surprised at it Dhola leaves the company in a hurry to catch his camel, and learns of Umra's treachery from Marabani. They mounted the camel without remembering that its two legs

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were tied. Umra also leapt on the back of his horse and with a straight Khurasani sword galloped after the fleeing couple. But Dhola's camel was no ordinary animal. On two legs the camel outstripped the horse of Umra and fortunately, a Charan who was passing that way shouted out to Dhola,

"What is your business here? How is it that you two are on the camel's back, and yet its legs are tied?"

Dhola gives a knife to the friendly bard, who cut the strap and went his own way with an errand from Dhola to tell Umra as he had seen them. Next day when the sun was above the horizon, the Charan met Umra and on being questioned tells him that he saw the camel of Dhola with its hind-legs tied cross the slope of the Aravala mountain, and that he with his own hand cut the strap at Dhola's request. "Have pity on your horses. Dhola is nearing Narwar," says the Charan to Umra.

(8)

Dhola at last reached Narwar in safety; but his lot must have been anything but enviable as the target of emulating attentions of Malavani and Marabani. One day the volcano of feminine vituperative became active with helpless Dhola as a reluctant listener. Malavani was the first to burst forth thus:

My God! May I burn such a country where water can be had only from deep wells, and where at midnight moaning voices *kuhakkara* (fatigue-relieving cry of men working at wells), are heard as if somebody is dead . . . where for the sake of drawing water husband leaves wife at the dead of night . . . where water does not feel (at the *ghat* of tanks and *baolis* as in Malwa), the soft touch of fair damsels of *kunkum* (bright red) complexion.

Baba! Do not give me in marriage to Maruan—(equivalent of Calcutta *Mero*, applied to all up-country people, particularly from Marwar)—, who are rustic simpletons preoccupied with their flocks, with whom I shall have to live in the *Thal*, and go about with a *kuhrada* (hatchet to cut brambles for fuel) on my shoulders, a *ghada* (water-vessel of earth) on my head, and in my hand a *kachaula* (a saucer to collect water for filling the pot). I should rather remain a *kunwari* than be thrown to die of drudgery in carrying water in such a country, where *piyana* serpents abound, where the *karil* and *unt-kantra* (thorny camel-shrub) pass for trees; where *ak* and *phog* (shrubs of dwarfish wild berry) only provide shade; where the bread of *bhurat** (eaten even now) satisfies hunger!

Oh Maru! your country is a land of unrelieved calamities, having either a *uchala* (a temporary migration bag and baggage in years of scarcity) or scanty rains (*abarasan*), or a visitation locusts (*tiddi*); country where blankets are only available to serve as upper and lower garments (*pahiran-audan*); where water lies in a depth of sixty *puris*†; where people are nomads knowing no other delicacies except the milk of sheep and goats.‡

Marabani listens and frets, and vents his spleen in a comparatively feeble reply:

"All tracts are pleasant except the ill-favoured Malwa.

I burn the face of the country, where water-moss (*sevar*) covers water; where troupes of young women out for fetching water (*paniharin*) do not move to and fro, and one does not hear the cheering refrain of music of the well.

I burn the face of the country where men are dull and ill-humoured (*phikriya*); where not a *gauri* (woman of very fair complexion) is to be found and where every house seems to be always in the mourning black."

Marabani deals a capital stroke of superiority complex of the North by concluding with:

Maru kanmini Dikhani ghar Hari diya-i tau hoyi

[It is only by the grace of Hari that any man of the southern country* is favoured with a lady of the Desert (*Maru*) in his household.]

Dhola tries to be fair, though leaning decisively in favour of Maru: He says:

Dest surangau, bhuin nijal, na diyan dosa Thanlah;
Ghari ghari chand-badanniyan, neer chada-i kamalan

[The country is charming though land is dry. Don't blame the Thal; because like blooming lotuses on water moon-faced damsels grace every household there.]

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* Bhurat or *Bhurut* is called in derision as *mal* of Marwar (revenue to the Mughal court). It is a weed growing about 2 feet tall in the rainy season. It bears small fruits in bunches with thorny rinds. The *kernel* of this fruit is eaten by making flour of it.

† *Puris* (Sans. *Purush*) is a term of measurement for depth or height used in Rajputana and U.P. The word *Pursa* is used in some parts of U.P. to denote height from the toe of a standing person to the tip of the middle finger of his hand lifted upward, *i.e.*, about five cubits.

‡ *Dhola-Maru ra Duha, text*, pp. 258-60.

* The word *dikhini* is not used here in the sense of a Deccani. It means all regions of south of the Thal (Jaisalmir region). It is a weakness of the people of the North to associate ugliness, dull wit and bad manners always with the South. A Delhi shop-keeper once gave me the compliment of *Dakhini* when I proved too tough for him 36 years back, though as regards manners, Delhi people are only *ganwar* (churls) in the estimation of courtly Lucknow!

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The picture of the landscape and the hard life of the Thal as depicted in this poem remains unsurpassed in Hindi literature. And the picture is as realistic in this century as it was several centuries ago.

If any one cares to descry a mystic strain in this poem he may take Dhola as the symbol of a restless Lover, the camel as guide and Superior Intelligence, Marabani as the Beloved whose abode is in the *Thal* of human heart, an oasis in the lonely desolation of life. Is there a traveller on the path of Love, human or divine, who does not lose his commonsense, commits mistakes, become impatient of himself and of every thing in the world when he is too near the bourne of his journey? There is pathos in Dhola's cry, "*Bhuin bhari, ghar duri*", that finds an echo in the heart of man when urging the camel of the caravan of life desperately forward to its destined goal, real or illusory

Historians of Rajputana shall have to look for life and light of history in the hitherto neglected bardic literature and folk-songs if he care to make History humane with human touches.†

† A considerable volume of this literature has been published in Rajputana and Gujarat. We are heavily indebted to the Nagri-pracharini Sabha, Banaras, for publishing historical and poetic works in Dingal with translation in modern Hindi. I have used throughout the text of *Dhola-Maru ra Duha*, published by the Sabha. It appears to be a model of industry, learning and intellectual honesty, giving us a wide range of variants in MSS. My translation conforms to the Hindi version of the editors except that it is free here and there for keeping closer to the spirit of the original.

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GANDHIJI AND THE NEW WORLD

By BIJOYLAL CHATTERJEE

THERE is a remarkable line in the Gita wherein it is written that the soul in man, is, as it were, made of faith, and whatever is that faith, he is that and that is he: *Sraddhamayo 'yam purusho yo ych-chraddhah sa eva sah*. Men live in accordance with their philosophy of life. Aldous Huxley has rightly remarked that if we think wrongly our being and our actions will be unsatisfactory.

It is, therefore, necessary that we should have a conception of what good life means. His uniform experience had convinced Gandhiji that there is no other God than Truth and that the only means for the realisation of Truth is the ability to love the meanest of creation as oneself. In the final chapter of his autobiography, Gandhiji wrote:

> "To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself."

Truth and non-violence are the two great principles the observance of which even in our smallest actions constitutes good life. This is the ideal that Gandhiji set before his countrymen to be followed by them in all fields of life. The India of his dream was a Free India where it is the individual who is the unit and the independence of every unit, be it the humblest of the nation, would be a living reality. Walt Whitman, the great American poet, wrote in his *Leaves of Grass*:

> Underneath all, individuals,
> I swear nothing is good to me now that ignores individuals . . .

This is in perfect harmony with Gandhiji's thought. Gandhiji did not believe in the doctrine of utilitarianism which means the greatest good of the greatest number. His words are:

> 'The well-being of everyone'—Sarvodaya—and 'the weak first' are the rules for man. We call ourselves bipeds and human, but have not yet been able to give up the nature of quadrupeds and the brute.

The independence that Gandhiji fought for was never exclusive. 'If individual ceases to count what is left of society?' This is the burden of his songs which occurs again and again in all his sayings and in all his writings.

All that Gandhiji wrote and did was inspired by love—the love for the lowliest of his fellow-beings. It is the great historian Toynbee who writes:

> "We may also conclude that individuality is a pearl of great moral price, when we observe the moral enormities that occur when this pearl is trampled in the mire."

Gandhiji looked at the daily destruction of property, life and truth in the last war and naturally concluded that only a new respect for the humblest individual and his rights could create an organic society based on the principles of liberty and justice.

But the existing institutions based on tradition and authority had to be so fundamentally changed as to embody an all-embracing reverence for life if a better society was to grow up. So Gandhiji in his effort to reconstruct the new society based on

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reverence for human personality put before us his Constructive Programme. The first item in this programme is Communal Unity which implies that every Indian should have the same regard for other faiths as he has for his own. The second item—the Removal of Untouchability—calls on every Hindu to befriend the Harijans in their 'awful isolation.' The third item, Prohibition, takes into consideration the fates of lakhs of men and women who are labouring under the curse of intoxicants and narcotics. The revenue collected from excise is condemned by Gandhiji as 'tainted money'—because alcoholism involves the physical and moral degeneration of our fellow-brethren. The only value on earth is the value of lives of men and if alcoholism causes degeneration of body and soul in the lives of our brethren then Prohibition is a categorical imperative. In the words of Alexis Carrel:

> "After all, the purpose of civilisation is not the progress of science and machines, but the progress of man."

The fourth item in the Constructive Programme is *khadi*. The inclusion of *khadi* is again inspired by the generous impulse to see Indian humanity free from crushing poverty. Gandhiji writes in his Constructive Programme:

> "*Khadi* to me is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality and, therefore, ultimately, in the poetic expression of Jawaharlal Nehru, 'the livery of India's freedom'."

The ninth item 'Women' proclaims that 'wives should not be dolls and objects of indulgence, but should be treated as honoured comrades in common service.'

The thirteenth item Economic Equality means, in the words of Gandhiji:

> "The levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand, and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other."

Thus, we find that every item in the Constructive Programme of Gandhiji was inspired by his impulse to identify himself with the least of his countrymen and his respect for the individual and his rights which, in the words of Bertrand Russel, 'modern feeling demands.' But creation involves destruction. The old values must give place to new. Institutions based on authority and tradition has to be replaced by institutions based on liberty and justice.

And so Gandhiji had to be an iconoclast. It was his fearless freedom of thought that made him merciless to privileged established institutitons and comfortable habits. His immense respect for human personality made his thoughts revolutionary, destructive and terrible. In the political field he taught us to take the path of Civil Disobedience if the State in arrogance tries to impose its will on the judgment of the people. For, Gandhiji wrote: 'Parliaments have power or even existence independently of the peop In the economic field, he taught us that machines th would displace human labour and that would conce trate power in a few hands should have no room in Free India. Against the authority of husbands a fathers to deal with their wives and children in arbitrary way he taught us to rebel. A young man fifteen who was forced to marry a girl of seventee against his wish by his father asked for Gandhij advice as to what he should do. And Gandhiji in t article "The Tragedy of a Young Couple" wrote:

> "My advice to this young man is that, if he h the courage, he should repudiate the marriage."

Again he says:

> "If I was born a woman, I would rise rebellion against any pretension on the part of m that woman is born to be his plaything."

Thus if we examine Gandhiji's thoughts minute we arrive at the conclusion that he deemed two virtu as major virtues. These are understanding and co passion. Like Socrates he insisted without modificati and compromise that a man must order his life t the guidance of his own intellect without any rega for mandates of external authority. We quote th following words from his article, "The Purdah," pu lished in *Young India* about thirty years ago:

> "It seems to me that we must test on the ano of reason everything that is capable of being teste by it, and reject that which does not satisfy it eve though it may appear in an ancient garb."

Thus Gandhiji was indifferent to authority an careless of the well-tried wisdom of ages if they d not satisfy his intellect. Of course, there are truth which cannot be proved by reason and can be realis only by faith. Gandhiji had a living faith in G whose existence can neither be proved nor disprov by intellect. That he rejected neither reason nor fai only proves that he had no dogma, that he cou unhesitatingly go where truth led him and that h mind was not imprisoned within the walls of cast-iro theories. It was because his life was guided by h intellect that he could be so merciless to authority such.

Thus Gandhiji believed with Bertrand Russel an Aldous Huxley—two of his greatest contemporaries— that good life is that life which is guided by knowledg and inspired by love. Mere intellect will lead nowhere. In the field of intellect man has been dazzling success and the world is threatened by th third war. Mere love unless accompanied by intel gence is abortive. As Huxley says, 'We must intelligently virtuous.' Understanding and compassio were so remarkably blended in Gandhiji's dynam personality!

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LADAKH: THE LAND WHERE THE ALPS AND THE SAHARA MEET

By Mrs. SAROJINI SINHA

Dawn was just breaking over the beautiful valley of Kashmir, as our plane took off. The weekly flight from Srinagar to Ladakh takes place at six in the morning, as the weather conditions then, are most favourable for flying over the high mountain chain of the Western Hamalayas. Soon the green fertile plains were left behind and we were in the midst of bleak, towering mountains. They rose below us, bare, rugged and grim. To the left was the mighty snow-covered Nanga Parbat (26,620 ft.), the Naked Mountain, so called because nothing can grow on it and it is quite bare. It dwarfed the other peaks even though many of these were over 17,000 ft. high. This range of mountains cuts off Ladakh from the rest of India and once we cross it, we are in a totally different country.

The Land

Ladakh, with Tibet, can boast of being the highest inhabited country in the world. Grain is cultivated in places at a height of 15,000 ft. above sea-level. The highlands of Tibet are continued into Ladakh and the same rivers flow through both the countries. Hence, the scenery, climate and physical features of the two countries have much in common.

Ladakh forms part of the State of Kashmir, but the contrast between the two is remarkable. Kashmir has a regular rainfall and the heavy winter snow-fall provides the water necessary to make it a green country of woods and pastures. But the rain clouds from the South are intercepted by the range of high mountains, and on crossing them one enters a land of bleak wastes where there is practically no rainfall. Ladakh is a vast arid plateau, consisting of a desert of bare crags and granite dust. The landscape often appears bizarre, with plains of glaring, hot, yellow sand, against a background of cool, white snow-covered mountains. In this country the Sahara and the Alps often are in incongruous proximity with each other.

In this arid desert area, there are no forests or pastures and over vast stretches not even a blade of grass grows. There being no natural growth of forests, trees have to be artificially planted and carefully tended. Even wood for fuel and for building purposes has to be very carefully grown in walled gardens called *baghs*. Without care no trees could attain to maturity as they would be either devoured by the ever-hungry sheep and goats or would dry up in the hot pitiless sun.

The atmosphere of this table-land is very thin, as it is almost devoid of moisture and dust particles. The air is unbelievably clear and far-off objects appear quite near. There is no atmospheric effect to give any idea of distance and all places seem equally far. A strangely unreal effect is produced by this lack of perspective. The skies are cloudless and of a brilliant, vivid blue. Due to the thinness of the atmosphere the variations in temperature are very great. Rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand on, while in the shade it may be freezing. During the course of the day one is in danger of suffering from either heat stroke or frost bite.

Ladakhi women

By means of irrigation, a little water from the glacier and melting snows is brought down and the land is carefully cultivated. These tiny green oases are so sharply defined from the surrounding country that one traveller wrote, "They look like little bits of some other country cut out with a pair of scissors and dropped into the desert!" Agriculture is a difficult operation in this barren land and a great deal of patient, laborious work is needed to construct the irrigation canals, which alone make cultivation possible. The glacier-fed streams often have to be tapped high up, before they are swallowed and lost in the thirsty sands. Some of the cliffs along which these canals are carried appear at first glance to be inaccessible and it is only unremitting toil and perseverance which makes irrigation works of this nature possible.

The area of Ladakh is 37,000 square miles and the population 80,000 which means that the density of population is only 2 per square mile. Many of the peaks are over 18,000 ft. high and this makes communication between different parts of the country very difficult. There are hardly any motorable roads and as in the past, the horse and the yak provide the only means of transport. The latter is a kind of buffalo, covered with a thick fur and very sure-footed on ice, hence, useful when crossing the higher passes and mountain slopes. The difficult terrain and lack of good means of communications have contributed

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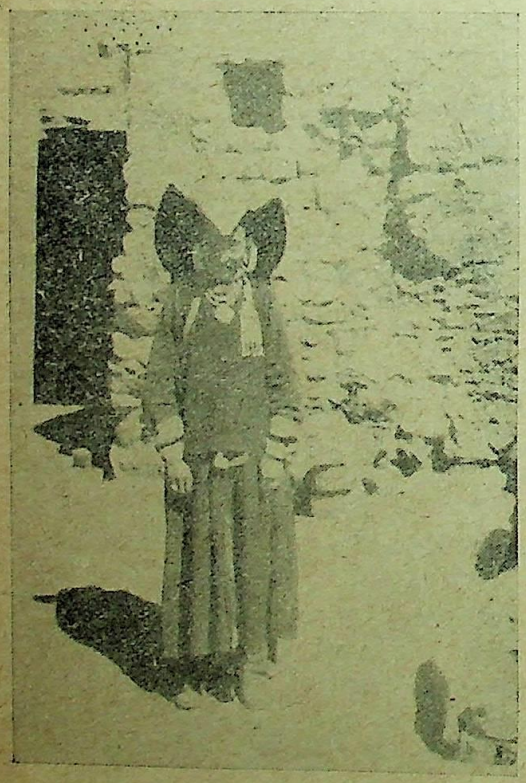
in a large measure to the isolation of Ladakh from the rest of the world.

The People

In happy contrast to the grim, forbidding mountains, which form their native land, the Ladakhis, as the people of Ladakh are called, are a happy and good-natured people. Even a stranger is greeted with a hearty *joolay*, the Tibetan equivalent of *salaam*, and a cheerful smile. The people are Mongolians and belong to the same racial stock as their neighbours, the Tibetans. Buddhism is the predominant religion in the west while in the east there are a large number of Mohammadans. But, in Ladakh, the dress, language and way of life of the Buddhists and Muslims is very much the same and it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other.



A Ladakhi woman wearing *perak*

The dresses of the men and women greatly resemble each other, and from a distance it is difficult to make out the sex of persons. The men wear a sort of robe reaching up to the ankles and covering the arms up to the wrists. This is called a *ghuncha*. The women wear a shapeless gown, also covering the whole body and reaching up to the ankles. In addition pyjamas and heavy shapeless boots are worn by both men and women. The same dress is worn in winter and summer. In addition most women have a fur wrap draped over their shoulders. The garments are made of home-spun woolens. The prevailing colours are black and shades of red, extending all the way from fiery red to maroon. Both men and wome wear little cloth caps, resembling felt hats, but wi two turned-up ear-flaps on both sides. Contrar to what one may expect, these caps suit the wome and give their cheerful faces a piquant charm. O ceremonial occasions, as on festivals, instead of t cap, Buddhist women wear on their heads the orn ment known as the *perak*. It consists of a piece of r leather or cloth, studded with flat, green turquoise it is almost two feet in length and about 8 ins. bro at the top and tapers down to a few inches at t bottom. No married women is without her *perak*. T older men keep pigtails though this is no longer mu in vogue.

Ladakh is one of the few areas in the wor where polyandry was widely practised till ve recently. The basis of this kind of marriage was t system of inheritance by which the eldest son i herited the family estate and was obliged to suppo the two sons next to himself in age. These two we not allowed to contract independent marriages b shared the wife of their eldest brother and were h minor husbands. If there were more than two young brothers, they did not share the family wife or pr perty, but had to leave the family house and seek the fortunes elsewhere. The two younger brothers wer always in an inferior position and often little bett than servants of the elder brother who was looke upon as the sole owner of the family property. Th children of these marriages recognised all the husban of their mother as their father, but paid more respe to the eldest as the head of the family. The syste of polyandrous marriages will appear strange to mo people, but has the merit of keeping the populati within reasonable limits in an unfertile region. Th custom is no longer popular and very few marriag of this nature are now contracted. Also with t passing of a new law of inheritance recently, the fam estate is divided among all the brothers and the u married sisters in a fixed proportion. Hence, t younger brothers are free to have their own wives a families.

The chief Ladakhi food consists of roasted a pounded flour mixed in Tibetan tea and drunk h The chief grains used are wheat, barley and *grim*, kind of quick-ripening barley. Tibetan tea is ma with butter and salt, instead of milk and sugar. Th mixture tastes like hot soup and is quite palatabl *Chung*, a liquor made from fermented *grim* a tasting like cider, is also used as a drink.

The Monks and Monasteries

Ladakh is a very religious country and no villa is without its monks and monastery. The monaster known locally as *gumpas*, are often built on th summits of high and isolated peaks, and comma extensive views over stony desolation. They ha

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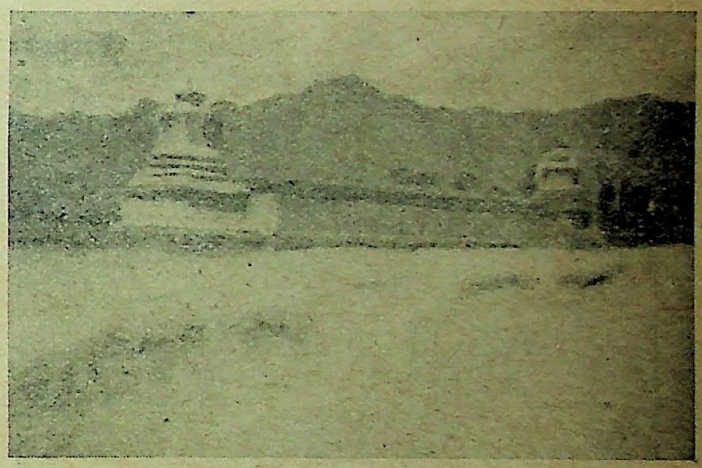
inleaning walls and overhanging open galleries which are characteristic of Tibetan architecture. Prayer flags, that is, flags with 'prayers' written on them, flutter from the roof tops. In the inner sanctum are images of Gautama Buddha and of other gods and goddesses, many of which are plated with gold and silver. The paintings and images of Buddha have beautiful, calm features and sublime expressions. The silk hangings and banners are of wonderful workmanship and rich material. Portraits of Buddha are painted on them also. The wooden altars and other articles are finely carved or have birds, flowers and animals, executed on them in brilliant colours. Every *gumpa* has a collection of Buddhist manuscripts, some of which are of great antiquity. Also there are a number of musical instruments like the drum, trumpet and bell which are used during prayers. In addition to these there are sacred vessels, in which holy water coloured with sweet-smelling saffron is placed as an offering before the idols and images.

We were fortunate enough to be present at an important prayer and saw the service conducted with solemn rites by the abbot, who sat on a raised dias with two rows of monks on either side of him. There were little raised tables in front of all for the holy books, bells and other religious articles. The prayers were intoned in solemn unison and at intervals *galengs,* the Tibetan trumpets, were blown. The air was fragrant with burning incense. The prayers were very long and Tibetan tea was served to all in small bowls by the little boy monks who sat whispering at the back. In spite of this mundane touch, the calm duskiness of the temple was solemn with prayer and worship. The exalted faces of the monks and abbots had a remote detached look, as if their minds were in communion with God.

It is said that a sixth of the population of Ladakh is in the Church as almost every family, whether wealthy or poor, contributes at least one of its members to the priesthood. The priests are known as *lamas* and recognize the Dalai Lama, at Lhasa in Tibet, as their spiritual head. Every *lama* has to undergo training in Lhasa, which may last for anything from three to fifteen years, depending on the aptitude for assimilating the instructions given. There are two classes of monks in each lamasery. There are in the first place the working monks who attend to the temporal interests of the monastery. They cultivate the monastery lands, collect the rent of the monastery tenants, engage in trade on behalf of the lamasery and attend to such other activities. The second and higher class is composed of spiritual monks who devote themselves to religious contemplation. The *gumpas* are very well endowed, as the church is a popular institution and receives an annual donation from every family, either in cash or in kind.

In some cases the *gumpas* have as their heads very holy persons, known as *kushaks* or incarnations. It is believed that after a man has attained a high pitch of virtue, he may either attain *Nirvana*—absorption into the Supreme Spirit as the Buddhist highest good; or return to earth as a *kushak* in order to do good to his fellow-men. In all Ladakh there are only nine *kushaks*. When one of them is about to die, he calls around him disciples and tells them where he will be reborn and the sacred signs by which they may know him. After his death, his disciples go to the place pointed out by him and search for a newly-born child who is likely to be the most probable incarnation of the departed saint. Having found him



Maantang or wall of praying stones

they leave him with his family till he is four years old. Then they come back and bring with them prayer books, rosaries, bells and other sacred articles among which are those that belonged to the late *kushak*. The child has to identify the property which was his in the last existence, and also relate anecdotes from his past. If he is successful he is acknowledged as the *kushak* and taken away to the *gumpa* of which he is to be the head. There he is educated in the doctrines and tenets of Buddhism and later this education is completed in the sacred city of Lhasa.

Very many people will find this belief to be a quaint and superstitious hang-over from an unenlightened age; but the *kushak* whom we met impressed us with his saintliness and the calm, serene expression of face which one associates with images of Buddha. He may or may not be an incarnation, but he is certainly a saint. Few who have come in contact with Kushak Bakula will fail to recognize in him a true follower of Buddha, 'The Enlightened One.' He is not only a *kushak* but is also the Deputy Minister for Ladakh in the Kashmir Government. He is the undisputed leader of the people of Ladakh, by whom he is loved and revered as no political leader is usually loved or revered. He is a great social reformer and it is due to his efforts that polyandry has been abolished, the law of inheritance changed and other

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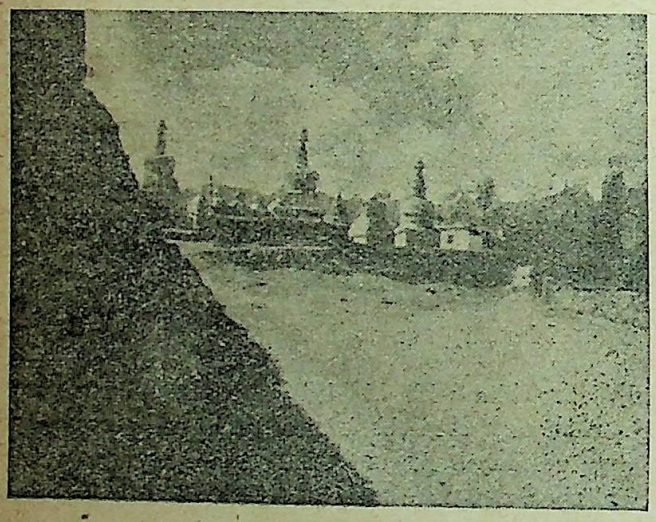
progressive measures instituted. He is an impressive but familiar figure in the flowing red robes of a *lama* and the yellow pointed hat of a *kushak*. He visits even the most remote villages of his country on horse-back, and works hard in an effort to improve the life of the people.

Maantang, Chortem and Prayer-wheel

Manifestations of the Ladakhi's zeal for religion can be seen everywhere in the countryside. Outside each village, but sometimes in areas remote from habitation, one comes across walls of praying stones. They are known as *maantangs* and are massive stone walls, sometimes as much as a mile in length. The top of the wall slopes from the centre on either side like the roof of a house. Each one of the flat stones, which forms this roof, are elaborately carved and contain the Tibetan prayer, *Om mani padme om.*



A group of chortems

These words are very holy to the Buddhists and are repeated by them many times a day. Walking or riding by a *maantang,* containing these sacred words brings the same benefits in after-life as repeating them would bring. The road always divides on approaching a *maantang,* so as to accommodate the travellers from either direction. The carved stones are known as *mani* stones, and vary in size from a few inches to two or three feet in length. At either end of the *mani* wall is a raised turret-like structure, which also contains the same prayer and images of Buddha or other deities. This is known as a *mani.*

Another structure seen quite often in Ladakh is, what is known as a *chortem.* After the corpse of a *lama* or a holy man has been burnt, the ashes of the deceased are buried and a *chortem* constructed over it. It consists of a raised platform with a tapering cone-shaped structure at the top. This is painted orange or red and may be as high as 15 feet from base to top. The top is decorated with bells and prayer flags. Some of the *chortems* of saints, found in monasteries, are plated with gold and in-laid wi jewels.

The prayer-wheel is a device which was much us formerly. It consists of a little cylinder, containi rolls of prayers, and with a handle attached to it. is held in the hand and turned by the action of t wrist. Each revolution brings the same merit to t user, as uttering the prayer the number of times th it is written inside the cylinder would bring. The prayer wheels though at one time very popular, a now not a very common sight in Ladakh. There a some giant prayer-wheels turned by water pow existing in some of the monasteries.

Leh

The capital, Leh, stands at a height of 11,500 f above sea-level and is surrounded by lofty peaks all sides. The town itself stands in a narrow vall and is watered by the streams flowing down from t encircling hills. The cultivated green fields and gro of willow and poplar form a welcome oasis in the s rounding desert. Towering above the city, stands t old palace of the deposed kings of Ladakh. It is massive building with inleaning walls and having ma storeys. At one time it must have been quite imposi but is now in a state of ruin. Higher up on the cra is a *gumpa,* and behind it all is a mighty snow-cover range, across which leads the route to Central Asia.

At one time Leh was an important city as it w conveniently situated half way between the marke of India and those of Central Asia. In the summ traders arrived at Leh from every part of Indi Turkestan, Tibet and remote areas of Central As Here the goods and products of the South were e changed for those of the North. Very seldom d caravans from India proceed North or those fr Central Asia go South of Leh. The merchants w had performed the difficult and hazardous journ from Central Asia, disposed of their goods to Indi merchants, mostly by barter, and after resting for month or two started on the weary homeward journe Lovely carpets and jewels from Yarkand and Khota porcelain and tea from China, and wool from Tib were exchanged for Indian tea, spices and cloth. those days Leh was a busy mart and a cosmopolit city. A babel of tongues could be heard and peop from diverse countries rubbed shoulders in its bazaar But with the passing of time, and the taking over Sinkiang by the Communists, this trade has come an end. Leh is now a languishing, mud-coloure village with a population of 3,000.

The Future

The people of Ladakh are socially well-adjuste There is hardly any crime and very little destitutio This is all the more remarkable as Ladakh is a poo country and without large natural resources. Ther

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are no organized social welfare services, yet in Ladakh one never comes across a blind, old or helpless person begging for alms. The village community has surprising vitality and manages multifarious activities. There are no lawyers and very few doctors. The first is due to the fact that most disputes are settled internally by the villagers themselves, and the second due to the people belonging to a hardy stock and being relatively free from diseases. The complicated and difficult system of irrigation is constructed, maintained and administered by the villagers themselves. There is no population problem, as the system of marriage had effectively restricted the number of births.

But all systems have their drawbacks and outlive their usefulness, and in Ladakh as everywhere else, the old order is changing and a new one coming into being. No longer are the people content with the old way of life, which in terms of material prosperity and modern amenities had very little to offer. The taking over of Tibet by the Chinese Communists and the consequent changes are bound to have repercussions in Ladakh also. Hence, this remote border area, at one time much neglected, has attained to a certain degree of political importance. In keeping with the prevailing progressive trends, the Government of India is opening schools and hospitals, building roads and irrigation works and is spending money in the village on Community Development works. But, it is to be hoped that modern civilization with its attendant benefits will not totally disrupt the old social order which was the basis of a healthy, enduring and stable way of life.

Ladakh

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KHASTAGIR'S ART

By LARI DATT BHATT, M.A.,
Doon School, Dehradun

Expression is the main trait of art. Art lies in giving visible form to the feelings in the recesses of the human heart. Only that art survives in the world which possesses such qualities, the rest is washed away by the tides of time.

In the world of today a man's worth may be reckoned in terms of money. It is without substance and ephemeral. In the golden leaves of history progeny will come across only the names of those who dived deep into the heart of man and fathomed his weal and woe. Today our outlook may attach importance to outward glamour but it is devoid of true life. It is for this reason that there has come to be a stage of stagnation in literature, art, and other walks of human life.

Today there do exist artists who echo the heart of man. Khastgir is such a one. He has wielded his brush, chisel and pen with a great success in the representation of all phases of the innermost mind. His pieces bubble with life. Khastgir rescued the Indian art from the grip of traditionalism and developed it with his unending devotion and wonderful grasp. He has imparted melody and life to it through his multilateral genius and varied hues of imagination.

Khastgir's art is unique. He has successfully depicted all aspects of life. His pictures smile and dance and resound ups and downs of man. They have movements; and movements constitute life. We find this in his art. There is scarcely a side of Indian society the experience of which he lacks. The sight of a tattered beggar woman on the road could not but inspire him to rush up to brush and colours. His heart was stirred to rebel by the drooping Indian widow. His heart vibrates in harmony with the Mazdoors' and Kisans' struggle for life in rags and

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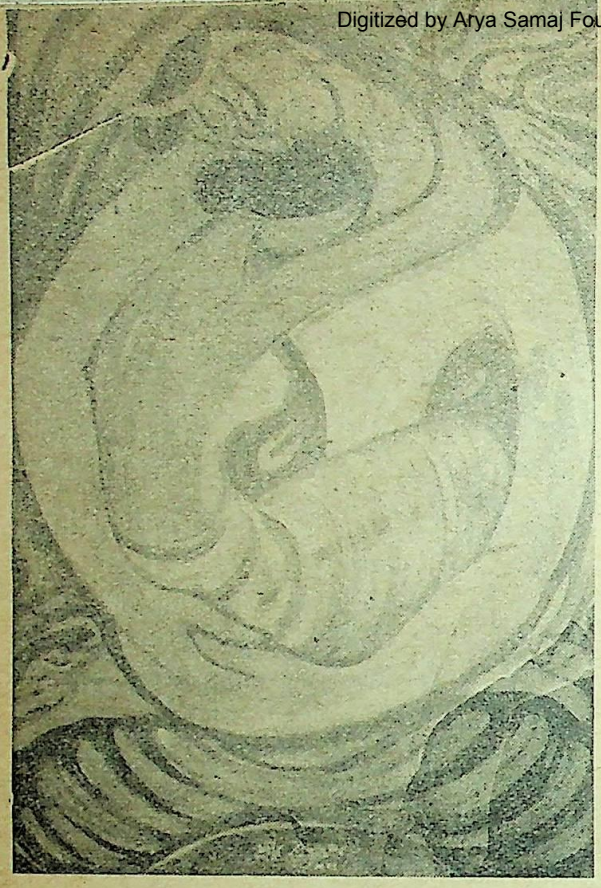

Siva and Parvati (*oils*), 1954
By S. Khastgir

Ecstasy (*bronze*)
By S. Khastgir

Human cocoons (*oils*), 1954
By S. Khastgir

From the tank (1955)
By S. Khastgir

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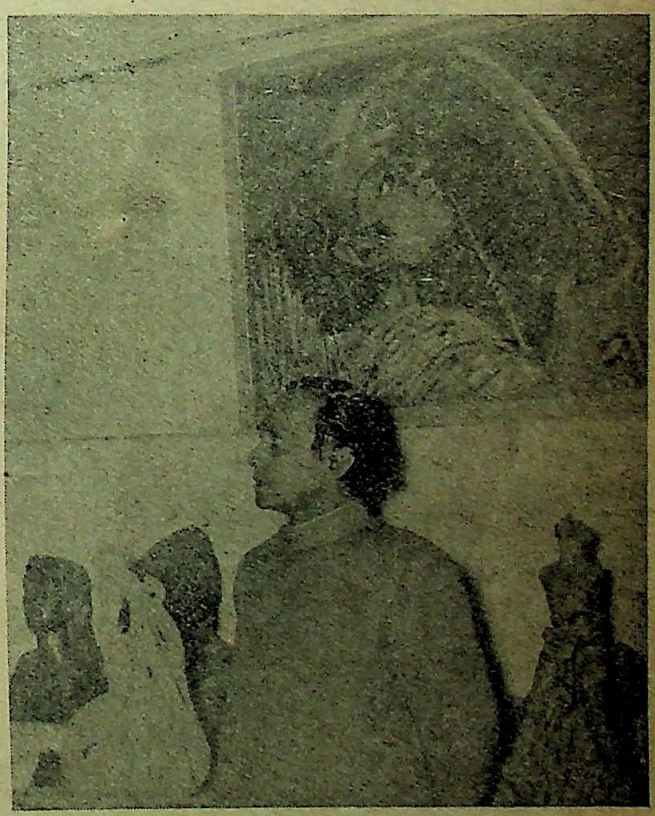
Dancer
By S. Khastgir

through sweat and blood. His spontaneous response to the cry of the heart of man is abundantly evident in his art. He has done it in every form of medium—line, drawing, oil-painting, sculpture and so on.

Khastgir's art has roots in the Indian soil. It is undiluted unlike good many others. We find that the art of today has taken to distortion of figures. It becomes too difficult to make head and tail out of it. Such artists term it as their latest experiment. This is not so. When an artist falls short of originality and expression he takes cover under such distortion. Khastgir has not yet set out in this direction.

Some critics perceive a duel personality in Khastgir—the Man and the Artist—that he is haughty as a person and humble as an artist. But it is not easy to assess him.

Khastgir's art is spontaneous; it does not take him time to study and brood over his themes. Quickly he produces a picture. To it he adds further life with colours. Khastagir is a successful artist and a close observer of life. Each line of his art tells a tale of life. Herein lies his originality. His advance in the domain of Art is native. His art is boundless and generous and has Indian soul and traditions for its background. India manifests herself in his Art.



Sudhir Khastgir in his studio

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INTERNATIONAL HOUSE—INDIANA UNIVERSITY

FRIDAY nights are always International Nights on the campus of Indiana University, with the center of activities in a white frame family-type dwelling on the edge of the campus known as "International House."

Engaged in lively conversation are students from Puerto Rico, Finland, Dominican Republic and Iran

Here, on Friday nights, Indiana University students from foreign lands all over the world gather for a weekly social occasion. The scene is a cosmopolitan one. In animated conversation at one side of a room will be a young lady from Sweden with a youth from the Philippines and another from India. A British boy visits with several Thais. A Pakistani and a Paraguayan exchange ideas. In another room where a portable recorder is playing American music, dancing couples include persons from Malaya, Mexico, Poland, Syria, Burma.

But not all the participants in the evening of entertainment come from far distant lands. Hometowns of some are Chicago, Indianapolis, Louisville, Wabash, Connersville, Seymour. The Peru that one student claims as hometown is in northern Indiana. The Paris of another is just across the Hoosier State Line Illinois. Brazil, in this case, is a small town in west Indiana.

All of this is important, because the inform organisation to which these students belong—kno

Students take time out for refreshments. Among them are Iraqi, Indian, Iranian and American students

since 1918 as the Cosmopolitan Club—has as one its aims the creation of better understanding am foreign students and their American counterparts. large part of the club membership is American.

International House at Indiana University is a residential center. The only tenants are a yo American couple. This is in line with the Universi long-standing principle that students from abroad learn more about the country in which they are stu ing by living as individuals in the community ra than as a colony.

Indiana's foreign students live in the m residence centers and in rooming houses on the of the campus. In their daily lives they mingle w American students just as they do in classes. Th are more than 350 representatives of 62 foreign co tries now attending Indiana University.

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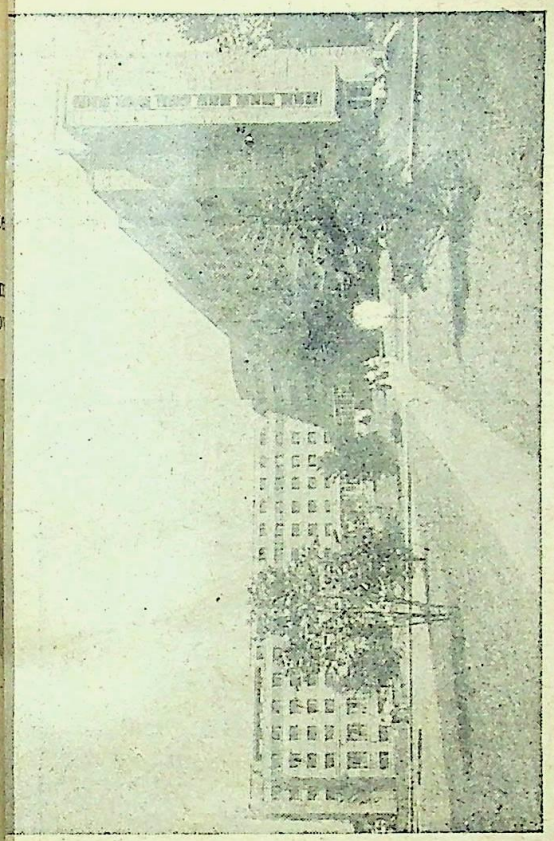
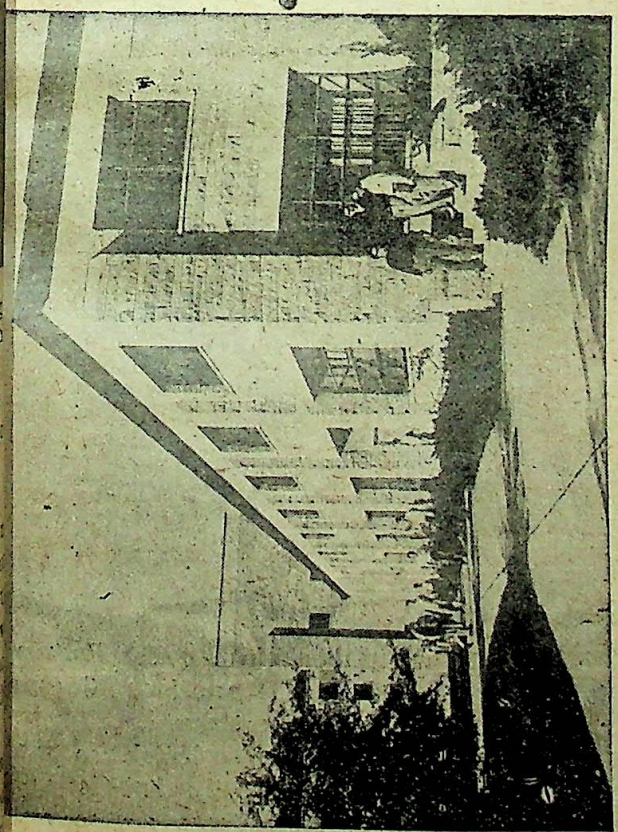


Smithwood Hall is a new residence hall for women at Indiana University

Officers of the Cosmopolitan Club hold a meeting. There are students from the United States, Thailand, India and Turkey there.



Students gather before one of the Men's Residence Centres at Indiana University

Chatting informally are students of different nationalities

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On a typical Friday evening at International House recently, the evening program opened with Ratna Sudershanam of India, recording secretary of Cosmopolitan Club, reading the new club constitution, then under consideration.

Then Mahmut Esat Ozan of Turkey showed color slides taken in his country.

Afterward, Aurelio O. Elevazo of the Philippines turned on a portable record player and some of the club members danced to American music. In another large room students from many lands visited in informal groups, talking about campus events.

Roberta Fox (*left*) of Bloomington, Indiana, chats with Ernest Hernandez of the Philippines

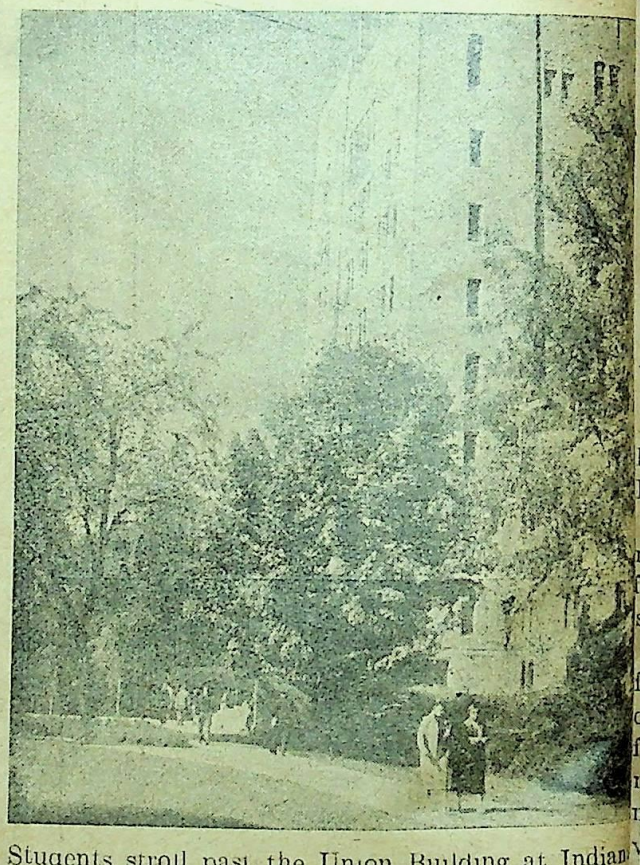
Meanwhile, in another part of the house the officers of Cosmopolitan Club gathered around a table for a business session. In this group were Nick Contopoulos of Greece, president; Ray Maesaka of Hawaii, vice-president; Sakol Nilvan of Thailand, publicity chairman; Nuran Baydan of Turkey, social chairman; Pierre Boulle of France, treasurer; Ratna Sudershanam of India, recording secretary; and Alice Atkinson of Chicago, U.S.A., corresponding secretary.

In the kitchen, Shankar Kumar Datta of India started preparations for the evening's refreshments—coffee, tea and cookies.

A visitor at the meeting familiar to all was Walter Burnham, counsellor for foreign students in the Dean of Students office. A doctor of education, Burnham knows most of the foreign students by first name, and along with Assistant Dean Leo Dowling guides th in whatever problems they face.

Burnham explained that International House is recent addition to the campus. Before it was es blished, Cosmopolitan Club meetings were held in Student Building, one of the main buildings on campus. While the meeting rooms there are lar the building contains no cooking or dining facilitie

"The good thing about International Hou Burnham said, "is that it is open at all times our students from foreign lands and they hav



Students stroll past the Union Building at Indian University, where "International Light" and inter national dinners are held

place not only for general meetings but for sm groups."

He pointed out that International House equipped with table service for 60 persons. Using kitchen facilities, foreign students can prepare th own national dishes.

From time to time the students hold regio affairs, such as, Latin American night, a Far East Dinner, or Middle Eastern social occasion. Gro from Thailand and the Philippines have held rec dinners. A separate organization, known as Foreign Students' Wives Club, uses the facilities International House for social occasions.

Foreign students have been such an integral p of Indiana University for so many years, they attr

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A meeting of the officers of the Cosmopolitan Club. Students from France, Greece, U.S., Thailand, India and Turkey are present there

little attention on the campus and in the city of Bloomington where the University is located.

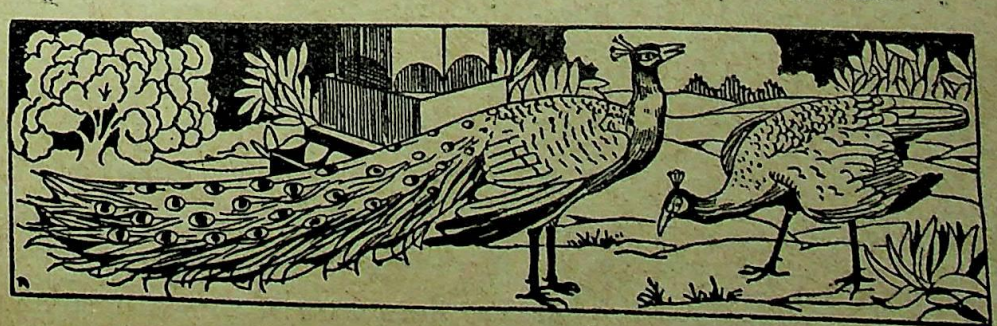
But to make it possible for the American to learn more about the visitors from abroad and for the foreign students to broaden their education there are several programs of "two-way" education in operation.

At an "International dinner" held in the fall, faculty members, fellow students and residents of the city are invited. At the most recent one, students from ten countries outside the U.S. staged entertainment. Also held during the school year is an "International Night" open to the public at which the visiting students put on entertainment and display objects of art and utility they have brought from their home countries. These affairs are held in the Union Building, the center of all student activities.

Another program is arranged through the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. In this program the foreign students are invited to spend week-ends or longer periods visiting in homes in communities around Bloomington.

Foreign students frequently go out as speakers before clubs and organizations in nearby Indiana cities.

While International House on the Indiana University campus is an important feature for foreign students, it is only a facet of a many-sided program designed to make them feel at home far away from home.—*Indiana University News Bureau.*



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SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

II

H. Organization of the National Economy

China, according to official Chinese view, is now in a state of transition[34]—the transition period would end with the establishment of socialism where every man would have work and would get return in proportion to the work done by him. "The People's Republic of China," reads Article 4 of the Constitution, "by relying on the organs of State and the social forces, and by means of socialist industrialization and socialist transformation, ensures the gradual abolition of the systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." The economic transformation has to take place in a well-planned manner; therefore, planning of the national economy has been made a fundamental obligation of the State.[35] As a matter of fact, the Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of China came into operation in the beginning of 1953 (though the text of the Plan was not made public until 1955 when it was formally adopted by the nation's parliament). Even with planning the task of socialist transformation of the economy would take "a fair long time" . . . approximately fifteen years, or three Five-Year Plans, in addition to the three years rehabilitation (1949-1952)."*

What state of national economy is registered the Constitution which is to undergo socialist transformation? The new Constitution registering the legislative embodiment of the gains of the anti-feu revolution has no room for the feudal ownership. The Constitution lists four "basic" forms of ownership they are: (*a*) State ownership (ownership by the whole people); (*b*) Co-operative ownership, that is, collective ownership by the working masses; (*c*) Individual ownership; and (*d*) Capitalist ownership[36] The Constitution guarantees State protection to the capitalists but lays down at the same time that "the policy of the State towards capitalist industry and commerce is to use, restrict and transform them. The State makes use of the positive sides of capitalist industry and commerce which are beneficial to national welfare and the people's livelihood, encourages and guides their transformation into various forms of State capitalist economy, gradually replacing capitalist ownership with ownership by the whole people; and this it does by means of the control exercised by administrative organs of the State, the leading given by the State sector of the economy and supervision by the workers."[37]

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34. See Preamble to the Constitution. Also Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution*, p. 57.

35. Art. 15 of the Constitution. An important characteristic feature of the plans in the Communist countries is the mutual linking of their Five-Year Plans. The mouthpiece of the now defunct *Cominform* editorially wrote on April 6, 1956: "Of vast importance for the continued strengthening of the economic might of the socialist camp is the fact that the new Five-Year Plans on which the Soviet Union and most of the countries of people's democracy have started this year, are drawn up on the basis of close co-operation. This takes into account the division of labour within the socialist camp, the specific peculiarities of each country, its national potentialities and economic objectives." —See the editorial article entitled "Co-operation Between Socialist Countries is Expanding and Growing Stronger" in the weekly *For a Lasting Peace For a People's Democracy*, Bucharest, April 6, 1956. See also Vylko Chervenkov's article on the general relationships between socialist countries in April 22, 1955 issue of the same weekly. He also refers to "a new international division of labour . . . differing radically from the division of labour under capitalism." See also the weekly *New Times*, Moscow, No. 20, 1949, article by M. Paromov, pp. 11-12; editorial article in April 15, 1953 issue and article by I. Medvedev on "Fraternal Co-operation of Free Nations" in November 7, 1953 issue of the *New Times*, Moscow. On the role of planning in underdeveloped economies, see *The Future of Underdeveloped Countries* by Eugene Stanley, New York, 1954, p. 235.

* *Five-Year Plan for Development of National Economy of the People's Republic of China 1953-1957*, Peking, 1956, p. 21.

36. Art. 6 of the Constitution. State-capitalism was not considered a "basic" form of ownership and was, therefore, excluded.—Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution*, p. 58.

37. Art. 10 of the Constitution. The First Five-Year Plan of China sets out to fulfil this task. See Li Fu-chun (Chairman of the State Planning Commission of China)—*Report on the First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China* delivered before the second session of the National People's Congress—*News Bulletin* of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India, Issue No. 42, August 8, 1955, New Delhi, p. 7.

The emphasis on the leadership of the State sector in the national plan is no Chinese or Communist peculiarity but is the "prevailing trend in all modern countries," says the leading American economic historian Dr. W. S. Woytinsky—see his article on India's Second Five-Year Plan in the U.S. weekly *The New Leader*, August 20, 1956, p. 19.

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Such contradictory provisions in the Constitution are explained by Lin Shao-chi as merely reflecting the contradictions existing in the real life of China. "During the transition period in our country," Mr. Lin says:

> "We have not only socialism, but also capitalism. The contradiction between the two different kinds of ownership is a contradiction which exists objectively . . ."[38]

The contradiction would be resolved only with the completion of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and trade, he adds.

I. Socialist Transformation of Industry

At the time of the assumption of power by the Communists in 1949 China's industrial production accounted for only 17 per cent of the total production of the country. Of the total industrial production, the State, co-operative and joint State-private industrial enterprises accounted for 26.7 per cent and the private industrial enterprises claimed the rest. The proportion was radically altered by 1952 when the rehabilitation of the national economy was completed. With the rapid increase in industrial production, the proportion of modern industry, in the total value of output of industry and agriculture (reckoned in constant prices of 1952) rose from 17 per cent in 1949 to 26.7 per cent. While the capitalist production also increased during the period, its share of total industrial production declined from 63.3 per cent in 1949 to 39 per cent in 1952, the share of the State and co-operatives increasing to the extent of its decrease.[39] It should, however, be noted that in spite of practically full legal authority to confiscate private capital the State had not done so.[40]

The Constitution laid down the task of socialist transformation of industry; and one of the main tasks of the First Plan was also "to consolidate and extend the leadership of socialist economy over capitalist economy."[41] Accordingly, a campaign was launched in 1955 for the conversion of capitalist enterprises in China into State undertakings.

The method chiefly employed for converting the capitalist enterprises into socialist (State) enterprises is as follows: "They are first turned from private into State-capitalist undertakings (first stage), and eventually nationalized, *i.e.*, turned into socialist undertakings (second stage)."[42] The transition from private to State-capitalist undertaking "passes through several successive stages—usually from the lowest (periodical State purchases of their output) through the intermediate (State orders, centralized purchases, guaranteed sales of their output by State agencies and State-supplied raw materials, etc.) to the highest phase of State capitalism (institution of mixed State and capitalist undertaking with both State and private capital)."[43] During the early part of 1955 the intermediate phase of State capitalism was the prevalent stage but after the quickening of the pace of socialist transformation more than half of the big capitalist firms in China were converted into joint State-and-privately owned companies by the end of 1955.[44] By February, 1956, the conversion of industrial and trading establishments to socialist lines was mainly completed in all the cities.[45] During the process of such conversion moderate compensation is paid to the capitalists,[46] and at least until before the quickening of the pace of socialist transformation the initiative for forming a State-capitalist undertaking invariably came from the company concerned.[47] In the joint State-private enterprise capitalists are paid interest ranging from 1 to 6 per cent of his capital annually subject to a maximum of 10 000 yuan (unit of Chinese currency) a month (120,000 yuan annually). "The interest is payable quarterly as long as the enterprise remains a State-private business, *irrespective of whether it operates at a profit or a loss*."[48] In such undertakings the capitalists retain the management in their hands as agents of the State.

J. Collectivisation of Agriculture

In agriculture, the Chinese Communists had been following a policy of preserving the rich peasant economy until the adoption of the new Constitution.[49]

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38. Lin Shao-chi: *Report . . .* cited, pp. 31-32.
39. China's Five-Year Plan—cited, pp. 14-15.
40. W. W. Rostow, Richard W. Hatch, Frank A. Kierman, Jr. Alexander Eckstein and others: *The Prospect for Communist China*, p. 241, Massachussetts Institute of Technology, USA, 1954; *The Pacific Affairs*, Quarterly, New York, December, 1953, pp. 32-335. For a different reading, see Walker: *China Under Communism*, p. 109.
For constitutional provisions regarding taking up private property by the State, see Article 13 of the Constitution of China.
41. Five-Year Plan . . . cited, p. 24.
42. A. Perevertailo: "The Socialist Industrialization of the Chinese People's Republic" in the monthly *International Affairs*, Moscow, October, 1955, p. 37; L. Delyusin: "Conversion of Private Industry in China" in the *New Times*, No. 12, 1956, pp. 10-11; Chi Chao-ting: "Capitalists Cross Over" in the monthly *China Reconstructs*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1956, Shanghai, pp. 3-4.
43. A. Perevertailo: cited, p. 37.
44. See the article by Li Fu-chun (Chairman of the Chinese Planning Commission) in the *New Times*, Moscow, January 1, 1956, p. 15.
45. See the weekly *New Times*, Moscow, No. 12, 1956, p. 9.
46. L. Delyusin: "Conversion of Private Industry in China" in the *New Times*, No. 12, 1956, p. 9.
47. James Cameron: *Mandarin Red*, p. 196.
48. Delyusin: *Op. cit.*, p. 11. Italics added.
49. Art. 6 of the *Agrarian Reform Law of China*.

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Speaking on the draft agrarian reform law in 1950, Lin Shao-chi indicated that the policy of preserving rich peasant economy would be a long-term one. "Only when conditions are ripe for mechanised farming, for the organisation of collective farms and for the socialist reform of the rural areas, will the need for a rich peasant economy cease, and this will take a somewhat long time to achieve," he said.[50] The new Constitution, however, while recognising the right of peasants lawfully to own land and other means of production, envisages a gradual elimination of the rich peasant economy.[51]

Explaining the provision in the Constitution, Lin Shao-chi said that the new policy was justified because rich peasant economy which had never been well-developed in China, had been greatly restricted after the land reform as a result of the development of producers and other types of co-operatives "as well as by the policy of unified purchase and distribution by the State of grain and other main agricultural products."[52] He further pointed to the gradual decline of rich peasant economy averring that the average holding of a rich peasant had only been twice as big as that of the ordinary peasant.[53] He predicted the punishment of rich peasants guilty of obstructionism but added that "in view of the general, political and economic situation of our country, it will not be necessary to start a special movement, as was the case in the land reform, to eliminate rich peasants. In the future, those rich peasants who have already given up exploitation may be allowed to join co-operatives on certain conditions and continue to reform themselves, provided the agricultural producers' co-operatives have been consolidated, and the agreement of the peasants obtained."[54]

The consequences of the adoption of a policy o restricting rich peasant economy in the countrysid coupled with the policy of encouraging peasant co operatives may be gauged from the following stat ment: "Agricultural co-operation in China is progres ing rapidly. There are altogether some 110 millio peasant households in the country. In the spring 1954 there were 100,000 co-operatives embracing 180,0 of them, in June 1955, the figures were 650,000 an 16,900,000 respectively, towards the end of Decemb there were more than 70 million households in th country's co-operatives, and towards the end of th (1956) January, there were over 2,000,000 co-operativ with 92,810,000 households."[55] In other words abou 78 per cent of the rural households were brought und the co-operatives by January, 1956. "Of this numb 24,590,000 households have set up co-operatives of th highest type, which are completely socialist character."[56]

K. Unusual Features in the Constitution.[57]

The Constitution contains some very interesti departures from ordinary practice which need som mention. First, the Constitution is explicitly mea for temporary duration to last up to the end of th transition period[58] which presumably will be fifte years from 1953.[59] Secondly, on the admission of n less an authority than Lin Shao-chi himself, the Con stitution contains several provisions of the nature a programme[60] which are not to be ordinarily found i Constitutional documents. Then, the Preamble to th Constitution not only gives a historical sketch of th victory of the Chinese revolution but also indicat in broad outline the future path to be taken. T Preamble mentions the growing and indestructib friendship between China and the USSR and th "People's Democracies" of Eastern Europe and As

50. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Agrarian Reform Law*, Peking, 1950, p. 93.

51. Art. 8 of the Constitution of China.

52. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, pp. 30-31.

53. The Central Government Decisions of August 4, 1950, says: "A person shall be classified as a rich peasant, who for three consecutive years counting backward from the time of the liberation of the locality had engaged in production himself and had depended for part or the major part of his family's means of livelihood on exploitation, the income from which exceeds 15 per cent of the total annual income of his whole family."

54. Lin Shao-chi: *Report, op. cit.*, p. 31. It is interesting to note that Mao Tse-tung's analysis of the development of rich peasant economy in the post-liberation period widely differs from Mr. Lin Shao-chi's readings. In a report delivered on July 31, 1955, at a meeting of the Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Area Committees of the Communist Party of China. Mao Tse-tung referred to the "spontaneous tendency" in recent years in the countryside "to develop towards capitalism." He said that "new rich peasants are springing up everywhere. Many well-to-do middle peasants are stirring to become rich peasants." After pointing to the increasing impoverishment of t poor peasants Mao Tse-tung added: "'If this tenden (towards the growth of rich peasant economy—S.C.S goes unchecked, this separation into two extremes the countryside will get worse day by day . . .'"—M Tse-tung: "The Question of Agricultural Co-operatio in the *People's China*, Nov. 1, 1955, p. 13.

55. L. Delyusin: "China's Changing Countr side" in the *New Times*, No. 8, 1956, p. 8.

56. *Ibid.*

57. It is, perhaps, not in order to call any pro sion of a Constitution unusual inasmuch as, dependi on the varying conditions and moods of the differe peoples, the Constitutions in the different country m also differ as widely. The South African Constitutio for example, opens with an invocation to Almigh God—a thing not easily reconciled with constitution law.

58. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Cons tution*, p. 57.

59. *Five-Year Plan of China*, Peking, 1956, p. 2

60. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Consti tion*, p. 58.

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"Such friendship," the Preamble adds, "will be constantly strengthened and broadened." Further, there is the insistence on the incorporation of provisions stressing the supremacy of the interests of the people over all others: Article 17, for example, reads as follows:

"All organs of State must rely on the masses of the people, constantly maintain close contact with them, heed their opinion and accept their supervision."[61]

L. Conclusion

The Chinese State, as revealed in the Constitution, is a people's democratic State where sovereignty is expressly stated to lie with the people, and which is led by the workers (rather Communists) on the alliance between workers and peasants. In fulfilment of the tasks set for the Chinese revolution, feudalism was abolished as also foreign exploitation and capitalist domination. The State is now half-way through a programme of bringing about socialst transformation of industry and agriculture, which has already led to a fundamental change in the property relations of Chinese society—thus underlining the basic truth that the chief function of a revolution consists in transforming the property relations of society.[62]

Yet would it be in order to say that the new Chinese State represents the fullest realization of the success of the revolution even as the Chinese leaders themselves conceived it. My submission is that it does not. Mao Tse-tung, the ideological, political and military leader of the Chinese revolution and of the modern Chinese State, wrote back in 1940 in his celebrated *On New Democracy* that "a system of *really* universal and *equal suffrage*, irrespective of sex, creed, property or education, must be put into practice so that the organs of government elected can properly represent each revolutionary class according to its status in the State, express the people's will and direct revolutionary struggles, and embody the spirit of 'New Democracy'."[63] As has already been noted China has not yet had even *formally equal suffrage* (not to speak of *really* equal suffrage) for all, nor are elections direct except at the lowest level—to that extent, at least, the "spirit of New Democracy" remains unrealized in the new Constitution.

A feature of new China that has failed to receive the attention it deserves in this country merits some mention at this point. Up till the time of Stalinist supremacy in the USSR Communism, in its practical aspect in the countries where Communist parties were in power, implied a more or less uniform system of government as exemplified by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and as such all Communist States were guided by and modelled upon the system prevailing in the USSR. The first break in this uniformity was provided by Marshal Tito's Government in Yugoslavia with their refusal to toe the Kremlin dictates in 1948.[64] Tito formulated and put into practice a new system of which the most remarkable part was its intercourse with the world outside the Soviet zone of influence. The next uniformity has taken place in Europe recently of which, however, the full implications are not yet clear. But in between these, in China, there have been some remarkable variations from the Soviet and Eastern European models which call for some attention.

As a matter of fact, the Chinese Communist movement has practically all along been run independent of the control of the Communist International, the Soviet Government or of the Information Bureau of the Communist parties.[65] Such independence did not mean disrespect to Moscow but the Chinese leader's determination to follow the course that appeared best to them. Such independence is reflected even in Chinese Constitutional law and practice.

The Commission for drafting the Constitution expressly drew on the Constitution of USSR and the people's democracies; yet at the same time the Constitution of China "is an epitome of the historical experience of more than a hundred years of heroic struggles waged by the Chinese people, it also epitomizes historical experience on the question of Constitutions and the constitutional movement in modern China,"[66] The characteristic features of China as a

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61. Article 18 reads: "All servants of the State must strive to serve the people."

62. Karl Marx: *A Contributtion to the Critique of Political Economy*, Author's Preface, pp. 11-13, Calcutta, Bharati Library, n.d.

63. Mao Tse-tung: *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 121. Italics added.

64. For a Yugoslav account of the break with the USSR, see Vladimir Dedijer: *Tito Speaks*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1953, pp. 262-380. Ascribing the Russo-Yugoslav conflict to Soviet expansion Tito said that the "fundamental question which Staiin failed is the problem of the freedom of the individual in socialism for there can be no socialism without the freedom of the individual." (p. 263, *ibid*).

65. See the article "On the 'Originality' of Mao Tse-tung" by Benjamin Schwartz in the quarterly *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October, 1955, pp. 72-73. Said Mao Tse-tung in October, 1928: "Communists are internationalist-Marxists, but Marxism must be integrated with the specific characteristics of our country (China) and given a national form before it can be put into practice (in China)"—Report to the sixth plenary session of the Central Committee elected by the Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party—*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 260, Bombay, 1954. Robert Payne, biographer of Mao, also notes Mao's fight against the instruction of Comintern; see Robert Payne: *Mao Tse-tung: Ruler of Red China*, London, 1951, p. 270. See also *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, cited, p. 471.

66. Lin Shao-chi: *Report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China* in the *Documents of the First Session of the First National Congress of the People's Republic of China*, Peking, 1955, pp. 27, 13.

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Communist State are to be found in its treatment of the capitalists, the intelligentsia and the national minorities as also in the remarkable absence of violence characteristic of the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union —which show that the Chinese democracy has grown and is still growing on lines that cannot be identified with the systems prevailing in the USSR or even in Yugoslavia.

Except for a brief period at the beginning of its career the Chinese Communist Party has been an exponent of gradualism in every sphere of action.[67] This gradualness and persuasiveness have found expression in practice also. After the take-over in 1949 the Communists were faced with difficult economic tasks with which they coped successfully. In this process while State enterprises and State trading undertakings were encouraged the government also "evinced its readiness to come to the rescue of private enterprise"[68] and did, in fact, render substantial help. Even while the industries are being nationalized as now the capitalists are not being liquidated but are allowed to remain where they are —only with this difference that they are no longer owners of their firms. Capitalists are being given some compensation. They are also paid interest on their capital—a thing unimaginable in a Communist country only six years ago. Even the landlords have been accorded full facilities to live as useful citizens in China.

In their great concern for the minority nationalities the authorities of new China excepted these areas inhabited by the minority nationalities from the immediate operation of the programmes of land reform and nationalization of private undertakings.

A "truly startling phenomenon which deserves more than passing consideration"[69] is the fact that the most advanced stratum of the Chinese upper class, including leading intellectuals with Western education, is now wholly behind the new regime which in turn has accommodated them to their apparent satisfaction. All observers of the contemporary Chinese scene, have likewise pointed to the remarkable absence of inner party violence.[70]

Emphasizing the unique character Communism has assumed in China, Professor Charles Fitzerald writes:

> "It is clear . . . that in China we are confronted with *a new phenomenon*, a totalitarian State of the Communist type which has come to power and retains authority with the backing and acting support of very large numbers, probably the big majority, of the peasant, educated and professional classes. The small merchants do not feel any active resentment, the industrialists and large merchants accept the regime as better than the feared and hardly more inimical to their interests than the late (KMT) Government. The loss of freedoms which were theoretically enjoyed by a very limited number of educated people, but which had no practical reality for the vast mass of the nation, has not greatly disturbed any section of society . . ."[71]

China has made vast progress under the new democratic regime. This fact is admitted on all hands. But it is too early to pass any judgment on the new State (the Constitution was promulgated as late as on September 20, 1954). I can best conclude this study with a quotation from a leading authority on Chinese constitutional developments who wrote in a slightly different context: "Judged by purely sociological standards—without reference to long-range political intentions or dogmatic preferences—the Chinese Communist governmental machinery must be considered among the most remarkable of our age."[72]*

(Concluded)

67. "Basically, *The New Democracy* (by Mao Tse-tung) remains a Marxist-Leninist text book written to support the thesis of revolution by gradualness" —writes Robert Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

68. "Private Enterprise in Communist China" by Ronald Hsia in the quarterly *Pacific Affairs*, New York, December, 1953, p. 330. Referring to early 1955 Alexander Eckstein wrote in the *World Politics*, Princeton, April, 1955: ". . . In essence, the Chinese economy—after being more or less stationary for centuries, with only erratic and partial spurts of growth in recent decades—seems to be entering, for better or for worse, a self-sustaining growth process" (p. 434). See also Mary Austin Endicott: *Five Stars Over China*, Toronto, 1953, pp. 151-152.

69. Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz and John K. Fairbank. *A Documentory History of Chinese Communism*. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1952, pp. 476-477.

70. *Ibid*, p. 476; Rostow and others: *The Prospe for Communist China*, pp. 128, 130.

71. C. P. Fitzerald: *Revolution in China*, L don, The Cresset Press, 1952, p. 191. Italics add For an account of present and future policies of new government towards the intellectuals—see C En-lai's report on the intellectuals: and Lu Ting- speech of May 26, 1956, reproduced in the *Peop China*, August 16, 1956, The policy is one "of le flowers of many kinds blossom, letting schools of dive thought contend."

72. Paul M. A. Linebarger: "Government China in *Foreign Governments* edited by Fritz M stein Marx, New York, Prentice Hall Inc, 1950, p.

* I am indebted to Sri Kedarnath Chatterjee his helpful criticisms and suggestions on the orig draft of this article. The responsibility for the p tion taken is mine, of course.

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DECENTRALIZED TEXTILE INDUSTRY

By Prof. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.com., LL.B.

Present Position

From an humble beginning about a century ago the Indian cotton mill industry has grown into a mighty economic force embracing nearly all aspects of our national life. Today it stands second only to that of U.S.A. from the point of view of consumption of cotton, while ranking third largest from the view point of spindleage* The following table gives the salient features of the quantitative progress of the mill sector in the past 3 years:

	As on 31st August		
	1955	1954	1953
Total number of mills	461	461	457
Number of mills registered and/or in course of erection	34	22	17
Number of mills idle	27	23	20
Paid-up capital (in crores of rupees)	113.96	112.89	109.61
Spindles installed	12,068,544	11,888,165	11,721,139
Spindles working (first shift only)	10,423,075	10,502,832	10,292,112
Looms installed	207,347	207,763	207,250
Looms working (first shift only)	186,094	189,648	188,606
Cotton consumption (in bales of 392 lbs.)	4,797,084	4,688,866	4,518,702
Number of hands employed (first shift only)	423,595	435,421	435,138

It will be seen from the above figures that, although the installed spinning capacity of the cotton mills expanded during 1954-55 the capacity actually utilised (first shift only) was less, the average number of spindles working being 10,423,075 as against 10,502,832 in 1953-54. Similarly, the average number of looms working (first shift only) declined from 189,648 to 186,094. The extent of the actual utilisation of installed capacity (in the first shift) was smaller as compared with the previous year, being 86.3 per cent for spindles and 89.7 per cent for looms, as against 88.4 per cent and 91.2 per cent. Reflecting this trend and also the increase in the mills remaining idle from 23 to 27, the number of hands employed (first shift only) fell by 11,826 to 423,595. From all this, one should not, however, rush to the conclusion that the manufacturing activity in he cotton mills remained greatly subdued during the year 1954-55. The reduction in the average of the capacity worked was evidently the result of the prolonged strike in the mills at Kanpur. Elsewhere in the country, the industry endeavoured to maximise output by working double shifts and some even worked treble shifts. Proof of this is provided by the rise in the quantity of cotton consumed which during 1954-55 amounted to 4,797,084 bales (of 392 lbs. each) as against 4,688,866 bales in the previous year. The rise in cotton consumption is fully reflected in an all-time peak in the mill output of cloth being 5,094 million yards as against 4,998 million yards in the previous year. The factors responsible for this rise in the output were:

(1) High level of offtake in cloth for domestic consumption which is reflected in depletion of stock with mills, on 4th February, 1956, the mills were estimated to have held with them a total of 140,000 bales of cloth as against 260,000 bales on 26th March, 1955;
(2) ready availability of large supplies of raw cotton at much reduced prices;
(3) abolition of irksome controls on the purchase of cotton by mills;
(4) better supply of wagons for transport of cotton and cloth;
(5) improvement in power and fuel supplies;
(6) absence of a big labour strike, barring the Kanpur mill strike; and
(7) continuance of the decontrol policy in regard to prices and distribution of cotton textiles.

Distribution

The cotton industry unlike iron and steel industry or sugar industry does not command any decisive

* The following statement shows the changes in the spindleage in the world's leading cotton textile producing countries during the last three years:

(In millions)

	For the year ended July		
	1955	1954	1953
U. K.	25.18	26.56	27.26
U. S. A.	22.25	22.71	22.83
India	11.89	11.72	11.43
U. S. S. R.	10.15	10.15	9.90
Japan	7.96	7.85	7.50
China	5.40	4.15	4.10
Pakistan	1.30	0.71	0.68

It will be seen from the above table that there was a sharp set back to cotton spindleage in the U.K. and the U.S., the actual decline in the number of spindles in these countries being 1.38 million and 460,000 respectively. The decline indicates that the spindles which had been worn out were not replaced but scrapped, following slackness in the export demand for cloth and downward trend in prices. On the other hand, China accounted for a marked expansion in spinning capacity, the number of spindles installed rising by 1.25 million to 5.40 million. There was also a rise of 450.000 spindles in Pakistan and 170.000 spindles in India. In Japan, too, 110,000 spindles were added. Although this figure is lower as compared with the previous year when 350,000 spindles were added, it should not be concluded that the pace of expansion in spinning capacity of Japan has been retarded. For the Japanese cotton spinners are reported to be concentrating their attention more on modernisation of equipment designed to improve the technical efficiency and thereby enhance the quality and reduce the price of textile output than on expansion in the size of the industry.

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natural advantage and is capable of thriving in widely divergent environments. The raw material—cotton, is not an important factor governing its location. Cotton fibre is a 'pure material' in the sense that it does not lose much of its weight in the process of manufacturing. Raw cotton and finished product (yarn or cloth) are transportable with equal ease and the cost of transportation is such a small fraction of the total cost that raw materials and the finished goods can move long distances without any appreciable addition to this cost. Thus there is nothing in the nature of the fibre or its transportability to bind its manufacture to the place of production of raw cotton. In other words, since cotton is not a weight-losing material, it is not essential that the mills be located in the cotton area. Instead, the long period tendency is for location near the consumers' market. Thus Lancashire in England does not produce any raw cotton, nor does it enjoy locally any considerable market for the products of cotton mill industry but it commanded through political control, a vast market in India. This one factor led to the tremendous development of the industry there. The ease with which the raw cotton can be imported from the U.S.A. and the nearness to the coal-mining areas, which supplied not only fuel and machinery but also cheap labour of women and children from the families of miners and workers in iron works were all secondary advantages. Similarly, the access to the Indian and other neighbour-markets was an incentive to the development of this industry in Japan. Japan also does not produce any raw cotton. It imported most of it from India. The vast supplies of cheap labour and cheap ocean transport, together with government support in various ways helped the development of cotton industry in Japan.

In India, the localisation of the cotton mill industry has been brought about chiefly by the following factors :

(*a*) Supply of raw material;
(*b*) Ease of importing machinery and mill stores from abroad; and
(*c*) Access to the market.

Supply of coal has not played any important part in locating cotton mills. For the amount of coal needed by the mills is negligible when compared with the vast amounts of raw cotton, finished goods and machinery that have to be moved. Climate also does not play any direct part. For artificial humidity supplied to the spinning rooms controls the moisture conditions of air quite efficiently without much cost.

The greatest advantage possessed by the Indian cotton industry is the extent of the home market. The significance of this advantage can be realised from the fact that for the two countries from which India drew practically the whole of the imports of manufactured cotton, *i.e.*, Great Britain and Japan, she represented the largest single export market.

At the present moment there are four principal areas of cotton manufacture in the country. They are Bombay, Madras, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

Bombay

Bombay is the principal seat of cotton textile industry in the country. The area comprises: (1) Bombay city and Island, (2) Ahmedabad, (3) Saurashtra, and (4) rest of Bombay and Kutch. The following table gives figures to show the relative importance of these places in the mill sector:

	No. of Mills	Spindles installed	Looms installed	Average No. hands employed
Bombay city and Island	66	3,101,672	65,904	111,097
Ahmedabad	71	2,023,890	41,519	71,951
Saurashtra	9	162,188	3,345	6,605
Rest of Bombay and Kutch	59	1,288,915	24,032	45,214
Total	205	6,576,665	134,800	234,867

The foregoing figures reveal that the share of Bombay in the aggregate spindleage and loomage of the entire cotton mill industry is the largest being more than 54 per cent and nearly 64 per cent respectively although its share in the number of mills is only 44.4 per cent. It is thus evident that the average size of the cotton mills in Bombay is larger than that in other States and that the mills are well-balanced composite units. It is no wonder, therefore, that Bombay accounts for the major portion of the woven goods produced in India. The most important factors that helped the concentration of the industry in and around Bombay were as follows:

(a) *Excellent harbour* : The resultant transport relations enabled Bombay to obtain the machinery and the mill stores from overseas and to place its products (especially yarn) in the Chinese market on favourable terms. For it must be noted that the early cotton mill industry of Bombay was not started to serve the home markets but was rather intended to supply yarn to the overseas foreign markets in China and the Far East. Besides Bombay being the important junction of the main railways, was also well connected with the interior markets of raw cotton and piecegoods. The policy of the railways to charge lower freight rates from and to the ports increased the 'transport' advantages of Bombay over other inland towns.

(b) *Huge finance and knowledge* : The leading Parsee and Bhatia merchants acquired good fortunes from foreign trade, especially cotton and opium trade with China. Their financial position was further strengthened during the American Civil War when

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exports of cotton from Bombay had to fill the lacuna created by the stoppage of American exports. A part of these funds found its way into the cotton mill industry. Further, the intimate knowledge of the cotton trade and considerable experience of management and business orgaisation enabled the merchants to exercise personal control over the details of the working of cotton mill companies.

(c) *The humidity of Bombay* was also a climatic advantage for the spinning of the cotton thread.

(d) *The supplies of raw cotton were available from the hinterland of the port of Bombay itself.* The entire cotton crop of the area gravitated in large quantities to Bombay for export and so a special flow of cotton for feeding the mills had not to be created.

Therefore Bombay has now combined the textile specialisation of Manchester with the commercial and shipping characteristics of Liverpool. The bulk of the cloths produced in Bombay city consists of light texture cloths made from medium count yarns. During recent years many Bombay mills have specialised on fine count cloths, but Ahmedabad has gone finer still and is leading the whole of Indian industry in this respect. From the point of progress in quality Ahmedabad resembles what they call in Lancashire the "Egyptian section of the cotton industry" while Bombay, "the American section" of the British cotton industry. This movement of the Bombay and Ahmedabad industry (towards higher counts) is in the right direction. The superior cloth with less bulk and more value can go long distances without adding appreciably to its cost in the form of freight and can command an all-India market, leaving the regional markets in coarse goods to the local mills in the interior in their respective areas.

Madras

The growth of the cotton mill industry in South India during recent years has been phenomenal. South India possesses certain geographical advantages in respect of raw materials and power resources developed as a result of hydro-electric schemes. The cotton mill centres are Madras, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad and Pondicherry. The following table gives figures to show the relative position of these places in the mill sector :

	No. of Mills	Spindles installed	Looms installed	Average No. of hands employed
Madras	99	2,220,986	9,355	59,875
Mysore	11	232,844	3,456	11,942
Travancore-Cochin	10	135,696	718	3,761
Hyderabad	7	158,080	3,241	7,360
Pondicherry	3	84,484	2,089	3,437
Total	130	2,832,090	18,859	86,375

The foregoing figures reveal that 28.2 per cent of the total number of mills in the country are located in the South. Further, these mills concentrate mostly on spinning. Whereas about 23.4 per cent of the total spindles of India are to be found here, only 9.1 per cent of the total loomage of India is in South Indian mills.

West Bengal

The cotton mill industry in West Bengal has made exceptional progress in the last two decades. There are in all 41 cotton textile mills in this region with 522,804 spindles and 10,640 looms installed. Average number of workers employed in these mills is 22,077. The share of West Bengal in the total spindleage and loomage of the country thus works out only 4.3 per cent and 5.1 per cent respectively, although its share in the number of the mills is 8.9 per cent. This shows that the average size of the cotton mills in West Bengal is smaller than that in other States like Bombay and Uttar Pradesh. The industry is located in three districts, namely, 24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly—all along the Hooghly basin, within a radius of 32 miles from Calcutta. This region does not comprise a cotton belt. Therefore, the industry in this region depends for the supply of its raw materials upon the cotton obtained from other regions or from abroad. Calcutta, by bringing mill machinery and raw cotton from abroad, distributes them to the different cotton centres of the Hooghly basin. But in spite of drawbacks, the cotton industry in West Bengal enjoys certain advantages. They are :

(a) *There is a very wide consumers' market* not only in Bengal but also in Assam and the adjacent parts of the neighbouring States of Bihar and Orissa. Thus the Bengal mills have before them a wide scope for expansion.

(b) *The area is served by a perfect network of railways.*

(c) *The moist climate of the region is certainly an advantage* over the upcountry towns of Kanpur and Delhi where the humid atmospheric conditions are created in the mills artificially. The climate also favours the wearing of cotton cloths even during winter in Calcutta and other places near the sea coast.

(d) In respect of the *supplies of coal for power* the industry in West Bengal is the most favourably situated probably in the whole of India. Therefore, the disadvantage of freight on raw cotton can be offset against the savings in freight on coal.

(e) *Calcutta is also a big money and labour market.*

Uttar Pradesh

There are in all 29 cotton textile mills in this region with 820,492 spindles and 13,816 looms installed. Average number of workers employed in these mills

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is 23,421. The share of Uttar Pradesh in the aggregate spindleage and loomage of the country thus works out 6.8 per cent and 6.7 per cent respectively. It is interesting to note that U.P. with a lesser number of mills has a far greater number of spindles and looms installed as compared to West Bengal. This shows that the average size of cotton mills in U.P. is larger than that in Bengal and that the mills are well-balanced composite units.

The disadvantage of Uttar Pradesh in being located far off from the coal fields is compensated by the presence of a large local market, cheap and efficient labour and excellent transport facilities. The cotton industry is particularly confined to the Ganga towns. Kanpur is the most important seat of cotton industry in this State. The industry at Kanpur produces mostly coarse goods for the use of poorer classes of people living in the neighbouring areas. Therefore, if wider distribution of cloth is sought for, the inferior stuff cannot bear freight charges for longer distances. Thus both on grounds of evils of concentration and the nature of demand for inferior goods, there does not appear to be much scope for further growth of cotton mill industry at Kanpur.

Other States

Other important centres of cotton manufacture in our country are Madhya Bharat and Bhopal, Rajasthan, Ajmer and Pepsu, Punjab and Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa. Madhya Pradesh comprises the principal cotton belt of India and the mills are located at Nagpur, Akola, etc. Delhi in Northern India specialises in the production of coarse counts and produces considerable quantities of *dhoties* and upholstery and tapestry fabrics. The following table gives figures to show the relative position of these places in the mill sector:

	No. of Mills	Spindles installed	Looms installed	Average No. of hands employed
M. B. & Bhopal	18	454,156	11,323	21,637
Rajasthan, Ajmer and Pepsu	12	175,500	3,897	8,044
Punjab & Delhi	11	230,772	5,053	6,735
M. P.	11	373,869	7,350	17,610
Bihar & Orissa	4	82,196	1,609	2,829
Total	56	1,316,493	29,232	56,856

Recent Trends in Localisation

Recent years have, however, witnessed a relative decline in the predominant position of Bombay and the relative spreading out of industrial activity in more and more interior regions. The States which have relatively gained in importance are Bengal, Madhya Bharat, Delhi, Baroda, Hyderabad, Mysore and Rajasthan. This spreading out is characterised by the migration of the industry from regions of hig regions of low labour costs like Mysore, Hydera Travancore-Cochin and some of the Madras St Some of the Indian States like Assam, Bihar, O and Punjab have not yet succeeded in attra the industry. On the whole, the locational t suggest a broad but unmistakable tendency for gradual dispersal and decentralisation of produ activity with decline of original locations. This been brought about by the following factors:

(a) *Development of the means of transport communications* in the interior regions. For a time, the industry could not be established in interior regions, for no transport facilities were a able for collection of raw materials and distribu of finished goods. It was only when the country covered with a network of railways that many manufacturing centres sprang up. Many of centres like Coimbatore, Nagpur, Kanpur, Ma Baroda were more favourably located both in re to raw materials and consumers' market than p of original locations. They were situated in the of the cotton-growing tracts and had acces abundant supply of raw cotton. They had also consuming markets in the surrounding areas. cotton mills, therefore, sprang up in many centres wherever capital and organising ability available.

(b) *Development of hydro-electric resources the country.*—Indeed, the extraordinary rapid ex sion of the spinning industry in Madras, particu in the districts of Madura, Coimbatore and T velly was greatly assisted by the completion of Pykara hydro-electric scheme and the readiness the local industrialists to take advantage of the sources of power. Similarly, the expansion of industry in Mettur and other neighbouring dis was greatly assisted by the construction of Mettur-Stanley Dam. It need hardly be emph that in future the development of hydro-electric p will tend to bring about a wider dispersal of produ activity.

(c) *Operation of deglomerating tendencies in industrial centres* like Bombay, Ahmedabad and pur has further aided the dispersal of produ activity in the cotton mill industry. These d merating tendencies began as a result of (*i*) in in land values and rents; (*ii*) rise in the cost of li (*iii*) increase in internal cost of transport and increase in rates and taxes, town duty, water cha etc. The operation of deglomerating tendencies by increasing the cost of production, consider weakened the competitive position of these ce The locational trends in the cotton mill industry India thus suggest the dispersal of productive act accompanied by a decline in the importance of ori locations.

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Subsidiary Industries

Cotton waste, a by-product of the cotton textile industry, is produced at every stage of transformation of cotton to yarn and subsequently from yarn to cloth. This waste is of various qualities with different characteristics ranging from leafy, fluffy, and stapleless lint, clean or dirty or oil-stained to qualities looking identical to cotton itself. Apart from its use for production of various articles cotton waste is also used in spinning coarse counts for production of carpets, blankets and materials made out of very coarse yarn.

Every country, which has a textile industry, has also indstries which consume cotton waste. But in India, cotton waste consuming industries have not developed and consumption of cotton waste is, therefore, not considerable. This has been due to the cheaper varieties of cotton available at the door-steps of the rural population. The needs of the rural population are also too small to attract cotton waste to be used in place of cotton although it may be a little cheaper. Some articles like saw-dust, coir, coconut fibre, are consumed in this country in place of the cotton waste used in Western countries for stuffing toys, mattresses, etc. Apart from the use of cotton waste for machinery cleaning, in Western countries it is used in industries making paper, plastics, automobiles, etc. It is possible that when these industries expand in our country, cotton waste consumption will increase.

Wherever it is possible, the use of cotton waste in the country to satisfy the various needs of the population needs to be encouraged. Setting up of the machinery for production of coarse yarn used in the manufacture of blankets, carpets, rough bed-sheets and surgical cotton needs to be encouraged. It is also possible to export any surplus of coarse yarn, blankets, and products made out of waste.

Problems of the Industry

1. *Inadequate supply of raw materials*: The partition of the country in 1947 adversely affected the supply of long and medium staple cotton to the mills in the Indian Union. When the Indian Union came into being its cotton acreage and production were only 75 per cent and 60 per cent respectively of those of undivided India just before the partition. On the other hand, India's mill requirements in respect of cotton before and after partition remained practically the same, as out of the total number of mills of undivided India, about 98 per cent were situated in the Indian Union.

But as a result of carrying out of the recommendations of the Indian Central Cotton Committee by the National Government the position today is far more comfortable and it is hoped that in the years to come India would be able to grow enough cotton to meet the requirements of her mill industry.

2. *Rehabilitation of worn-out plant*: A survey of 111 mills conducted by the Working Party for the Cotton Textile Industry reveals that 45,393 looms were installed prior to 1910, 23,375 looms during 1910-25 and 23,130 looms after 1925. This emphasises the need for modernisation of plant and equipment in mills so that the cloth produced by them is flawless and of high quality. Early steps should be taken to implement the recommendations of the Kanungo Committee which has emphasised the importance of converting a half of the existing number of looms in the industry into automatic looms in order to produce suitable cloth for export. The problem needs special attention because of inadequate reserves with the mills to purchase new plants. On rigid estimates about 300 crores of rupees will be required for modernisation of our cotton mill industry. The only possible solutions for this problem are that Government should either arrange for a loan to the industry at a nominal rate of interest repayable by instalments over a fairly long period or a part of the excise duty at present being realised by the Government should be made available to the mills for the purchase of new machinery and equipment.

3. *Low efficiency of labour and need for rationalisation*: The productivity of Indian textile workers is very low *vis-a-vis* their counterparts in other textile-producing countries.* Not only this but the industry is employing more people than are actually needed. At present the industry employs 2½ times the number of workers in U.K. and 3½ times in U.S.A. This stresses the need for rationalisation. The Working Party on Cotton Textile Industry (1952) found that nearly 150 existing cotton mills, *i.e.*, 33.6 per cent of the total number of mills are uneconomic and inefficient units. The Working Party came to the conclusion that mills working automatic looms throughout India have proved satisfactory. This shows the need of equipping the other mills with automatic looms and up-to-date machinery and of rationalising their production. In 1954, the Kanungo Committee recommended that rationalisation of all the sectors of the industry, namely, the mills, power-looms and handlooms should be completed within 15 years, as against ten years suggested by the Working Party Report.

But there is a reluctance, if not resistance, on the part of labour to accept any scheme of rationalisation on the ground that it will create unemployment, increase the work-load and the resulting gains will accrue

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* Number of machines handled by one operative

	Spindles	Looms
India	380	2 Ordinary
Britain	800	6 Ordinary
Japan	1,600-2,000	30-40 Automatic 14-15 Ordinary
U. S.	1,500-2,100	60 Automatic

(Source : *Commerce Annual Review*, 1955).

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solely to the management. But with a proper scheme to deal with surplus labour and with the firm conviction that the benefit of rationalisation would be shared both by the management and labour the rationalisation should be soon brought into effect.

4. *Cost of manufacture in Indian mills is excessively high* : This has restricted the market for our products. The impost of taxes and labour costs are unduly high. There are substantial burdens in the form of import duty on cloth, excise duty, increase in wage bill on account of basic wages, increased freight on coal, provident fund, employee's State insurance, extra holidays with pay, etc.

Exports

The importance of the export trade in our national economy can hardly be overemphasised. Cloth exports have in recent years earned on an average about Rs. 60 crores of foreign exchange. Along with tea and jute goods, cotton cloth accounts for about three-fifths of our total export earnings. The one million yards figure for exports fixed at the International Conference of all the important textile countries at Buxton in 1952, regarded as a target not very long ago, is coming to be regarded as a norm, our exports in 1954 being 897.7 million yards. But the export trade in cotton cloth suffered, for reasons mentioned below, a set-back during 1955. The total shipment of mill-made piece-goods during this year aggregated 836.0 million yards representing a fall of nearly 7 per cent. The fall was shared mostly by fine and superfine cloths.†

Reasons for Decline in Exports

(*a*) Countries like Japan, whose economies were ravaged by the last World War, have now completely recovered and have made great headway in regard to the manufacture of cotton textiles. These countries have long regained their pre-war position in the export markets and have been taking all possible measures to strengthen and widen their hold over these markets.

(*b*) Over and above the traditional suppliers of cotton textiles certain new sources of supply have sprung up in the course of the last few years. Countries like Pakistan, Iran, Egypt, Sudan, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia and Australia who were not manufacturing this article before, have now started its manufacture and have expanded their production to such an extent that some of them are not only supplying the needs of their countrymen but are looking beyond the limits of their respective countries for the disposal of their surplus production. These countries have raised trade barriers to protect their infant industry.

(*c*) The markets for cotton textiles, as in fact for many other commodities have changed into buyers' markets. There is increasing price resistance from the buyers in the foreign markets.

(*d*) Dock labour trouble and non-availability of shipping space for certain destinations too, contributed to the decline in export trade in textiles.

The ability of the Indian cloth to hold its own in the foreign markets would depend upon the availability of Indian cotton, maintenance of its quality and the formulation of a long-term export policy by the Government. The following measures are suggested:

1. The Government should provide fiscal incentives to exports, *e.g.*, reduction in export duty, exemption of exported cloth from sales tax, etc.

2. The ocean and railway freight on cloth exported must be revised downwards.

3. The Government should send Trade Missions to various countries to explore market possibilities and strengthen the offices of our Trade Representatives abroad. There is also need to establish showrooms in foreign countries.

4. The mills should devote attention to the special needs of different buying countries in the matter of yardage, finish, packing, etc. The mode of packing must be improved; the Textile Commissioner should see that it is compulsorily adopted by all the mills in the case of exports; there is also need for a uniform system of packing of pieces according to qualities.

5. The tendency on the part of a section of the mills to delay deliveries whenever there is an increased domestic demand which results in late shipments of contracted goods must be curbed.

6. There is an absolute need for more generous sampling as it would help exporters to show the sample to prospective buyers and secure orders.

7. Claims for deficiency in quality or delay in shipment or damage to goods, etc., should be settled within a reasonable time.

8. The exporters must study tastes of overseas customers and note carefully the changes therein from time to time and apprise the mills of the pattern and specifications of the cloth required by those buyers.

The Indian textiles which have in the past dominated foreign markets on the basis of price, should rapidly learn to compete increasingly in terms of quality too. This is important because the industry earns more from its higher technical efficiency, the

† The table below shows percentage to total exports of the different categories of cloth during 1955 as compared with 1954 :

	1954	1955
Total exports	898 million yds.	836 million yds.
Coarse	21 p.c.	21 p.c.
Medium	68 p.c.	74 p.c.
Fine	8.5 p.c.	3 p.c.
Superfine	2.5 p.c.	2 p.c.

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worker from his improved skills, the cotton grower from the betterment in the quality of his fibre. Good quality is also important to retain foreign markets in the present-day competitive conditions. In this direction the work of the Export Promotion Council, which was established in October, 1954, is praiseworthy. By enforcing standards and undertaking both market research and public relations work in export markets the Council has earned reputation to the industry. The Export Promotion Council has demonstrated its usefulness by sponsoring a delegation which visited several south Asian countries (*viz.*, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon) last July in order to explore the scope for Indian cloth exports to that vast region. The Council has as part of its export promotion programme opened three offices at Baghdad, Jakarta, and in British West Africa. These offices will look after the markets of those regions.

Cotton Mill Industry in the Five-Year Plan

The year 1955 witnessed an all-time peak in the mill output of cloth, the quantity produced being 5,094 million yards as against 4,988 million yards in 1954. Thus the mill sector of the cotton textile industry surpassed the production target of 4,700 million yards set for it in the First Five-Year Plan by 394 million yards. As for the handloom industry its actual output during 1955 is 1,954 million yards as against 1,318 million yards in 1954. As compared with the target fixed in the Plan, the production is lower by 246 million yards. The following is a statement showing the production of cloth in different sectors during the years 1954 and 1955:

(In million yards)

Production	1954	1955
Mill sector	4,998	5,094
Handlooms	1,318	1,454
Powerlooms	243	273
Total supply	6,559	6,821
Less exports of mill-made piecegoods	898	836
Supply available for internal consumption	5,661	5,985

The substantial rise in the production of cloth—mill and handloom—on the one hand, and a fall in exports on the other, resulted in the availability of a larger supply of cloth for internal consumption during 1955 than in 1954, as is shown in the statement above. On the basis of these figures, the per capita availability of cloth for consumption works out to about 15.6 yards during 1955. This compares very poorly with that of U.S.A. and U.K. where the corresponding figures are 60 yards and 40 yards respectively. We have to make a leeway to fulfil the National Planning Committee's suggested minimum of 30 yards per capita consumption or even the Planning Commission's promise of 18 yards. To meet this need, the original Plan-frame laid down the following provisional targets of production:

(In million yards)

	Provisional supply in 1955-56	Estimated supply in 1960-61	Proposed increase
Mills	5,000	5,500	500
Handlooms	1,400	3,000	1,600
Powerlooms	200	200	Nil

The production of mill-made cotton cloth was expected to increase from 5,000 million yards to 5,500 million yards per year by 1960-61, the additional production being used mainly for exports. The rise in demand for cloth in the country was to be met by handlooms and small powerlooms, the production from which was to increase from 1,600 million yards in 1955-56 to 3,200 million yards in 1960-61. This was expected to provide for a domestic consumption of 18 yards per person per year.

A lot of controversy, however, centred round this proposed policy of reserving the production of all the additional needs of the home market for the handlooms. The antagonists of this policy contended that the organisation of mass production on a decentralised basis is not a light task. The risks of lack of coordination are great and during the period when cloth is likely to be in short supply any break in the regular and adequate flow of yarn to the handlooms through reliance on the Ambar Charkha will lead to undesirable consequences and cause distress to the people. It will connote dangerous inflationary potential in the economy. It will also mean that handlooms, the admittedly high cost producer, will increasingly set the level of prices. To this upward pressure on the level of textile prices will be added the increasing impact of the demand for mill cloth to which generations of consumers have got accustomed and supplies of which will not be expanding at all. The protagonist of this policy claimed that the use of the Ambar Charkha and the introduction of decentralised spinning on a large scale will make it possible to add to full-time rural employment on a substantial scale. The Central Government, therefore, set up in April this year the Ambar Charkha Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. S. S. Khera, Secretary, Union Production Ministry, to investigate the economic and technological aspects of the Ambar Charkha. The report of the Committee is out. It has recommended the introduction of 75,000 Ambar Charkhas during the current financial year. The result of the introduction of the first batch of Charkhas, the Committee says, should be further examined and the Government should take a decision by the end of December, 1958

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regarding the scale of the scheme for 1957-58 and the probable scale for 1958-59. An annual review of the progress, the Committee has said, should be undertaken and further prospect of the scheme should be examined with special attention to technical improvements, quality of the product, productivity, workers' earnings, subsidy element and so on. All these recommendations have been accepted by the Government of India.

It has now been decided to secure a total additional production of 1,700 million yards of cloth by making use of all the three sectors of textile production mills, powerlooms and handlooms. The aggregate cloth production is 6,700 million yards at present and if this is raised to 8,400 million yards, it will provide a per capita supply of 18.5 yards of the domestic market, besides leaving 1,000 million yards for exports. The target output of 8,400 million yards, however, is only a provisional target for the Second Plan. It will be subject to review in the light of changing circumstances. For the present, the additional production of 1,700 million yards is to be distributed as follows:

(*i*) 700 million yards for the handloom industry from mill yarn;

(*ii*) 300 million yards for the handloom industry from Ambar Charkha yarn;

(*iii*) 200 million yards by the introduction of powerlooms in the handloom sector. Co-operative societies of handloom weavers are to be aided with loans to instal some 35,000 additional powerlooms in the two years 1956-57 and 1957-58;

(*iv*) 350 million yards by the expansion of the mill sector for purposes of export. Mills producing for export are to be permitted to instal automatic looms, the number of which will be limited to 14,600, giving an additional output of 350 million yards. The cloth produced on these extra looms would be earmarked for export, but if necessity arises this cloth may be allowed to be sold in the home market subject to a penal excise duty;

(*v*) 150 million yards reserved to be allocated to that sector which is capable of producing it.

At present the handloom production is about 1,500 million yards of cloth annually. Under the above scheme, out of the additional demand of 1,700 million yards, 1,000 million yards have been reserved for production by the handloom industry making thus a total of 2,500 million yards in all. The revised textile policy has, however, not been received with the unanimous approval of the interested sections in the country. For example, it is contended that (1) the introduction of powerlooms in the handloom sector would result in large-scale displacement of the handloom weavers and total paralysation of the handloom industry. The Kanungo Committee had admitted that one powerloom would easily displace 20 handlooms. But this contention overlooks the need for improvement in production techniques in order to enable the handloom weaver to improve his earnings, and raise his standard of living. At the same time, this change-over to power would be so regulated that it would be in relation to the additional demand for cloth, and only after care has been taken to see that full employment has been provided to existing handloom weavers; (2) the additional quota of 14,600 automatic looms "in the name of exports" given to mills is uncalled for. The country has already 28.64 lakhs of handlooms and even assuming that there are only 22 lakhs, making allowance for idle looms, the production of handloom cloth at the rate of 6 yards per loom per day could be 4,000 million yards. But it is submitted that the figure of 28.64 lakhs was collected in 1951 at a time when there was an acute shortage of yarn and the numbers were inflated in order to secure additional yarn supplies. The Textile Inquiry Committee (The Kanungo Committee) after carrying sample surveys assessed the number of active commercial looms at only 1.24 millions. Except in one or two places the Committee also found that the actual handloom weaver is a whole-time weaver by occupation. The finding has been borne out in the Census Report for 1951 where the number of full-time handloom weavers has been calculated at 1.28 millions. In order to produce the 2,500 million yards of cloth which has been reserved for the handloom industry, it would require nearly 1.4 million handlooms working full time for 300 days a year at the rate of 6 yards a day per loom. It would be apparent, therefore, that there need be no fear of unemployment.

The recommendations made by the Textile Inquiry Committee (The Kanungo Committee) and the relevant factors were fully taken into account by the Government before arriving at these decisions.

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GLIMPSES OF SOCIAL LIFE IN MAURYA INDIA

By Dr. BIMAL KANTI MAJUMDER, M.A., D.Phil.

The rule of the Imperial Mauryas constitutes one of the most brilliant periods in the annals of ancient India from whatever point of view one may approach it. A picture of the state of society in the period under review will, therefore, be a subject of absorbing interest. Abundant materials bearing on the social life may with advantage be culled from the statements of Graeco-Roman writers like Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo, Pliny, Diodorus, etc., the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya (supposing that Kautilya or Vishnugupta flourished in the fourth century B.C.), the Code of Manu, the Pali books, Patanjali and also from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. These works vary in date, manner of presentation and wealth of detail, and consequently the materials collected have to be taken with a grain of salt.

Population: Caste System: Social Division

The majority of population consisted, as in modern India, of agriculturists. The higher classes in the country served in the capacity of State officials and had no land-owning qualification. They were granted a defined portion of the revenue so that they might meet their normal expenses. According to the Cambridge History (*Ancient India*, Vol. I), this was almost like the *jaigir* system of Muslim times. Persons engaged in cattle-breeding were provided with a share of stock.[1] Megasthenes says that the people were divided into the following *seven* classes: (1) Philosophers, (2) Husbandmen, (3) Herdsmen and Hunters, (4) Artisans and Traders, (5) Soldiers, (6) Overseers, (7) Councillors. The list does not appear to be exhaustive. There were a large number of crafts; especially persons, dealing in precious metals and textiles, existed. Persons following the professions of the doctor, the actor, the singer, the dancer and the soothsayer formed a large percentage.[2]

The caste system was already an old institution in the Maurya period, although there is no clear reference to Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras as separate castes in the inscriptions of Asoka. The *Arthasastra* has detailed the duties of the four castes.[3] If the duties assigned to each caste were not performed by its members, the society, Kautilya apprehended, would collapse by confusion of castes.

"It is to this period," writes the Cambridge History,[4] "that we must ascribe the great complexity of the caste system, and the beginning of the association of caste with craft. It seems not doubtful that a number of castes did arise, according to the Brahmana theory, by intermixtures of the old four divisions which still formed the basis, a process natural in itself, when intermarriage between the different classes were still licit, and certain to be specially noted, while it is evidenced not only by the testimony of the theological works, but also by so wordly a treatise as the *Arthasastra*."

On the basis of Asokan inscriptions and Buddhist Pali works it is not difficult to form an idea of the social structure. It was as follows:

(1) *Brahmanas, i.e.*, worldly Brahmanas and not Sramanas who were probably travelling saints and mendicants having their own independent religious views and not adhering to the practices prescribed by the Vedas.

(2) *Grihapatis*, an aristocratic class coming after the Kshatriyas and the Brahmanas.

(3) *Bhrityakas* and *Dasas, i.e.*, hired labour and bondsmen forming the lowest stratum.

The inscriptions of Asoka mention a number of religions, sects and communities. They comprised the Brahmanas, the Buddhists (Sramanas), the Nigranthas and the Ajivikas. Asoka's conception of *dhamma* exercised a wholesome influence on the religious life of the period. The law of piety which he inculcated, 'denotes any act in accord with the established custom which a man of right feeling will naturally do, and which further is the cause of heavenly bliss.'

Language and writing: The Asokan edicts throw considerable light upon the vehicles of culture of those days, thus revealing the cultural side of the society. The vehicles of culture were—alphabet and speech or language. There were two scripts: (1) Brahmi and (2) Kharoshthi. The former is supposed to have emanated from God, Brahma. Four different languages or more properly, four modes of speech were recognised by the ancient writers. Prakrita was the common language used in Asokan Lipis, and this, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,[5] was not a different language but only a different mode of speech from Sanskrita, the parent language. According to Strabo, the Indians had no written laws, because they were

1. *Cambridge History*: *Ancient India*, Vol. I, p. 475.
2. The terms were—*Chikitsaka, Kusilava, Gayana, Nartaka* and also *Vagyivin*.
3. *Kautilya Arthasastra*: Shyama Sastri's tr., pp. 7-8.
4. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 470.
5. *Asoka*, 3rd Ed.

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ignorant of the art of writing, and conducted all matters with the help of memory. The same writer quotes Nearchos as saying that the Indians wrote letters on pieces of closely woven linen. Kautilya speaks of two kinds of palm leaves as important forest produce used as writing material (*tala, tali* and *bhujya*). In different places of Kautilya's work the word *patra* appears and means letter or writ. The edicts of Asoka, however, leave no room for doubt that writing for literary and other purposes was in common use throughout India.

DOMESTIC LIFE: MARRIAGE: POSITION OF WOMEN

In domestic life, the joint-family system generally prevailed. The position of women was not positively inferior. Eight forms of marriage,—four regular and four irregular, were known. Dissolution of marriage by mutual consent or prolonged absence was not a rare thing. Boys and girls attained their majority at the age of sixteen and twelve respectively. Adoption sanctioned by the king was by no means unknown. The wife got her dowry, her ornaments and bride-gift, and these were considered her private property and could be at her disposal in case of widowhood.[6] On the failure of male issue, the husband could take other wives. Widow remarriage existed. Strabo states that the Indian married many wives. The *Arthasastra* allows unlimited polygamy provided the wives previously married were compensated. The inscription of Asoka refers to *avorodhana* and *antahpura*. This tends to remove the notion that the seclusion of women was unknown in ancient India and that the *purdah* system came into vogue with the coming of the Muslims.

Slavery: It was an approved institution in ancient India. Relying probably on Megasthenes (none of the Indians employed slaves, and according to Onesikritos, this was probably peculiar to one part of India), Arrian says, "All Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave." The above statement represents an ideal state of affairs. Kautilya writes a whole chapter on slavery. The Edicts (Nos. 9, 11, 13) of Emperor Asoka mention slaves (*dasa*) as distinguished from hired servants. In his *Early History of Bengal* Monahan[7] observes:

> "It is possible that Megasthenes may have been misled by a statement of Onesikritos (that slavery did not exist in the country ruled by Mausikanos) and taken it as applying to the whole of India or it may be that the slavery of India being of mild character and limited extent as compared with that which prevailed in the Hellenic world, he did not become aware of its existence. Perhaps, he had heard the principle (laid down in the *Arthasastra*) that no Arya should be kept in condition of slavery. This, if literally applied, would [illegible] exempted from permanent slavery the great bulk the population, Sudras being regarded as Ar although the *Arthsaastra* admits of Aryas b reduced temporarily to servitude."

Kautilya clearly recognises the institution, a gives elaborate regulations regarding slaves. They of different kinds, slaves born in master's house, sl inherited, purchased or obtained by mortgage captured in war. The rights and privileges of H slaves were many. They had the right to inherit perty, the right to ransom themselves, the righ sue their masters for cruelty and oppression. against slavery and slave trade were also strin Anyway, the Indian slaves of the Maurya p enjoyed a far better status than the ancient G and Roman slaves and the Negro slaves of the n teenth century.

SOCIAL RITES AND CUSTOMS: DISPOSAL OF THE D

We know from the Rock Edict No. IV issue the twelfth year of Asoka's reign that the sacri slaughter of living creatures, the killing of ani beings, unseemly behaviour to relatives, Brahm and ascetics were a common feature, but in a 257 B.C. there was a distinct improvement in s morality consequent upon the benign teachings of Maurya Emperor. The kings were in the habit going on Vihara Jatras or tours of pleasure ac panied by hunting and amusements. The people formed various ceremonies (*mangalas*) on the occa of sickness, wedding of sons and daughters, etc. women also performed numberless ceremonies. these were stopped. The Greek writers have noted absence of funeral display. As to the disposal of dead, the system of burning (cremation) and b co-existed. Strabo refers to the strange custom Taxila of throwing out the dead to be devoured vultures. The Cambridge *Ancient India* as it to the influence of Iran. *Sati* was practised. quote here what Strabo[8] says:

> "He (Aristobulos) had heard from some sons of wives burning themselves along with t deceased husbands and doing so gladly; and those women who refuse to burn themselves held in disgrace."

Education: As regards education, training, physical and mental, according to the Vedic texts, adhered to. The Buddhist Jatakas, however, state Takshasila was a great centre of learning and people and princes from different parts of the cou used to join this University to complete their educa 'The Vedas and the sixteen accomplishments' for the curriculum of study. Panini, the great gramma Kautilya, the renowned statesman, and Charaka, eminent writer of medical treatise, are supposed to

6. *Arthasastra*, tr., p. 59.
7. *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 164-65.
8. B.K. XV, Chap. X, Sec. 62.

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the products of Takshasila. There are grounds for believing that the percentage of literacy was probably high.

Manners and Morals of the People

The Greek writers, especially Megasthenes, have praised Indians for their frugality and simplicity of manners. Theft was a thing of rare occurrence. No Indian was accused of lying (Arrian). They never drank wine except at sacrifice. This picture seems somewhat overdrawn. Drinking was permitted by the State and practised by certain classes in all probability. Kautilya tells us that luxury, litigation and theft were not things out of the ordinary. The classical authors and Kautilya say a good deal about public women or *ganikas*. They were generally attached to the royal court.

"Accomplished courtesans of the dancing-girl class enjoyed a privileged position at court . . . they held the royal umbrella, fan and golden pitcher . . . they were subject to strict official control."[9]

That *ganikas* had a social standing in ancient days is clear from the story of Amrapali in the Vinaya text of the Mulasarvastidas. While speaking of the morals and manners of ancient Athenians, Will Durant[10] writes:

"In morality as in alphabet, measures, weights, coinage, costume, music, astronomy and mystic cults, classic Athens seems more oriental than European. No stigma is attached in Athens to the occasional intercourse of youngmen with courtesans . . . Athens officially recognises prostitution, and levies a tax upon its practitioners."

9. Smith: *Oxford History of India*, p. 79.
10. *The Life of Greece*, p. 299.

Foreign Influence: General Features of Social Life and National Character

Dr. Thomas finds the traces of foreign (Persian) influence in Asoka's stone architecture and in the style of his edicts. Some archaeologists are inclined to believe that the Asokan architecture bears traces of foreign influence. One view is that "most of the features exhibited by the upper half of the column are of Assyrian origin." Another view is that it is Perso-Hellenic.[11] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[12] holds that the Asokan architecture, though dominantly Assyrian, was yet Indian, because 'the idea of erecting pillars by themselves, and not forming integral part of any building is neither Persian or Hellenic, but Indian.' Anyway, it is not impossible to think that, India known as she was to civilised Western countries in the days of the Mauryas, there might have been a touch of universality in Asoka's art and architecture as in his religion.[13]

As regards the general features of the Maurya society, we are told that there was the growth of luxury, love of finery and adornment with the rapid extension of the Maurya Empire together with a low tone of morality. We learn from Kautilya[14] that all kinds of offences against women were severely dealt with. Unless offences against women were very common, such regulations would have been unnecessary. The Greek invasion of the fourth century B.C., the liberation of the Punjab from the Macedonian yoke under Chandragupta, the rallying of the people, so long distracted and disunited, round him, the general unwillingness on the part of the people to be swayed by the Hellenic ideas about manners, customs and methods of warfare—all these go to prove the strength of the national character and the consciousness of the masses about the benefits of political union and national salvation and progress through the centralised authority of a national hero-king.

11. *CHI.*, p. 622.
12. *Asoka*, 3rd Ed., p. 214.
13. Dr. A. Sen: *Asoka Lipi*, p. 51.
14. *Kautilya*, tr., B.K. IV, Chap. XII.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIA IN THE VEDIC AGE (Being a history of Aryan expansion in India): *By Purushottam Lal Bhargava, M.A., Ph.D., Sastri. The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Lucknow. 1956. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 22-8.*

It was in 1922 that Pargiter published his now famous volume *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* in which he sought for the first time with great critical acumen and industry to utilise the vast genealogical material in the *Puranas* for giving a connected account of the history of our land down to the Bharata War. Pargiter's method which involved a total rejection of the Vedic ("Brahmana") in favour of the Epic and the Puranic ("Kshatriya") tradition was strongly criticised at the time by a number of scholars including the late Professors Keith and Johnston. In recent times a number of Indian scholars—S. N. Pradhan, H. C. Raychaudhuri and A. D. Pusalkar—in attempting to cover more or less completely the same ground have adopted a more balanced view seeking to rectify the defects of the *Purana* historical tradition of the most ancient times in the light of the more authentic Vedic data. The present work which is the latest in the series is distinguished from the rest by its fundamental standpoint which may be stated in the author's words. Discussing the Puranic account of the royal genealogies he observes that the approximately correct version obtained by collation of the epic and the Puranic texts, when shorn of the additions, interpolations and mistakes of the later Puranic editors, fully agrees with the ancient record of the *Sutas*. More clearly he states that the original Puranic layer consisting of the records of the *Sutas*, as distinguished from the later layer comprising the additions and interpolations of the later editors, is in remarkable agreement with the Vedic evidence. The author seeks to prove his case by a number of arguments which deserve the serious attention of all scholars. On some points his views are open to criticism, as when he frames the hypothesis (Chapt. II) of an original *Purana* which formed the basis of the historical narratives in the later Vedic *Samhitas* (although the Vedic references mention the *Puranas* only as a branch of literature dealing with creation-legends and so forth) or when he holds (Chap. III) that the Aryans entered India under the leadership of Manu (clearly an eponymous culture-hero and not a historical figure) and were driven by a great flood from their original home (none of the Vedic legends of the flood or even the parallel Babylonian legends making any reference to such a migration). The author's other conclusions are important and noteworthy, as when he proceeds to show that the early royal families descended fr Manu belonged to the Indus Valley (the location the Saudyumnas and the Aikshhvakas at Pratishth in the Vatsa territory and at Kosala respectively be due to a mistake of the later Puranic editors in pl ing them in regions ruled by their descendants), t the titles 'lunar' and 'solar' race applied by the la writers to those families have no warrant in the ol texts which know Soma (grandfather of Sudyum and Vivasvan (father of Manu) only as proper nam that Pargiter's designation of "the Aila race" is error arising from transfer of a metronymic used Pururavas to his descendants, that the Haihayas a the Aikshvakas and others spread to the west and south in later times. Less thorough and convincing the author's chronology of the Vedic period (Ch IX) which is based upon his acceptance of the Pura interval of 1050 years between Parikshit and Ma padma Nanda and his calculation of the number royal generations preceding Parikshit on an aver of 20 years for each generation, the result giving Vedic Age a duration of about 2,000 years from 3 B.C. (date of the Aryan migration) to 1,000 B (date of the Bharata War). The author's sketch Vedic society (Chap. XI) leads him to the sweep generalisation that the Vedic Indians "had no ca system but were divided into three classes.". equally sketchy account of Vedic religion (Chap. X makes him indulge in the equally unsatisfac generalisation that "the present Hindu relig though greatly changed in appearance, is in essence descendant of the old Vedic religion."

On the whole this is a very scholarly work deser ing the serious attention of all those interested in t study of Ancient Indian history and culture. The bo is written in a clear style and is remarkably free fr printing mistakes.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF INDIA A PAKISTAN: *By Kali Charan Ghosh. Published K. P. Basu Publishing Co., 42, Cornwallis Stre Calcutta-6. Pp. 486. Price Rs. 20.*

This is the revised and enlarged edition of t author's book published several years back and words "and Pakistan" has been added to the title the original book. Division of this sub-continent in two sovereign States since 15th August, 1947, created numerous economic problems for each of th units. The pattern of trades and industries is f changing in India and as a result of Five-Year Pla our agricultural economy is being converted into

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industrial one and our exports of raw materials are fast being changed into that of finished or semi-finished manufacture. Our trade with Pakistan comes under the category of 'international.' As India is trying to be independent of Pakistan in raw materials, such as, jute, cotton and cereals, so Pakistan is endeavouring to build up her industries without depending on Indian supply.

The book under review is just the book of reference necessary for students, economists, industrialists and planners. The subject-matter is classified into nineteen chapters, *viz.*, Area and Political Division, Land and Natural Regions, Man-power—Population and Economic Status, Agriculture, Livestock, Forest, Minerals, Raw Materials (Nos. 334 arranged alphabetically), Water—Irrigation, Power Projects, Transport and Communication, Ports, Foreign Trade, Inland Trade, Joint Stock Companies, Industry—Capital Investments, Electrical Power, Banks, Insurance and Co-operatives, Public Finance and National Income. An Appendix gives in short particulars of the Second Five-Year Plan and the Industrial policy of the Government of India. Index at the end of the book will help readers to find the wealth of information contained in the volume. Pakistan figures have been given at the end of each chapter and comparative world figures are illuminating.

The author has spared no pains to furnish up-to-date figures and information from Blue Books of India and Pakistan and also from International Publications of U.N., I.M.F. and World Bank. Recent publications of U.S.A. and U.K. and various reports have been fully utilized to make this publication dependable. As a book of reference this publication shall find its place in our college and public libraries, and men of business and industrialists will benefit by its possession. We congratulate Sri Ghosh for presenting to the public so much information in one volume at a time when it is most needed in the wake of the Second Five-Year Plan.

A. B. Dutta

MORNING BLOSSOMS: *Being a collection of the earliest writings of P. Chakravarti, Chief Justice of West Bengal and for some time Governor. General Printers and Publishers Private Ltd., 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13. Illustrated.*

It is due to the initiative and enterprise of Sj. Suresh Chandra Das, a devoted pupil of the author, that the treasures hidden in the pages of a college magazine, have been brought to the public view in a handy book-form after no less than thirty years. Of all the college magazines we have ever seen, the Presidency College Magazine certainly deserves the credit of being a first-class periodical of this type. And it is no little credit for the Magazine that it was once able to obtain these treasures for their first publication. The book under review contains five invaluable articles written as a student and ex-student of the Presidency College of Calcutta, the premier educational institution on this side of India, between the years 1917 and 1926. The articles are: (1) An Evening Talk, (2) A Defence of College Square, (3) Monmohan Ghose, (4) The Calcutta University, and (5) English Written by Indians. These essays are very entertaining. The second one reminds most of us of our college days, when scarcely a single day passed without a stroll round the College Square. We confess, we missed many things which could not escape the penetrating eyes of the author. His narration is very often reflective. The chapter on Monmohan Ghose is excellent. The students of the mystic poet-professor, no less than the lay readers like ourselves who had not the fortune of hearing him in the class-room, will derive much benefit and get enlightened from the perusal of this highly entertaining pen-picture by the author. The paper on 'The Calcutta University' speaks much of the influence of such an institution on the social life of Bengal, nay India, and in view of the approach of its centenary, should be read and re-read by those engaged in writing its history. We cannot but congratulate Sj. Das on this timely publication.

Jogesh C. Bagal

DIALOGUES WITH THE GURU: *Compiled by R. Krishna Swami Iyer. Published by Chetana Ltd., 34, Rampart Row, Bombay-1. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 5.*

The author, who has to his credit four more books on the Vedanta, presents in this volume a compilation of talks with His Holiness Sri Chandra Sekhar Bharati Swamina, the late Sankaracharya of Sringeri Math, with an introduction by M. Paul Masson-Oursel, Director of Studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, University of Paris.

Sringeri Math is one of the four monasteries founded by Sri Sankaracharya in the ninth century at the four corners of India as fortresses of Hinduism. The venerable abbots of these monasteries are called Sankaracharya as successors of the great founder. Sri Chandrasekhar Bharati, who was the former abbot of Sringeri Math, situated in a beautiful place on the river Tunga, was born on Sunday, October 16, 1892, and passed away on Sunday, September 26, 1954. He was such a versatile Sanskrit scholar and a spiritual giant that President Rajendra Prasad and other celebrities were profited by his illuminating conversations. In 1931, he initiated Sri Abhinava Vidyatirtha, the present abbot of Sringeri Math and installed him as his successor and withdrew entirely from the secular affairs of the Math for wholetime study and meditation.

The conversations, recorded in this book, took place between the years 1925 and 1927 about thirty years ago and are held on Hinduism, modern education, marriage reform, religious neutrality, fate and free will, unity of God, true devotion, Advaita and similar other problems of topical interest. About these dialogues rightly does M. Paul Masson-Oursel observe in the introduction as follows: "It is a two-voiced meditation on the attainment of deliverance in accordance with the purest Vedantic orthodoxy. The author has made a faithful and judicious interpreter of the teaching of Sri Sankara's School. In the past as in the present, *gurus* to comment the venerated texts have assuredly never been wanting. Here is a question of showing how the highest truth can serve us in practical life, and how the concrete and multiple difficulties of the modern man, private and professional alike, are to be overcome by a wisdom which is not only classical but immutable. True in the absolute level, Vedanta is no less so at the temporal level. Resolving all abstract problems it must correspondingly solve all the points of conscience that line the path of man or woman from birth till death. Eternity is contemporary with all ages. And orthodoxy is presented here in terms of an integral eternalism—an adequate presentation of that immutable truth as the condition of salvation, of deliverance for all beings."

"This manual," reiterates the same French savant, "which places the purest traditional knowledge within the grasp of the most modern Hindu should also be a

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matter of keen interest to India's Western friends; for, it is dessemination of this kind alone, that can prevent its civilisation with its so rich past and so rich future from foundering in a chaotic humanism."

The book is attractively got-up and adorned with a beautiful portrait of the late Sankaracharya of Sringeri Math whose dialogues are published in it.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

1. SPIRITUAL AWAKENER: *Pp. 160. Price Re. 1-8.*

2. GOD-REALISATION: *Pp. 190. Price Rs. 2.*

3. YOGA AND REALISATION: *Pp. 250. Price Rs. 3.*

These three books are written by Swami Sivananda and published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University. P.O. Sivananda Nagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The first book is a bouquet of elevating messages of Swami Sivananda, the dynamic Hindu monk of Rishikesh. They are judiciously gleaned from numerous letters and leaflets of the prolific author. These sayings, which are surcharged with deep spiritual fervour, will certainly be instructive to the aspirants and general readers alike.

The second volume contains a careful collection of several interesting articles of the author made by his disciple Swami Keshavananda. Now as the dark cloud of rank materialism is fast enveloping the firmament of India, the book timely sheds a bright light of spirituality. The author explains various practical ways and means of perfecting the heart and realising God, and impressively exhorts the afflicted people to practise them in daily life for the sake of needed peace and bliss.

The last one is a compilation of different articles written by the learned author on Yoga, which is the wonderful fruit of Indian culture and a distinct way of union for the mortals with the Immortal One. These essays are brief, thoughtful and inspiring. Though there is a lamentable lack of scholarly versatility and profundity, yet the book contains the essence of the subject dealt with. The articles under the caption of "Cast Off This Ego," "Philosophy of Bhakti," "Ideal of Yoga," "The Rugged Path" and "Ethics of the Bhagavad Gita" require special mention. The book, it is hoped, will be able to instil in the hearts of the readers an interest in the study and practice of Yoga.

SHIBANI PRASAD MAITRA

ECHOES: *By One who has heard and caught them. To be had of M/s. Das Gupta & Co., Ltd., 64/3 College Street, Calcutta-12. Price inland Rs. 2-12, Foreign 6s.*

Sri Sri Nripendranath, author of this book, left his mortal coil in 1951. In the form of questions and answers he, in this book, explains clearly and tries to solve in his own way many of our spiritual problems. In the first seven chapters he describes the nature of God and man's relation to Him, tht real meaning of religion, the way of self-realisation and the different religious pursuits of knowledge, action and love. The subsequent chapters deal with the significance of the symbol of Siva, the image of Kali and the conception of Krishna and Radhika. Non-communal and lucid, these discussions will be found illuminating.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

BENGALI

JALADHAR SEN-ER ATMAJIVANI (Autobiography of Jaladhar Sen): *From notes taken down by Narendranath Bose. With a sketch of his literary life by Hemendraprasad Ghose. Prabartak Publishers, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 3.*

It was sometime in 1925, when Rai Bahadur Jaladhar Sen, the well-known litterateur of a generation ago, was sixty-five, that Narendranath Bose along with some literary friends told him one evening at the Calcutta Hotel that it would be of great interest to them as well as to the Bengali-reading public if he narrated in detail his life-story and that Bose was ready and willing to write it down *verbatim*, in several sittings, if necessary. They pressed him hard and Jaladhar Sen was agreeable to the proposal on condition that the account should not be published in his life-time. But they could meet only at long intervals. Within a period of four or five years they could sit together only for twenty-one days, and the result was this autobiographical book depicting the early life of this loveable writer.

Jaladhar Sen was a novelist, essayist and writer of short stories but, above all, he was a writer of travel-accounts. As Hemendraprasad Ghose remarks in his sketch that at the time Jaladhar Sen began to write—a book of travel was almost a rarity and Sen continued to work in this field for a long time. *Himalaya, Prabaser Patra, Pathik* and *Himadri* are still unrivalled in this department of literature. But what endeared him to all is not merely his writings but his genial personality. Though he was a Rai Bahadur, a title conferred on him by the then Government for his literary attainments, people would seldom use this title but everyone, young or old, addressed him as *dada*. Even at the time Jaladhar Sen emerged as a remarkable writer there were literary factions and the groups often stood apart, but this "elder brother" of the literary world was loved and respected by all groups without distinction. He was, so to say, without an enemy. For a long time till his death Jaladhar Sen very ably conducted as Editor the Bengali monthly *Bharatvarsa* founded by the poet Dwijendra Lal Roy. He was in various ways connected with the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and other great literary institutions, and was the permanent President of the Rabi-basar. Narendranath Bose has done well to record this autobiographical account of his early life and of his association with his Master, his friend, philosopher and guide, Kangal Harinath. Had the book been a complete story of his life it would have been a great autobiography, but as it is, it is fascinating.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

HINDI

AMIT REKHAEN: *Compiled by Satyavati Mallik. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 246. Price Rs. 3.*

"Not the inventors of the new machinery, but the inventors of new values move the world." so wrote Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in the autograph-book of the compiler when she first met him by a chance but never-to-be forgotten and happy coincidence in New Delhi. The book, under review, seems to be a kind of commentary on this dictum of the learned doctor. For, the five sections into which it is divided, centre, first, round the majesty of the Mother in terms of her integral influence on her offspring as illustrated in the life of Gandhiji. Deenabandhu Andrews (to whom the book is dedicated) and others; secondly, deal with unique individuals like Madame Curie, Kasturba Gandhi, Sarojnalini Dutt; thirdly, describe a few characters who, drawn from the common run of humanity though, yet revealed a rare sublimity and strength of human nature; fourthly, recall golden

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memories of persons in whom shone true heroism of the spirit; and, fifthly and finally, recapture moments which were packed with the ecstacy of the Eternal respectively. *Amit Rekhaen* can be employed usefully as a teacher of high ethics in our schools and families.

EK ADARSHI MAHILA: *By Vinayak Tiwari. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.*

This is a life-sketch of the late Shrimati Avantikabai Gokhale, who was one of our ideal women-servers of the country of the Gandhian pattern—an exemplary helpmate of her husband, a strenuous and selfless social worker, a disciplined devotee and a picture of humility. She will, therefore, continue to be a beacon-light to our women social workers in particular.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) GUJARATI BHASHA: *Translated by Keshavram K. Shastri. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 2.*

(2) HARSAMENO PAD ANE HARMATA: *By Keshavram K. Shastri. Pp. 230. Price Rs. 3.*

(3) MAHABHARAT: ASHWMEDHA PARVA: *By Keshavram K. Shastri. Pp. 586. Price Rs. 4.*

All three published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay. 1951. Paper cover.

(4) REKHA DARSHANA, Part I: *By Keshavram K. Shastri. Published by Elite Book Service, Ahmedabad. 1951. Paper cover. Pp. 209. Price Rs. 3.*

Mr. Keshavram, through devotion and enthusiasm for research into old and mediaeval Gujarati literature, has carved out a niche for himself. The first part of the above books have been published under the auspices of the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, which encourages such researches. *Gujarati Bhasha* (1) is a translation of the portion of Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* which deals with the Gujarati language. It is a second edition and has been touched up by Shri Shastri. *Harmata* (2) is a well-known poem of the old saintly poet, Narsingh Mehta, devotee of Krishna, and describes how Lord Krishna came to his rescue at a critical moment in his life and presented him with a garland, to silence his enemies, who were bent on killing him, unless his Lord performed a miracle. Several MSS. of the verses describing this incident occur, and after going through all of them, he has published this correct edition. The Sabha had undertaken to bring out a correct edition of the Mahabharat as written in Gujarati verse by old poets. Five volumes have already been published. The present one is the sixth, and contains the Aswamedha Parva, written by Kahan, son of Harjivan in Samvat year, 1095. Collection of various MSS. has contributed to the publication of this edition. Outlines of Gujarati literature (4) is the result of close study, which Mr. Shastri has to make in the field of research into old Gujarati literature. In Part I, he has come as far as the epoch of *Akhyanas* (eighteenth Samvat century). Suitable extracts from the works of the writers of the different *yugas* (epochs) have been quoted. Herein lies its value.

K.M.J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Conflicting Roles of Women

NEW MOTIFS IN THE INDIAN SOCIAL PATTERN

C.V.H. contributes the following suggestive article in *The Aryan Path* on the desirability and possibility of India's conserving her traditional social values while moving with the times, as move she must:

Although Indian social organization has undergone a perpetual process of change, silent and imperceptible in its incidence, one remarkable feature about the revolution which it faces has far-reaching implications for the future. Propelling this revolution are two vital forces—first, the advent of scientific rationalization and technological progress, behind which trails the process of industrialization; and secondly, the dawn of political freedom, as the sequel to a prolonged struggle. The current revolution through which India is passing affects the entire basis of India's life and social organization, and in particular its most important sections, namely, women and children.

Its foundation is social and economic egalitarianism; the main instruments for achieving it are law and education and scientific progress generally; and the superstructure envisaged is a Welfare State. One very important aspect of the situation is that a secular outlook both underlies and dominates the revolution.

The question is: Is the basis of the revolution sound and effective? Can the transition be so managed that changes take place without producing social convulsions, degenerating into social chaos, and without repudiating and destroying some of the traditionally valued ideals for which India has stood through the centuries?

India has been swept into the stream of world thought and, whether we like it or not, we cannot extricate ourselves from its currents and cross-currents This makes it all the more imperative to ensure that, while the best in these currents is absorbed by us, we do not permit our indigenous cultural and social stream to be clogged and silted by cultural and social deposits alien to our traditional way of life.

Two ancient Indian institutions facing a furious and deadly challenge from technological and scientific forces are the caste system and the joint family. The challenge is affecting not only the structure of these institutions but also their individual constituents. Its most significant aspect is the demand for equality of opportunity for the individual as an individual.

The increasing tempo of the assault on caste and the joint family is justified to the extent that these institutions have become encrusted with the dust of custom to the corresponding detriment of their inner vitality.

The caste system involved inequalities incidental to division of labour based on caste affiliation endogamy and sanctity of tradition. The joint family encouraged a false sense of security and the dependence of a number of persons on the earnings of single individual. These could not survive the impact of scientific and technological changes and the economic stresses of industrialization, in which individual initiative is a requirement for survival. At the same time, it would be doing them an injustice to regard these as institutions which only encouraged or sustained inequality. During long periods of India's history, the caste and joint-family organization afforded much-needed economic security and effective protection to the individuals and groups of families which composed them. A detailed defence of these institutions is not possible in this short essay, nor is it necessary in the present context. If modern economic and other developments, like the rapid progress of communications, render them obsolescent, that does not derogate from their original utility.

The vigorous assault that modern scientific progress is making on the citadel of caste has produced and continues to produce—a tremendous disturbance in the lives of men and women. Increasingly they are constrained to fall back on their own intellectual and physical resources and competence in getting through life's tribulations and in meeting critical situations. From the individual standpoint this should be welcome, because it induces a feeling of self-confidence and self-reliance, and, by and large, any person possessing these qualities has the makings of an efficient, democratic citizen.

On the other hand, the progressive fading out of the caste organization and of the solidarity of the group that it enshrined has deprived and is increasingly depriving the individual of the security he or she previously felt as a member of a corporate organization, the members of which were bound together by natural affection and religious or communal ties. This phenomenon is producing an even more distressing effect on the family organization and family solidarity.

The predilection of the younger generation for freedom to order their lives in their own way is being strengthened by education and the spread of the scientific outlook. And, besides, industrialization promises them greater economic security in separation from large family units.

If something could be substituted for caste and the joint family in the social organization which would serve the same objectives in the current context as those institutions served in the past, the effect of the social revolution would not be so deplorable or deleterious or alarming. As it is, while the joint-family system or smaller family system which is favoured by a few persons is fostering a tendency towards isolation among brothers and sisters, parents and children, and so on. The inevitable sequel to this process is the demand for changes in law, status, individual relations and the social order generally, which would facilitate exogamous marriages, divorce and remarriage on

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one hand and which is encouraging economic competitiveness between the sexes on the other.

It would be foolish, indeed reactionary, to indulge in *a priori* denunciation of these changes in social relationships. It is equally foolish to oppose them and provoke reactions unfavourable to the prospect of confining the trend to rational and ethically defensible proportions before the position becomes irretrievable.

Modernism exacts its toll and its inexorability cannot be mitigated by sentimental appeals to tradition.

At the same time let us realize that there is no inherent incompatibility between scientific progress and our traditional ideals, and that an adaptation of the latter to science's demand for rationalization is not impracticable. The danger lies, in fact, in permitting the trend to proceed to disastrous lengths, where it dehumanizes social relationships. Every progressive and advanced society should be competent to harmonize the two factors and to facilitate individual progress and the realization of individual ambitions without isolating the individual from the community or loosening the moral, spiritual and other bonds that bind together men and women, individual members of the same family and the different family units which constitute the community. It will be technology's greatest conquest if this harmonization can be successfully effected, while it will be its great defeat if it destroys these human values and relationships.

So far as India is concerned, the progressive disintegration of the caste and joint-family organizations can be effectively arrested without jeopardising social progress, if the ideal of family solidarity and family relationships can be preserved out of the ruins of the old joint-family organization. The family is potentially the most significant and the most powerful unifying factor in most organized civilized societies. It can be so in India too, if, without offence to her traditions, family relationships are rationalized by the recognition of inter-caste and exogamous marriages, and by the acceptance of the double role of women—as members of the community and of society, with a significant contribution to make to their progress, and as wives, mothers and citizens in charge of rearing future generations of citizens. From family solidarity to community and social solidarity for the common benefit is an easy next step. The dissolution of the caste and joint-family systems, which seems inescapable, can be turned to effective advantage. But this calls for enshrining the family, in which individual initiative and self-improvement are adjusted to community and social objectives, and unstintedly acknowledging the important place of women as the most pertinent solution to a situation in which, while the old institutions are disintegrating, individual members thereof are likely to be left in a vacuum.

The adoption by the Indian Parliament in the post-Independence period of a series of measures to regulate inheritance, succession to property, marriage and divorce, guardianship of minors and so on, in response to a growing volume of public opinion in the country, is a phenomenon markedly illustrative of the social revolution. The political rights of Indian women have been safeguarded by giving the franchise to all adult women—something which even some of the advanced Western countries have not done. The cumulative effect of these series of measures is to accord to women a place in society which satisfies at once their demand for equality and their need for economic security. If law alone can establish equality all round, these laws should do it.

All rights, however, impose corresponding responsibilities and the legal rights acquired by women impose on them the heavy obligation of utilizing, for the general good, the opportunities opened out for them.

The women of India are in this context confronted with a dilemma. They are called upon to decide whether they will utilize for pursuing educational careers, the professional and social service opportunities now open to them or regard their traditional natural function of marrying and bringing up families as sufficiently exciting and important and adopt it. The dilemma is mainly individual; but it is also social. In the case of the individual woman, the answer may be one way or the other. But as a social problem, it has a number of ramifications. The cardinal and paramount question is whether the two roles referred to are in such mutual conflict that they cannot be satisfactorily reconciled by most women. If they can be, how is that possible?

Women, as much as men, need to satisfy their emotional needs, apart from safeguarding their economic security. If the latter induces them to seek employment and careers, either from economic necessity or from ambition, the former induces them to seek matrimony, to rear children and to make happy homes. We have emphasized the vital significance of the family in the social organization of modern times. The same consideration constrains us to emphasize that educated women in India in general will be discharging an important duty if they satisfactorily combine home-making and family rearing with gainful employment in those special lines for which temperamentally and naturally they are especially fitted. The problem for women is how to combine these without sacrificing their emotional fulfilment through marriage and without allowing themselves to stray into dubious devices to achieve a very doubtful economic self-sufficiency.

At the same time, the problem of marriage of educated women in the upper middle classes is not an easy one to solve. In India, many single young women, the number of whom is rapidly on the increase as a result of the legal prohibition of marriages below a specified age, particularly those belonging to families which have not completely discarded the inhibitions of caste restrictions, experience difficulty in making suitable matches. They certainly cannot marry young men below their age or below their own level of education, and the number of eligible young men above these categories is not considerable. It is not improbable too that in many cases the desire of educated girls in middle-class families to marry comes up against the blind wall of the still widely prevalent demand of eligible bridegrooms for enormous dowries. The refusal of a young I.A.S. Officer of South India to consider proposals for marriage made to him on behalf of a number of young, educated girls from respectable families, unless the proposals were accompanied by the offer of a huge dowry, fairly represents the prevailing tendency. Many instances can also be cited of highly educated girls of over twenty-five years preferring to remain unmarried and go in for careers to save their parents' finding huge amounts to be paid as dowry. Moreover, the average educated young

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man himself prefers a girl with moderate education and no ambition for a career.

Ideas on this subject are, no doubt, changing rapidly, and the efforts of social reformers are producing strong public opinion against the anti-social dowry system, which has ruined many middle-class families belonging to the upper castes in South India and elsewhere. When the social revolution takes a few more strides, it is bound to sweep away this system. Here again the transitional period is proving a period of widespread disquiet.

The challenges posed by the social revolution in regard to the position of women in society are not insoluble, but the transition has produced certain upsets.

There is no disputing the benefits accruing from higher education for girls. It broadens the mind, increases sensibilities, improves standards of living—all of which are assets in enabling them to play their part as wives and mothers. What is, however, of paramount importance is to decide whether the education of girls only for a career is a social gain or an unmixed social blessing. If the traditional ideal of marriage and playing their role as housewives is the better ideal for Indian women, should they be encouraged to go in for university education in such large numbers? This dilemma Indian society has to resolve in a sympathetic and helpful spirit, realizing that the tide of revolution has advanced too far for it to recede, and that at the same time the tide has not yet advanced so far, or gathered so much strength, that it cannot be harnessed in the interests of the orderly progress of society.

This can be done, if it is realized that educated women should be afforded all opportunities and encouraged to utilize their talents for helping in social progress and for achieving social purposes. Otherwise a sense of frustration would be a provocation to revolt, depriving society of the services of much good human material and talent. Simultaneously the idea has to be put across that the place of women, generally speaking is essentially that of home-making and of bringing up healthy and intelligent children, and that, where the pursuit of a career conflicts with their duty towards society, the decision should in many cases be in favour of the latter.

In the present transitional period the pendulum of progressive social thought reveals a tendency to swing in the direction of wholesale borrowing of ideas from the West and of discarding the indigenous as outmoded and old-fashioned. This swing is still in progress and the efforts of social reformers, social scientists and leaders of public opinion should be directed towards catching up with it at a stage from where it can conveniently be turned back, not completely, but to such an extent as is necessary to direct it most beneficially. From many points of view that stage has been reached. While the need for a new outlook on ancient ideas and institutions is widely felt and accepted and a strong foundation for it has been laid in the law of the land, in the advance of education, in industrialization, in the progress of communications and so on, the stage has come for consolidating the ground covered and moulding developments for the social good.

In recent years Mahatma Gandhi whose services to the cause of social reform, social reconstruction and the removal of social evils are as notable as his contribution to the achievement of national freedom, invariably advocated the middle path. His ideas social progress constitute a bridge between the East and the Western ways of social behaviour and conduct and are in rational conformity with the needs of contemporary times.

Without flouting Indian tradition, Mahatma Gandhi stood for a balanced preservation of the respective roles of men and women in the promotion of the country's socio-economic progress.

The wheel of social revolution in India has come full circle. When it does so, let us hope that what will emerge from it will be a balanced society in which everyone will have his allotted place and will be enabled to make their individual contribution to the common cause. Let us hope that it will be a society in which there will be as full social equality as possible, instead of inequalities based on caste, wealth and position, and a society which will have no place for a double code of morality and conduct—one for men and the other for women.

Sardar Patel

V. P. Menon writes in *The Indian Review*:

When I first met Sardar in 1946 in the midst of momentous discussions affecting the fate of the country, little did I realise that it was going to be the beginning of a long and intimate association in great enterprises and noble undertakings.

It was during the discussions that followed Lord Mountbatten's arrival in India, I was almost in constant touch with Sardar either personally or on the telephone and his word to me was equivalent to the pledge of the Congress. It was when the disastrous power being transferred to the provinces was looming large on the horizon, that in April, 1947, I broached to him the idea of division on the basis of two Dominions. He gave me his word in support and thereafter we went ahead and never had to look back. Then came the June 3 plan and the formation of the States Ministry, which gave me the great opportunity directly to serve under him.

It was then that I came to realise what it meant to enjoy his confidence. Throughout the negotiations with the rulers of Indian States leading to the accession of almost all of them it was Sardar's greatness to trust and my privilege to enjoy, such freedom in the negotiations, as it has seldom fallen to the lot of any man, much less a civil servant.

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There was an occasion in August, 1947, when a New Delhi English daily managed to get hold of a copy of the Draft Instrument of Accession and to publish it. This was quite unauthorised and added to our difficulties. When I saw Sardar the next day, to discuss the day's problems, he turned to me and said, Menon, now that the Draft Instrument of Accession has appeared in the papers, can I have a copy for my own information?" Even then I did not realise what he was driving at. But, suddenly, with a typical burst of laughter he told me that he was only joking.

That freedom (and the confidence which alone could give it) I enjoyed throughout all the delicate negotiations with the Indian Princes. But lest any one should imagine that Sardar allowed himself to be dominated or guided by another, let me say that no master could be so vigilant as he and few could rival him in an insatiable quest for information, or in the control which he exercised over the important policies and decisions of his Ministries.

It was the daily routine for me to seek instructions and guidance from him and his nightly hobby to ring me up before retiring and take from me an account of the day's activities. When I went out on a mission he was generally the last person I saw, and when I returned he was the first person to whom I reported on the results. That is how history was made during those three years before his death, which saw the exorcising of the ghost of the Balkanisation of India and the build-up of that solid structure of India's unity without which what we have achieved since or what we may achieve in future would have been impossible.

I recall a particularly touching incident, when I went to Ahmedabad, along with the rulers of Gwalior, Patiala and Jaipur, to present to Sardar, on the occasion of his birthday a copy of the White Paper on the Indian States.

He received the copy and, looking at me with affectionate emotion, said, "Now, what can I give you in return."

It is six years since the giant that walked like the Collossus in his day was laid to rest; as he wished, amid the common dead. As long as he lived, he was the hope of millions and the saviour of many.

Sardar needs no monument. What he has done for his country is his everlasting monument.

As one who served him for three and a half epoch-making years, let me say that when one entered his room, one felt a smaller and lesser man, but came out of it feeling a braver and a wiser one. That was the Sardar as I knew him, and that is the memory that I shall cherish as long as I live.

The New Crisis

National Christian Council Review writes editorially:

The world which had heaved a sigh of relief when the war in Indo-China ended was again plunged into gloom by a series of conflicts. This time the focal points of the trouble shifted from East Asia to West Asia and Eastern Europe. The military intervention of Britain and France in the Middle-East while negotiations were going on under U.N. auspices for a settlement of the problems connected with the nationalization of the Suez Canal came as a shock to all lovers of peace.

Equally reprehensible was Soviet Russia's intervention in Hungary to re-establish in that country a regime that was not supported by the people of Hungary but was subservient to Russia. While Russia's action was in keeping with her known philosophy and methods involving the use of force, violence and intimidation of her own citizens, that of Britain was a puzzle to friends of that country. She had always been regarded as having a very strong claim to moral leadership because of her devotion to the ideals and aspirations embodied in the United Nation. Friends throughout the world were perplexed as were a great section of the people of Britain itself. Many elements in the situation, such as the fact that destruction of the armed might of only one party in the conflict between Israel and Egypt was aimed at and the insistence that a general settlement of the Suez Canal problem should be coupled with the resolution of the present emergency, lend support to the view that the great power have no hesitation in by-passing the U.N. or in making force an instrument of policy to impose their wills on weaker nations.

It is too early to see what the long-range effect of these conflicts will be, but in the case of the Middle-East an immediate result has been jeopardising the two major objectives of safeguarding navigation through the Suez Canal and of ensuring continuance of the supply of oil. It is to be hoped that the final settlement of the problems will once more demonstrate the futility of war and the use of force as an instrument of national and international policy.

It is gratifying that in these difficulties, India's objective has been reconciliation and her method negotiation. Even if her voice is not heard and her attitude and motives are misunderstood, she is doing a great service to the whole world at this time by advocating the paths of peace.

The Sacred Pipal

M. D. Chaturvedi writes in *Gram Sevak*:

Indigenous to the Gangetic basin, the pipal is held in great veneration both by Hindus and Buddhists alike throughout the country. It is the well-known Bodhi tree—the Tree of Wisdom—under which Gautama sat for meditation for 49 days, and received Light. Thereafter, he emerged as the Buddha—"enlightened one." The original Bo or Bodhi tree has been replanted from its own seed and perpetuated at Buddha Gaya through the last 2,500 years. Seedlings of this tree have been sent out from time to time to various Buddhist shrines.

The *pipal* attains a fairly large size and affords shade, making a good avenue tree. Except in arid regions, the tree is cultivated for its shade and sanctity throughout the country, more particularly around temples and wells. The trunk gets fluted as the tree advances in age. The bark is pale grey and smooth, peeling off in irregular rounded flakes.

The tree is almost evergreen, being leafless for a very short while during February. It has broad ovate leaves with a pronounced tail-like tip, one to three inches long. The young leaves appear in the Gangetic basin some time during early spring and are usual reddish pink in colour. The upper surface of leaves turns shiny green later on.

The flowers are of three kinds: male, female and gall. The flowers are invariably associated with insects which help in their fertilization. The function of the gall flowers is to help reproduce insects. They act as a receptacle for their eggs.

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The fruits (known as figs) ripen from April to June and on some trees in October-November. They appear in the angle between the leaf-stalk and the twig, and are depressed and almost spherical. They are about half an inch in diameter, and usually carry insects. Dark purple in colour when ripe, the figs are avidly sought by birds, more particularly by the green pigeon.

The *pipal* (Hindi) is known by a variety of names: *pippala* (Sanskrit); *aswat* (Bengali); *ashvatha* (Marathi); *arali* (Kanarese); *ragi* or *ravi* (Telugu); *arasi* (Tamil); and Ficus religiosa (Latin).

PROPAGATION

The tree is easily raised from seed sown in boxes in fine loam covered with manure and admixed with charcoal. Young self-grown seedlings are comm met with and are easily transplanted. In nature, often finds the *pipal* growing on other trees—a parasite. It grows fast, finally throttling its host.

The *pipal* can stand the severest of droughts is also frost-hardy. In the abnormal droughts of and 1908 in Oudh, the *pipal* alone escaped unsca It also withstood successfully the notorious fro 1905 that affected the entire submontane forest Uttar Pradesh.

The *pipal* is a sacred tree. It is never cut Hindus. It affords excellent leaf-fodder for camels and elephants. Its timber is useless.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

World Communications

Through the powerful media of the press, the cinema, radio and television, world communications are in a position to assist the progress of international understanding. In a free world, the right to information seems the logical outcome of the right to education. For this reason, Unesco attaches great importance to mass communication media.

The Organization's first task, in this field, is to acquire a thorough knowledge of the means of communication at present available to the peoples, with a view to helping to improve them. The inequality of social conditions and technical development in various countries has, indeed, led to such differences in this respect that things to which all should have a right are often enjoyed only by a privileged few.

Since 1947, Unesco has carried out a series of surveys on the structure, equipment and operation of information services in the various regions of the world. The information thus collected has enabled a Clearing House to be set up which keeps in close touch with the appropriate national authorities, the specialized associations and professional circles. Unesco is thus in a position to promote the scientific study of mass communication problems and to assist in adapting professional training to the complex requirements of international life.

The results of studies undertaken either by the Clearing House itself, or at its request, have already given rise to several publications, dealing with such subjects as the production and consumption of newsprint, telegraphic news agencies and the flow of news, world television, educational radio and television, children's newspapers and films, and the professional training of mass communication technicians. The Clearing House publishes *Reports and Papers on Mass Communication*.

Under the title *World Communications: Press, Radio, Film, Television*, Unesco has just published the second edition of a general report describing facilities throughout the world for conveying information and ideas. Representing a complete revision of the 1950 edition, this volume constitutes a full inventory of the world's physical equipment for communication. At the same time it fulfils the no less important purpose of drawing attention to those areas of the world where the inadequacy of such equipment deprives people of the opportunity to be fully informed.

Daily newspaper circulation has increased in recent years in most countries and territories. This increase has been particularly striking in certain economically underdeveloped countries, but it is also noticeable in the most advanced countries. In the United States of America, total daily newspaper circulation amounts to more than 55 million copies, as against 54 million in 1951; in Japan, to 35½ million, compared with 28 million in 1951; while in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics circulation totals 44 million copies of daily newspapers and weeklies, as against 34 million in 1951. On the other hand, in certain countries there has been a decrease in the number of daily newspapers; this is particularly noticeable where rising costs have obliged certain papers to merge with others or to suspend publication. France, for example, lost 32 daily papers, and Japan seven, between 1951 and 1954.

In Africa, radio communication has proved an excellent auxiliary to the press, and most African territories now receive world news agency services by this means. Air transport has likewise enabled many newspapers, published in towns which previously had little or no contact with the outside world, to receive regular supplies of follow-up material, features and photographs. In this continent of Africa, which is still full of surprises, newspapers now-a-days reach jungle villages where, only a few years ago, total illiteracy prevailed. Many examples of this expansion could be quoted; the Gold Coast has 11 daily papers (with a total circulation of 75,000 copies), as well as nine weeklies and a local news agency; Madagascar has seven dailies and 27 weeklies, nearly all published in Malagasy; and in the island of Reunion, daily newspaper circulation has doubled in the last four years. Even Swaziland has two weeklies, while the remote island of St. Helena boasts a roneoed news bulletin. However, what is even more important than increases in the number of newspapers and their circulation is the expansion of the vernacular press. There are many local newspapers circulating in the villages in various dialects; Tanganyika, for example, has dailies, and Uganda weeklies, in three vernaculars.

In North America, the press has continued to expand in all directions. The United States of America possesses more newspapers and periodicals than any other country in the world, and has a highly developed system of news transmission; at present almost 2,000 dailies of general interest appear, and in addition there are 545 Sunday papers with a circulation of 50 million, and 8,892 weeklies with a total circulation of over 25 million. The United States newspapers are also the world's largest, with dailies running into 20 and even 40 pages. Although representing only 7 per cent of the world's population, the United States of America absorbs almost 60 per cent of the world's newsprint output. The country is also unique in being the home of three world news agencies (Associated Press, International News Service and United Press Associations); these serve several thousand clients at home and abroad, including an increasing number of radio and television stations. Canada maintains its position as the world's largest producer and exporter of newsprint. Largely because of this country's vast size, its 94 general-interest dailies (82 in English and 12 in French) circulate mainly on a regional basis. However, group control is increasing, about half of the dailies being owned by 11 enterprises. In addition, more foreign-language papers are appearing in Canada as a result of post-war immigration from continental Europe.

In the Latin-American countries, literacy campaigns, such as that launched by the Mexican Government some years ago, have had significant results for the press. In Mexico, which possesses over 160 dailies,

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all the larger towns now have their own newspapers, and the provincial press exerts considerable influence. The same is true of Argentina, but it is in Brazil and the Venezuela that the daily press has developed most rapidly.

The Fall in Illiteracy and the Rise in the Numbers of Newspapers.

The trend already noticed in Africa and the two Americas is also evident in Asia, particularly in Japan, India, Indonesia and China. Even remote, mountainous Afghanistan has witnessed a significant advance in newspaper-reading, with four dailies appearing in the capital and 11 in provincial towns, and 23 periodicals. In India, although individual newspaper circulations have remained small, the number of papers has increased rapidly, particularly in the case of provincial weeklies and reviews; of the total number of 824, 40 per cent appear in towns with less than 100,000 inhabitants. This rapid growth is undoubtedly due to the literacy campaigns launched in rural areas. Weeklies with small circulations now reach even the outlying villages, and the rural population will doubtless show an increasing desire to be informed about events at home and abroad.

The Japanese press has long been highly-developed, and its circulation has grown rapidly in recent years. In 1952, Japan had 186 dailies, with a circulation of 30 million; today, although there are only 179, their total circulation has increased by 4½ million copies. Thus the number of copies per 1,000 inhabitants is twice as great as in any other Asian country, and is even higher than in the United States of America, Japan also maintains two of the largest news agencies in Asia. In the People's Republic of China, the press has expanded remarkably since 1951. The 776 daily newspapers published there appear in numerous editions, and certain large national dailies have several regional offices which issue separate editions using a simple vocabulary. Newspaper-reading has been greatly stimulated by the efforts of the Chinese postal authorities to promote circulation. However, wall-newspapers still remain the chief means of conveying information in rural areas. Their editors now keep in direct touch with the central offices of the national information service, the New China News Agency.

In the Middle East, circulations have everywhere increased. Iraq, Iran, Syria and the Lebanon have between 20 and 40 dailies each, fairly evenly distributed amongst the main towns. The Israeli press, of more recent growth, has shown little change in recent years; although Hebrew papers represent 75 per cent of the total daily circulation, the press remains multilingual.

The World's Highest Readership Rate: 609 Copies per 1,000 Inhabitants.

In the last five years the press has continued to expand in all Western European countries. In both Belgium and Sweden, circulation has increased by nearly a million since 1951. The United Kingdom, Sweden, Luxembourg, Norway, Belgium, Denmark and Switzerland have maintained a very high readership rate of over 300 daily newspapers per 1,000 inhabitants. The German Federal Republic has a similar rate; not counting regional editions, it now possesses 671 dailies with a combined circulation of about 16 million, as compared with 623 and a circulation of roughly 13 million in 1952. In Italy, an increase in circulation has also been recorded; and though, strictly speaking, there are no 'national' dailies, most of the large towns have papers with large circulations.

In the countries of Eastern Europe, the press presents more or less uniform characteristics. In Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, the newspaper of Communist Party enjoys the greatest circulation—sometimes three or four times larger than that of its nearest competitor. Total circulations have not declined, and there have even been some noteworthy increases—as in Hungary, with a total daily circulation of 1,100,000 copies as against 850,000 in 1950, and Bulgaria, with 1,275,000 as compared with 800,000 in 1951. In this latter country, the authorities decided, in the interests of farm workers, to have daily papers published at State farms and tractor stations during the harvest season.

In France, the number of dailies has declined since 1950, but total circulation has remained the same and the readership rate has not changed. The national news agency—Agence France-Presse—is one of the six world agencies, its services being used by more than 2,000 newspapers and radio stations at home and abroad. The United Kingdom remains the country with the highest readership rate, with 609 copies of daily papers per 1,000 inhabitants. Its 137 dailies have a total circulation of approximately 31 million, and its 11 national Sunday newspapers one of 30 million. Large enterprises exercise a dominant influence on the press; five chains, in fact, control 47 major dailies and 77 weeklies. London is the home of a world news agency, Reuter's, which co-operates closely with a number of Commonwealth and foreign agencies.

The press of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has several unusual characteristics. Each of the sixteen republics has its own official language, and newspapers are issued in 119 different tongues. There is only one truly national daily—the organ of the Communist Party, published in Moscow and twelve other towns and distributed throughout the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Of all the dailies and weeklies, 65 per cent are published outside Moscow and this decentralization has resulted in a rapid increase in the number of readers. The press has continued to expand in recent years, and the total circulation of the 7,800 dailies and weeklies is now estimated at 44 million—an increase of 11 million since 1951. They are served by the world news agency Tass, which has its headquarters in Moscow and working arrangements with various agencies in Europe and Asia.

The expansion of the press in Oceania has been aided by increased pulp and newsprint production in Australia and New Zealand, a general increase in population, and higher individual incomes. First in size and importance is the Australian press. Since half the total population of Australia is concentrated in Sydney and Melbourne, the daily newspapers published in these cities alone represent more than half the country's daily circulation. The numbers of newspapers and the circulation figures have scarcely changed in recent years. However, as a result of the influx of European immigrants, 20 newspapers are now published in Australia in languages other than English. The same phenomenon, on a smaller scale, can be observed in New Zealand, where 43 dailies appear in 34 towns and are evenly distributed between the two islands; all have a strongly regional character, and no morning or evening paper has to face any competition in its own region. In the Pacific Islands, although there has been a slight increase in the number of newspapers and of readers, the radio and the cinema have largely supplanted the press as a means of communication.

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One Human Being in Ten goes to the Cinema Once a Week.

Apart from describing the present world situation with regard to the press, the report published by Unesco gives equally detailed information on recent developments in radio, cinema and television. Space does not permit anything but the broad outlines of this development to be given here. Radio services have continued to spread, especially in economical under-developed areas. This expansion largely accounts for the fact that radio authorities have been looking for new outlets in order to extend or improve the transmission and reception of news. The frequency modulation system (FM) is being used more and more for this purpose; it has the advantage both of eliminating interference with stations working on the older amplitude modulation (AM), and ensuring high-quality reception. The United States of America at present possesses 50 per cent of the total number of receiving sets in use throughout the world, with 794 sets to every 1,000 inhabitants, whereas Europe has only 300 sets to every 1,000 inhabitants. Likewise, however, in the course of the last five years, radio has made considerable progress in South America, China and numerous territories in Africa and the Pacific area.

One human being out of 10, on the average, goes to the cinema once a week. The chief film producers are the United States of America, Japan, India and Hong Kong, followed by Italy, the United Kingdom, the German Federal Republic, France, Mexico and the Philippines. The four greatest newsreel producers are the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and France. The English are still the most assiduous cinemagoers, with an average attendance of 25 times a year. Educational films are still making progress, and are being used more and more in the schools of all five continents. Mobile film units reach the most backward areas and bring films to millions of illiterates, especially in Africa. In the People's Republic of China, 1,200 film units circulate in rural areas, showing documentary films to audiences of from 100 to 1,000 in number.

Television, the most recent of the information media, has seen an extraordinary development. In many regions of Europe and some countries of America and Asia, it has already gone beyond the experimental stage. In most of these countries, networks of transmitting stations are being set up, while sales on receiving sets are expanding rapidly and the quality of broadcasts is being improved. The most remarkable progress has been recorded in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, followed by Canada and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. More than a million television sets have already been sold in Canada, and this figure will probably be reached in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during 1956. In many countries—Brazil, Colombia, France, Japan, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and others—educational broadcasts are provided regularly for children and adults. Teaching by means of a combination of sound and image is destined to bring about radical changes in education.

The first edition of *World Communications*, pointing out that the facts had now been assembled, stated: 'From the facts, action must follow. Millions of people, in vast areas of the world, have little or no modern means of communication. They must be helped to obtain them'. Since that time, the action mentioned has been taken both by the United Nations and by Unesco. At its 17th session, in April 1954, the Economic and Social Council invited governments to study the possibility of encouraging and developing national mass communication media and of requesting technical assistance from the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies for this purpose. Later in the same year, the General Assembly of the United Nations authorized the granting of such assistance. At its eighth session, in December 1954, the General Conference of Unesco in turn authorized the Organization to assist in the development of communication services. It voted a substantial sum for the sending of expert missions to Member States in 1955 and 1956, at the request of the governments concerned.

As a result of these decisions, therefore, countries desirous of improving their means of communication can, within certain financial limits, obtain direct aid from the United Nations and Unesco. By listing available resources and requirements, the report just published by Unesco is calculated to facilitate work of this kind, which aims at ensuring that every human being enjoys his right to information,—*Unesco Chronicle*, June, 1956.

Unesco Sponsors History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind

It would be difficult to try and draw the peoples of the world together in closer comprehension and friendship if they knew nothing of each other's history, traditions and contributions to the common heritage of mankind. That is why Unesco attaches such importance to the study of history in general. And that is why in particular it has entrusted a group of scholars with the task of preparing a *History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind* to show the interdependence of nations and their cultures in a just light.

The work has been taking shape since 1950 under the guidance of an international commission, composed today of 29 members, representing 20 countries, with the Brazilian scholar, Professor Paulo de Berredo Carneiro, as chairman. Professor Carneiro described it as a "work which might help educational institutions in the different countries to attach less importance to history from the national angle and lay greater emphasis on what the peoples have gained by knowing each other."

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The undertaking, which is designed to appear in 1960, consists of six volumes devoted respectively to the following periods: 1. Pre-historic and archaic periods, up to 1200 B.C.; 2. From around 1200 B.C. to 400 A.D.; 3. From 400 A.D. to 1300 A.D.; 4. From the beginning of the fourteenth century to towards the end of the eighteenth century; 5. The last years of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century; 6. The beginning of the twentieth century to 1950.

The introduction to each volume will contain a brief summary of the period in question, considered under its aspect as a stage in universal history. It will indicate the position occupied by the different peoples of the world at that time, and their relations with each other. Commerce, wars, travel, migrations, are dealt with as and how they influence cultural exchanges.

Following the introduction, each volume deals with the different cultures of the time and their reciprocal influences. Six main themes emerge and are treated in turn: 1. Languages and systems of writing, intellectual institutions of the period, and education; 2. Science and technology and their application to agriculture, industry and medicine; 3. Division of labour and the social structure, government and law; 4. Scientific theories, religious beliefs and philosophical systems; 5. Creative forms of expression, arts and literature; 6. Theory of knowledge and scientific method, new forms of thought, investigation and belief.

The conclusion of each volume, as its introduction, is conceived from a universal point of view. Taken as a whole, the work displays in methodical sequence the evolution of the peoples of the world, their progress, and the way in which human existence has been transformed.

Since this is a universal history, it must obviously be a product of international co-operation, and present, through qualified exponents, the main tendencies of all major philosophical and religious currents of thought. More than a hundred and fifty correspondents in some fifty countries are working in collaboration with the Commission responsible for the undertaking. One or two individual historians, who will make use of the material provided by a large number of specialists, have been selected to edit each of the volumes. The whole production will then be made ready for publication by Professor Ralph H. Turner, of Yale University, before coming before the Commission for final approval. When the History appears in print, it will be published in English, French and Spanish, followed in all probability by a shortened version in a single volume. Editorial responsibility rests entirely with the international Commission.

It is interesting to note that in the course of its preparations for this work the Commission has been led to publish a quarterly journal, the *Journal of World History* under the editorship of Professor Lucien Febvre, of the Institute of France. This journal publishes papers produced by various contributors to the "History," and working documents, as well as the comments and criticisms that follow them. The welcome the journal has found among learned societies, in university circles, and with the general public is abundant evidence of its success. The widespread discussion Unesco is anxious to see on the various subjects handled in the *History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind* has thus already begun.

Continuation of the work on the History figures as an important item in the cultural activities section of Unesco's Draft Programme for 1957-58 which will be before the coming General Conference of the organisation in New Delhi next November.—*Unesco.*

Higher Education in the USSR

A rather broad network of institutions of higher learning has appeared in the USSR during the years of Soviet power, and which enrol at present some 2 million students, as against 127,000 in tsarist Russia. During the 280 years that higher schools existed in tsarist Russia there were only 96 institutions of higher learning which graduated 10,000 students annually. The USSR now counts some 800 institutions of higher learning which give the country every year 250,000 young specialists.

Technical and agricultural education has been greatly developed. In the USSR engineers are trained at more than 200 technical colleges (prior to the revolution there were only 15 technical colleges with 20,000 students), which enrol some 650,000 students.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan (1956-1960) has set new tasks before the higher schools. In the course of five years they must train almost 1,500,000 young specialists for the various branches of the national economy. More than 650,000 people will be trained as engineers for industry, transport, constructions and specialists for agriculture.

Whereas in tsarist Russia there were only 136,000 specialists with higher education, in the USSR at present, there are 2,600,000.

The number of scientific workers is growing all the time as a result of the broad development of scientific investigations in the Soviet Union and the extensive network of higher educational establishments. At the moment there are 224,000 scientific workers engaged in the higher institutes and in the 3,000 scientific research establishments, of which some 10,000 are doctors of science, 14,600,000—senior scientific workers (professors and doctors), 80,000—masters of science, 28,600 docents and 17,000 junior scientific workers.

Scientific cadres are trained in the USSR at post-graduate courses at higher institutes and scientific research establishments. This year (1956) 30,000 people are taking post-graduate course.—*News and Views from the Soviet Union.*

USSR Academy of Sciences Enrols Post-Graduates

The USSR Academy of Sciences has started to enrol post-graduates. The Academy has a special department for the training of scientific cadres.

This year (1956) a large group of graduates from higher educational institutions who have shown an inclination for research will be enrolled for the Academy's post-graduate course. Enrolment will be increased in such branches as electrical engineering and electronics, automation and telemechanics, mechanical computation. All the Academy's post-graduates will receive a high State stipend and additional funds for the purchase of scientific literature. Their studies will be guided by outstanding Soviet scientists.

Quite a number of young specialists from foreign countries are being trained for independent scientific work in the Academy's post-graduate course. This year (1956) a large group of Chinese scientific workers will be enrolled. Under the guidance of Soviet scientists they will receive further training in specialities urgently needed for the development of the Chinese economy.—*News and Views from the Soviet Union.*

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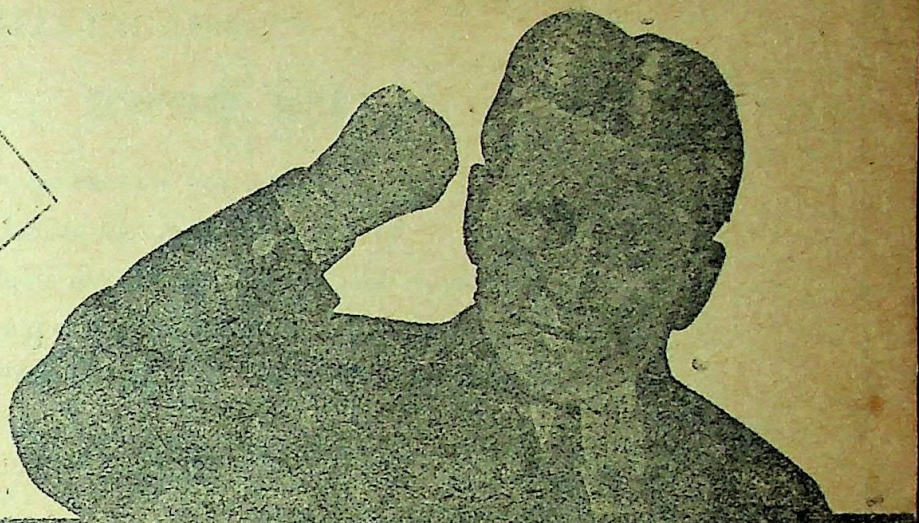

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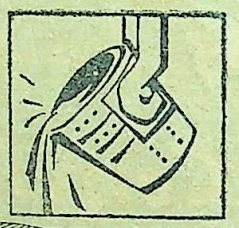

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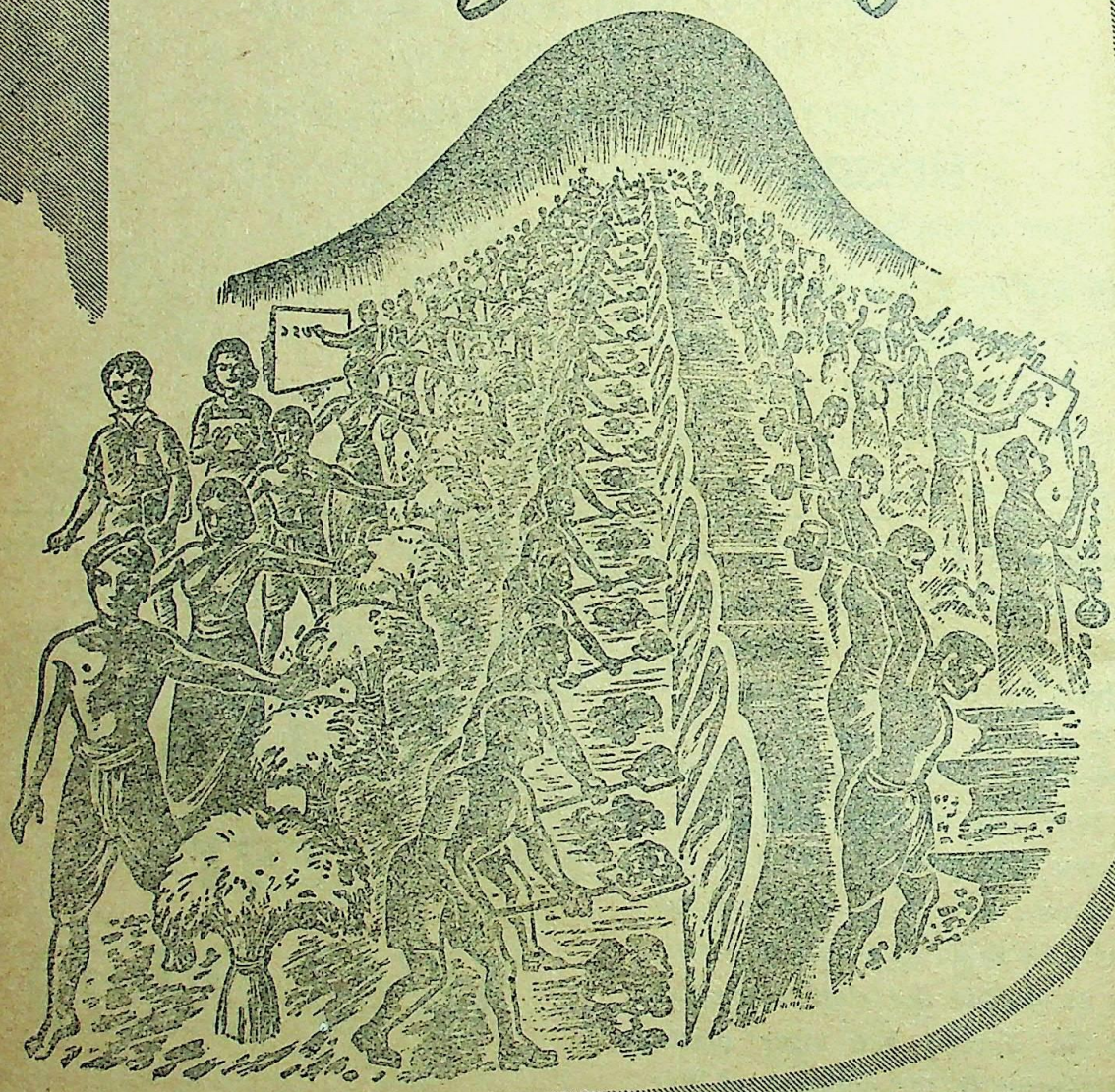

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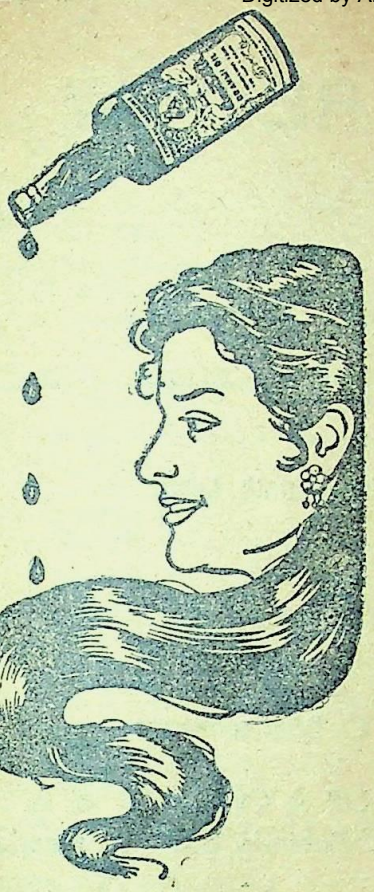

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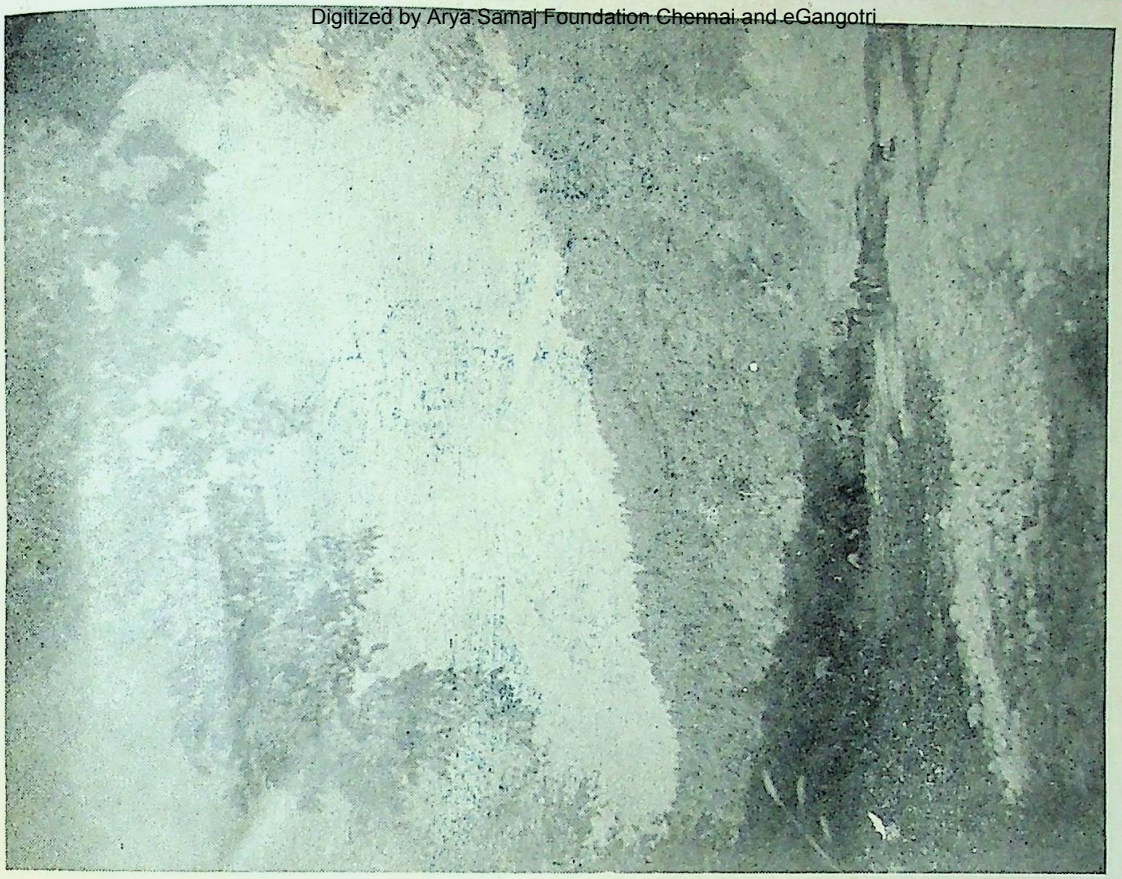

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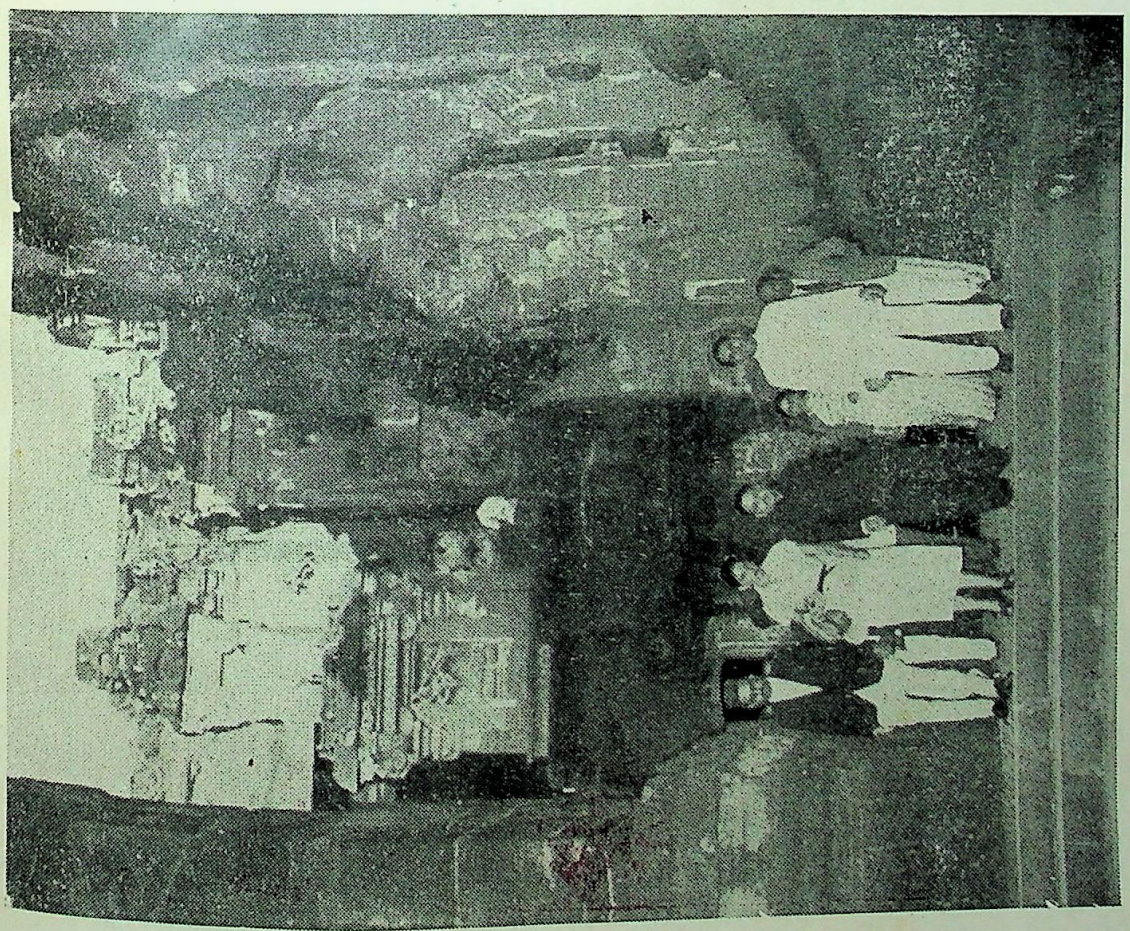

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THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1957

VOL. CI. No. 2 WHOLE No. 602

NOTES

India on Trial

Kashmir has again become the cynosure of the world and Pakistan has succeeded in making India stand at the bar of the Security Council. It is true that the whole affair is topsy-turvy, and the real charge against India is of Neutralism.

Nine years have passed since India, through an ill-conceived and ill-advised idea of Pandit Nehru, tried to arraign Pakistan for her well-planned act of aggression in Kashmir. Aggression there was, as was pronounced by Dixon, accompanied with rape, murder, loot and arson on a large scale. But then that is a chapter of history that has been prevented from being given the publicity it should have had, through the misdirection of our wiseacres at New Delhi. Now we are faced with the problem of giving it publicity and likewise explaining to an incredulous world the reasons for withholding the facts from the ken of the people at large.

Indeed, our ways, so far as Kashmir and Pakistan are concerned, are inexplicable to all people—excepting the few of the "initiated"—in the terms of normal reason and logic. And that is why our enemies find it so easy to raise a clamour against us, and our friends become irritated and exasperated beyond measure at the attitudes that our tin-gods strike.

Shri Krishna Menon has done well at the Security Council—indeed, far better than the inept man who was chosen to face Zafrulla Khan. And there is no question about the justification of his stand. We should take a resolute stand against the mendacious accusations and the malicious demands levelled against us. Mistakes galore have been made by us in this matter, and our attitude has seemed to be wobbly to friend and foe alike. There should be an end to all that, as indicated by Pandit Nehru at Madras.

But it is also time to take stock of our standing at the comity of nations, and also to make a clear distinction between friend and foe. This androgynous pose, of treating friend and foe alike, is hopeless in a world wedded to realism. The "Holding Resolution" at the Security Council should make us search our heart and mind. Why is this enmity to India, veiled or open, so manifest there?

"Malice aforethought" might be the case with regard to some of those who sponsored the resolution, but surely not to all. It is, indeed, difficult to believe that the U.S. was a party to it from the start, since the *New York Times* of January 24 gave a special report, by Michael James, which concludes:

"When Mr. Krishna Menon ends his speech tomorrow he will face a 'holding' resolution in line with what was asked for last week. The resolution is expected to be sponsored by a number of delegations. The United States is considering being one of the sponsors."

The question of giving adequate publicity to our case abroad has not received the attention that it should have had. World opinion cannot be ignored even by the most powerful of all nations, let alone by a new-born babe like India. It is about time we realised that our choice in ambassadors and foreign envoys have not been uniformly good. On the contrary.

Then again this "Holier than Thou" attitude taken by us at all times, with regard to all and sundry, is likely to irritate even the most tolerant, even if we were a nation of saints, which we are not—most emphatically not.

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Kashmir and the United Nations

After a period of more than four years Kashmir again came to be featured in the deliberations of the Security Council when on January 23 Pakistan initiated a discussion on the subject to get an endorsement from the Council of her stand against India on the future of that unfortunate territory.

Opening the debate, Mr. Feroze Khan Noon indulged in his characteristic accusations against India and, in effect, even held up a threat that unless Security Council agreed to his dictations he would have no hesitation in again letting loose the hordes of "tribesmen" who had so thoroughly devastated parts of Kashmir during the autumn of 1947.

The gist of Mr. Noon's long speech was that the United Nations Security Council should ask India to defer Kashmir's contemplated integration with India on January 26 until after a plebiscite, apparently to be held according to the political convenience of the Pakistani leaders. This move for an injunction upon India was supplemented with a demand that a United Nations force should take over responsibility for security in both parts of Kashmir in order to get over the difficulty of demilitarization.

Replying to Mr. Noon's statement on behalf of India, Shri Krishna Menon gave a detailed resume of the Kashmir problem and reminded the members of the Council that it was India who had first taken the question of Kashmir before the Security Council. As everybody knew, Shri Menon said, it was "not usual for defendants to go to court."

Shri Menon said: "We are here on a complaint of aggression. That complaint of aggression has not been resolved." The Security Council could not act during the period of nine years to settle the matter.

He pointed out that India had raised the Kashmir issue before the United Nations "as a situation whose continuance was likely to endanger international peace and security. This was no dispute about territory. The Security Council, under the Charter, would be incompetent to deal with it as such (*i.e.*, a dispute) because that would be either a political or judicial question. So, we brought here a situation, not a dispute."

When initial Pakistani aggression had been made against Kashmir in October, 1947, S Menon added, India could enter Pakis territory—an act which was necessary for i ing military action against the invaders. B mindful of the background of fratricidal stri accompanying the independence of India a Pakistan, India had wanted to settle the mat peacefully and had approached the Secur Council in January, 1948, to take measures an end of Pakistani aggression on Indian soi

"We came here complaining to the Secur Council under Art. 35 requesting that t Pakistan Government be asked to prev tribal and Pakistan nationals from taking p in the fighting in Kashmir State and to d the use of its territory in operations agai Kashmir," Shri Menon said.

"Is this the language of a Governm with expansionist ideas?" he asked.

Turning to Kashmir's integration w India Shri Menon said: "The State of Jam and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part India. That came into force in November all the provisions relating to federal matt between the State and the Federal Governm are matters of history."

There was absolutely nothing of critical atmosphere about January 26 that w sought to be conveyed by the Pakistan Fore Minister. Nothing was to happen on that d —which was India's National Day—except th at midnight the Kashmir Constituent Assem would dissolve itself and would begin to fun tion as a provisional state legislature.

India had no doubt once offered to set the matter through a plebiscite, Shri Men added. But the offer had not been accepte It could not be said that if an offer was ma and then not accepted within a certain tim the offer could go on for generations.

"The relation of Kashmir to India so as we are concerned is decided by accession Shri Menon said, "I do not see what restrain could be imposed upon the exercise of th sovereign rights of a country."

Mr. Menon spoke for almost seven hou and thus earned the distinction of making th longest speech before the United Nations. Th above was but a very inadequate summar (necessitated by considerations of space) of hi masterly statement.

What was the reaction of the nation

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constituting the Security Council towards the issues raised by the representatives of India and Pakistan. It appeared that the members had come to the discussions with a closed mind. Before Mr. Menon's speech was completed and even before he uttered his first words five members (Austria, Colombia, Cuba, the United Kingdom and the United States) had a draft resolution ready on the matter virtually endorsing the Pakistan stand in toto. As Shri Nehru described it, this was, indeed, an extraordinary procedure to follow in deciding upon complaints—without giving any opportunity to parties to present their views.

The resolution was moved on January 24 before Shri Menon had concluded his speech. Resuming his speech on that day he said: "I want to say here and now that I am making a statement here today without any reference to this resolution and the reason I want this to go on record is that I want the people of my country to know that this resolution has been put down by these five sponsors before they have heard the statement of India, especially after I stated last night that I have still to argue the case."

The resolution was nevertheless passed by the Security Council by ten votes (USA, UK, France, Formosa, Colombia, Cuba, Australia, Philippines, Sweden and Iraq) to none with the Soviet Union abstaining.

The resolution called for the *status quo* in Kashmir as of January 24, 1957, and read as follows:

"Having heard statements from representatives of the Governments of India and Pakistan concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

"Reminding the Governments and authorities concerned of the principle embodied in its resolutions of April 21, 1948, June 3, 1948, March 14, 1950, and March 30, 1951, and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of August 13, 1948, and Januady 5, 1949, that the final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations;

"Reaffirms the affirmation in its resolution of March 30, 1951, and declares that the convening of a Constituent Assembly as recommended by the General Council of the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and any action that Assembly may have taken or might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof, or action by the parties concerned in support of any such action by the Assembly, would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above pdinciple; and

"Decides to continue its consideration of the dispute."

Last week, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, told the Council that the Indian Government was "taking steps to integrate the State of Jammu and Kashmir into the Indian Union, reportedly on January 26, 1957."

The Security Council endorsement of the Pakistani move became the occasion for renewed anti-Indian propaganda in the British and American press. From the naive comments made by those newspapers one would be inclined to conclude that India had practically no justification in remaining in Kashmir which was part of her own territory. While this hostility of the Anglo-American press was partly a measure of the inadequacies and ineffectiveness of India's publicity abroad, the deliberate distortion of truth by influential sections in those countries was nonetheless unmistakable.

So far as India was concerned she did not expect a very different verdict from the Security Council—composed as it was now predominantly of countries with very little independence of action in the international sphere. The fact that Britain and the USA, who had all along shown a peculiar sympathy for the Pakistan stand on Kashmir, were among the sponsors of the resolution, determined in advance the attitude of those who eventually voted for it, with the possible exception of Sweden.

The only surprise came with Russian abstention from using the veto. In view of Russia's clear recognition of Kashmir as an integral part of India many had expected that the USSR would veto any resolution that would tend to interfere in the internal affairs of Kashmir. As a matter of fact, however, she did not use the veto but merely abstained from voting. This Russian step was widely inter-

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preted as a reply to India's condemnation of Soviet intervention in Hungary.

Sheikh Abdullah's Letter

Much has been made of by Pakisani propaganda, about a letter which is supposed to have been written by Sheikh Abdullah. We give below an extract from the *New York Times* of January 16, which is in line with Pakistani efforts:

"United Nations, N. Y., January 15—Members of the Security Council will soon receive a letter from Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, imprisoned one-time pro-Indian leader of Kashmir, charging India with violent repression in the disputed region.

"The Council will meet at 10-30 A. M. tomorrow at Pakistan's request in an attempt to break the deadlock that has existed since 1948 between India and Pakistan on holding a plebiscite in the mountainous state.

"At that time the Council arranged for a cease-fire between the two nations, which were warring over possession of the area. It also called for the withdrawal of hostile forces prior to a United Nations-sponsored plebiscite. India has since refused to hold that election until Pakistani troops leave Kashmir. Pakistan has refused to leave until India does.

"Pakistan is expected to ask for an immediate withdrawal of all troops and for an immediate plebiscite.

"Sheikh Abdullah was a political leader in Kashmir before the partition of India into Pakistan and India in 1947. When the Hindu Maharajah of Kashmir acceded to India in 1947, Sheikh Abdullah became the chief minister of Kashmir and seconded the Maharajah's accession.

"The letter, which will be received by Council members today or tomorrow, was sent by members of his regime in exile in Ceylon. It was handwritten, and the writing appears to check with that in personal mementos held by observers here.

"The Indian delegation declined to comment on the letter before seeing it, but Indian circles warned that it might be a forged 'plant.' The Pakistani delegation said, that if that was the case India should permit a western correspondent to see Sheikh Abdullah in Jud, Jammu state, where he is a prisoner, and ask him if he wrote it.

"In his penciled letter, Sheik Abdullah recalled that, after a 'tribal invasion' of Kash by forces from Pakistan in 1947, the Mahara 'had to sign an instrument of accession to In in order to 'receive Indian military aid to rep the invaders.'

"The letter also said that 'on behalf India there are innumerable commitments m to the United Nations Organization as well a the people of Kashmir that the latter alone decide their fate through an impartial plebisci

"Sheikh Abdullah charged in the letter his imprisonment was a result of a 'deep carefully screened conspiracy against me and followers,' after he had written to both Pr Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Pr Minister of Pakistan in July, 1953, giving views on the dispute as those of the people Kashmir. 'Unfortunately,' he said, 'India did like this and turned hostile.'

"The former Kashmir leader added the has since been under detention 'without trial without even a charge.'"

Nehru and Kashmir

Pandit Nehru said what should be last word on the Kashmir problem at Mad on January 31st. Below is the news report the same:

"If I am convinced that I have not honou any international commitments in regard Kashmir, I will either honour them or resign Prime Ministership,' declared Prime Mi Nehru in a speech here today.

"Shri Nehru said: 'India agreed to a pl cite in Kashmir on certain conditions and certain context of events. The very first co tion was the withdrawal of Pakistan armies f the territory of Jammu and Kashmir State w they had invaded. They have not done it today.'

"Shri Nehru said that 'any such conditi offer—it is strictly conditioned—cannot last ever and ever.'

"I have no doubt in my mind that under and peaceful conditions and in conditions wh religious fanaticism is not allowed to play, a g number of people in Kashmir in a plebis would decide for India. We laid stress al that elections and plebiscite must be on politi and economic issues. We do not want comm nal riots and call it a plebiscite.

"Shri Nehru added, 'I do not want Kash

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in the name of plebiscite to be made the scene of fratricidal war which will spread to India and upset the delicate balance that has been established here.'

"Addressing a mass meeting in the Island Grounds Shri Nehru said that the recent developments in the Kashmir problem had 'caused us some concern and distress also because it seems to us that this serious problem which has existed for nine years now was dealt with very casually recently in the Security Council.'

"Wisdom requires something more than casual consideration and casual decision while dealing with the Kashmir problem with its strong emotional background in India and Pakistan involving all kinds of consequences.

"'The basic thing about Kashmir,' he said 'is the good of the people of Kashmir. Nothing else counts. The major consideration for me and for my Government has been the good of the people of Kashmir.'

"The Prime Minister referred to some people in foreign countries talking about India's 'double standards' in regard to Kashmir and said: 'I am not personally conscious of any double or separate standard. If I judge deliberately the Kashmir issue by any different standard than now, then I would stand condemned not only before other countries but before my own people and even more so before myself, my mind and heart. I think if moral issues come in, India stands rather well over the Kashmir matter.'

"The Prime Minister speaking about the Kashmir question said: 'First of all, I find that some of our people tend to get rather excited about it. Well, excitement is not good in considering serious problems. There is no need to get excited although we realise this as a serious problem. Some people have suggested and some members of parliament have suggested for the immediate summoning of the parliament. I do not see any need for this. Some have even suggested: postpone the election because of this or amend the constitution. I entirely disagreed with this. These elections are going to take place whatever happens. We are a mature enough people to carry on our own constitution and our democratic working and face serious problems at the same time. We are not going to run away from the elections if something happens in some other place.'

"'But' Shri Nehru said, 'because danger threatens us, and because of the constitution, I think it has become all the more necessary to have elections so that the country may give verdict over that policy, which we may pursue. We have no cold feet. We are stout and would remain calm with stout hearts.

"Nevertheless, it is true that some recent developments in the Kashmir problem have caused us concern and as I said, of course distress also—distress because it seems to us that this serious problem which has existed for nine years now nearly was dealt with very casually in the Security Council—this problem, which has roused our people emotionally, certainly in Pakistan and certainly in India and most of all in Kashmir itself. There is a great deal of sentiment behind it. But, of course, we cannot solve the problem on sentiment. Where there is this strong emotional background today, where there is nine years' history, involving all questions of problems,—legal problems, practical problems and problems of consequence of any action, then it seems to me that wisdom requires something more than casual consideration and casual decision.

"The Prime Minister said it would be becoming for Pakistan to have elections in their country before they talk about a plebiscite in Kashmir.

"Shri Nehru said, the five-power resolution was pushed through and hustled through in the Security Council even without trying to understand what the position was. The resolution which the Security Council passed was drafted and was in existence even before it took the trouble of hearing our representative. 'That is the most casual way of dealing with an important question," he said.

"Shri Nehru added: 'There has been a great fuss made about Jammu and Kashmir framing its constitution and accession to India. So far as I remember the Pakistan constitution has incorporated that part of Jammu and Kashmir in their state. Nobody shouted about it. The Security Council did not move. When this fact was mentioned in the Security Council it did not apparently create any impression. It is an extraordinary thing that they did not apply their mind to it."

"Speaking about the military alliances, Shri Nehru said, 'It is quite possible that it is due to all these military alliances that these strange resolutions are passed in regard to Kashmir.'

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"What pains me is that the countries which are friends of ours should have considered this difficult question in this casual way.

"The question of Kashmir, apart from the good of the people of Kashmir has become deeply significant, because if any wrong step is taken it will upset many things in the whole of India. We have never accepted it and we do not propose to accept the two-nation theory on which Pakistan was founded."

Foreign Aid to India

The Deputy Minister for Finance, in a written reply to a question about the amount of foreign aid received and promised for the execution of the Second Five-Year Plan stated in the last session of the Lok Sabha that approximately Rs. 269 crores, inclusive of spill-over from the First Five-Year Plan, excluding the World Bank loans and loan assistance for the steel plants, had been received and promised for the execution of the Second Plan. The USA, including U.S. private organisations such as Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Institution, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Norway were the countries that had offered aid to India.

India has also received substantial loans from the International Bank for some of her major projects. The first loan of $34 million was sanctioned in August 1949 for the purchase of locomotives, the second loan of $10 million in September of the same year for the purchase of tractors to weed out *kans* grass, and a third loan of $18.5 million in 1950 for the Bokaro electric power-station which has already gone into production. Of the loans offered by the World Bank, about $42 million were withdrawn before 1951-52. Of the remaining $18 million to be used to finance the Five-Year Plan, only $6.2 million were spent in 1952-53.

In December 1952, the Bank agreed for the first time to give a loan of $31.5 million to a private firm, the Indian Iron and Steel Company. Another $19.5 million were sanctioned in January 1953 to meet the foreign exchange expenditure of the Damodar Valley Corporation, which amount was later reduced to $10 million. During the year 1954-55, two further loans were given for projects in the private sector. The first was a loan of $16.2 million for a thermal station in Trombay and the second loan worth $10 million for the newly set up Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation. The two loans have been guaranteed by the Government of India. In 1956, two further loans were given by the World Bank to two private firms in India. A loan of $75 million was given to the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the other loan for $20 was given to the Indian Iron and Steel Company for a period of 11 years at a rate of interest of 5 per cent per annum.

On January 30 another World Bank Commission of railway consultants arrived in New Delhi for a three-week intensive study of the Indian railways and their development programmes to determine the extent to which the Bank can help in railway development projects. India has desired to have a total of loan of $1 million for the Second Plan from the World Bank. But the Bank advised India during the latter half of the last year to go slow with its socialistic drive in economic developments and also to encourage the free flow of private foreign capital into the country to meet the gap in foreign exchange resources. The controversy is of recent memory. Of course for such this out-of-the-way advice, Mr. Black was taken to task even by representative opinions in some Western countries. However, this much is certain that the World Bank may not be agreeable to meet all the requirements of India's foreign exchanges for long-term developments. The Bank's main function is not only to provide development finance, but its duty is also to cure trade imbalance, particularly the dollar imbalance in post-war years. But to that extent its achievements are none too satisfactory.

The original idea behind the World Bank was that it would endeavour to make an even flow of capital among the member countries so as to remove the hurdles of scarce currencies. But that idea has not materialised. It was envisaged that against the proceeds of dollar loans made by the Bank, it would be possible to buy capital goods in third-party countries. The idea was that such transactions with third-party countries would help in preventing one way movement of gold to American coffers on account of a much too unequal balance of payments. But most often the third-party currencies have not been made available and of course, this

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partly due to the fact that the availability of goods in third party countries were not satisfactory.

The main charge that has been levelled against the Bank is that from the outset the International Bank in effect has been an instrument of external expansion by the American financial oligarchy. The main purpose of the Bank, according to its charter, is "to promote private foreign investment." The problem of expanding exports of private capital is a most urgent problem of post-war American economy. Today only the U.S. private capital is in a position to expand overseas and it is accused of trying to seize a key position in the economies of the recipients and to firmly oppose their independent developments.

During the meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund in September 1956, Mr. Black, in his Presidential report sang the praises of private capital, asserting that it did not seek "pernicicus exploitation" but fair compensation; he accused the under-developed countries of failing to take measures to attract private foreign capital. In his letter to the Finance Minister of India in October he also stressed the need for allowing the free inflow of private foreign capital. The representatives of some of the countries of South Asia, the Middle East and Latin America sharply criticised the Bank's policy. They argued that the Bank argued its case from the "Wall Street point of view." Some speakers pointed out that the Bank raised loan interest rates without any justification, and that it restricted the granting of loans under the pretext of combating inflation and collecting debts. As a result, member countries have to seek funds in the private market. The representative of Cuba voiced doubts "whether or not the Bank is fully performing the tasks for which it was created." He stressed that although the World Bank had been established as a co-operative organization to finance the economies of the member countries, it operated virtually as a private Bank and "is making it more and more difficult to lend money to its member countries."

Mr. Eugene Black, the President of the World Bank, is an influential representative of the Rockefeller monopoly group. The Bank seems to have been incorporated in the system of American "aid" which primarily serves the interests of the U.S. monopolies and particularly, the Rockefeller group. Mr. Black's suggestion to India that she should rather develop her transport system in preference to the development of heavy industry smacks particularly of a colonial pattern of economy. The supporters of American private capital at the last meeting of the IBRD called on the under-developed countries to refrain from developing their own industries, primarily heavy industry and to concentrate on agriculture.

The World Bank's refusal to grant loans to Egypt for the constructions of the Aswan Dam is indicative of the fact that the Bank is guided more by political considerations than by economic interests of the member countries. It indicates further that the "Bretton Woods Twins" are the national preserves of the USA directed towards international power politics. Further, the increase in the interest rate of the Bank is uncalled for. It sometimes makes a discrimination in charging interest rates. As for example, the recent loan for $20 million granted to the Indian Iron and Steel Company will bear an interest of 5 per cent, whereas, its loan for $50 granted recently to Australia will bear an interest only of 4¾ per cent inclusive of the 1 per cent commission charged by the Bank.

Dearer Advances

From February 1, 1957, the Reserve Bank of India's rate of interest on advances to scheduled banks against Government and other eligible securities has been raised to 4 per cent per annum. The Bank Rate, however, remains unchanged at 3½ per cent per annum. The Bank Rate is the rate at which the Reserve Bank rediscounts first class approved trade bills and as such is distinguishable from the rate of interest on advances against approved securities. In recent years the Bill Market scheme has become a cnnvenint form of accommodation for the commercial banks and the Reserve Bank endeavours to encourage the bill habit among the bankers and with that end in view it tried to keep down the cost of borrowing against bills at a low rate as far as practicable. But in view of the recent rise in prices of essential commodities including foodgrains, it became apparent that the cost of borrowing by the commercial banks from the Reserve Bank should be made dearer. The Bank rate has remained unchanged since 1951 November.

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Although the Bank Rate has not been raised, the cost of borrowing under the bill market scheme has been indirectly raised by enhancing the stamp duty on bills by the recent Finance Act. Hitherto, the stamp duties on inland bills of exchange upto one year's maturity were at a flat rate of 2 annas per Rs. 1,000. Now the statutory rate for bills, both inland and foreign up to one year's maturity, has been raised to 10 annas per Rs. 1,000 with proportionate reduction for bills of shorter duration. For the present, the intention of the Government is to operate on the basis of one half of this rate. In view of this budgetary provision raising indirectly the cost of borrowing under trade bills, the Bank rate has not been raised.

The increase in the interest rate on advances will not, however, affect the banks to any considerable extent. At present the borrowing against trade bills is much higher than that against Government securities. The increase in interest on advances has been necessitated on account of the rise in stamp duty on bills. The accommodation against these two forms of securities must be more or less on the same level of interest rate and if one is dearer, there will be greater resort to the other. At present the trade bills are rediscounted by the Reserve Bank at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, that is, at the Bank Rate, and when the new higher rate of stamp duty is added to it, the real rate of interest comes to 4 per cent. It will therefore be seen that actually there is no difference in effect between the Bank rate on trade bills and interest rate on advances.

Although the rate of interest on advances under the bill market scheme and warehouse loans to co-operative societies has remained fixed at $3\frac{1}{2}$, the ultimate cost of borrowing will rise and in view of that borrowing against bills will be to some extent discouraged. The increase in Bank rate in India was long overdue. In the face of rising prices it was raised in Britain to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In recent months, the Bank rate has also been raised in other European countries. But in India the Bank rate has not been raised, although the prices are progressively on the increase. For some time past the Bank rate in this country has become unrealistic in that it remained fixed, while the market rate of interest has gone up.

Commodity prices, which had ruled, on the whole, quiet in September and October, recorded a sharp rise in November and the months following thereafter. The Economic Adviser's general index of wholesale prices (Base : year ending August 1939—100), rose by 3.8 per cent from 417.1 to 433.2, mainly owing to increase under food articles, industrial raw materials and semi-manufactures. The inter-bank call rate in the Bombay short-term money market, which had ruled firm at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent since October, rose to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent towards the close of the month. In Calcutta, the call rate rose to as high as 4 per cent in October on account of over-investment by commercial banks. It has now come down to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1946-47, the call rate generally ruled at 4 as per cent. Term money is also now quoted higher at $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent as against $3\frac{1}{4}$—$3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent at the end of October.

In 1956, there was excessive expansion of bank credit to the extent of Rs. 172.2 crores. The total bank advances in 1956 were Rs. 76[illegible] crores and the credit deposit ratio rose by [illegible] points to 70 per cent. Despite the growing demand for credit, banks continued to reduce their indebtedness to the Reserve Bank; this was made possible partly by accretions to deposits and partly by liquidation of gilt-edged portfolio. In order to check the rising trends of borrowing by commercial banks against usance bills from the Reserve Bank, the Reserve Bank has also raised the rate of interest charged on advances under the Bill Market scheme from $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent to 4 per cent, that is, at the prevailing Bank rate.

Since 1955, the greater use of Bank rate as a weapon of monetary control has been made. In 1955, as many as 14 countries raised their discount rate, some of them, namely, Canada, the USA New Zealand, the United Kingdom and Austria resorting to the device more than once. Particularly significant was the resort to monetary discipline by Norway and Sweden which had for many years relied on central planning and direct controls. In 1956 there has been a further round of rise in discount rates, to the highest levels in the last 25 to 30 years. Some of the present rates are 7 per cent in New Zealand, 5 per cent in the United Kingdom and Western Germany and $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in Finland. In Chile and Colombia, the discount rate varies with the amount of borrowing of a bank from the central bank. Canada has been following the practice of adjusting the bank rate with the market rate of interest. This is rather a variable bank rate as

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it is changed with the rise or fall in the market rate.

In modern planned economies the Bank rate should be viewed in a new perspective, rather than the traditional one. The Bank rate should be directed as a variable weapon of credit control and it should follow the market rate of interest rather than remaining fixed in the face of changing interest rate structure. Nowadays it is being said that the importance of Bank rate is just marginal and that is true only if the Bank rate remains fixed and does not vary in accordance with the change in the market rate. In order to make the Bank rate effective, it should be changed to the changing money rates.

Balance of Payments Deficits

The mounting adverse trade balance and dwindling foreign exchange reserves have become a constant source of headache to the Government of India. In the Lok Sabha in its December session it was revealed by the Finance Minister that at the end of November 1956, India's foreign exchange reserves came down to as low as Rs. 536 crores. It may be remembered that under the revised system of note issue in India, the Reserve Bank is required to maintain Rs. 400 crores in foreign securities as a reserve against note issue in India. That means, India today has only a surplus amount of Rs. 136 crores for payments for her imports. Of course, the foreign exchange reserves may go up as a result of a favourable trade balance. But for the last several years India has been suffering from adverse balance of payments and it would be too much to expect that India could have a favourable trade balance in the near future.

The recent review published by the Reserve Bank on India's balance of payments reveals that India's overall trade deficits amounted to Rs. 802.7 crores during eight years between 1948-49 to 1955-56. The first period, 1948-49 to 1951-52 has been described as that of "inflationary pressures and shortages," the second period, 1952-53 to 1953-54, is that of a "mild recession," and the third period, 1954-55 to 1955-56, as that of "expanding economic activities." During the first period trade deficits totalled Rs. 610 crores, during the second period they amounted to Rs. 83.2 crores and during the third period they were Rs. 109.5 crores. During the first plan period the actual annual average trade deficit amounted to Rs. 103 crores. As against this, the estimated annual average trade deficit during the Second Five-Year Plan is much larger at Rs. 275 crores.

The recently concluded Indo-Pakistani trade agreement also reveals adverse trade balance against India. In 1956, India's trade deficit amounted to Rs. 18.8 crores as against Rs. 9.7 crores in 1955. India's continuing dependence on Pakistani raw jute is mainly responsible for throwing the trade balance against her. In 1953, India's raw jute production rose to 46 lakh bales, but thereafter it declined to only 41 lakh bales.

The falling export prices of our commodities and heavy import of capital goods are the two important factors that are responsible for our adverse balance of payments. Two years ago, the import of steel was a negligible item in our trade figures. While internal production figure has increased slightly in 1956, India still had to import larger quantities of steel to meet urgent requirements. In 1956, India imported nearly 1.8 million tons of steel. Despite the index of industrial production having risen in 1956 and despite a tremendous increase in imports, shortages and consequent price rises continue to cause us concern. So long the Government of India was putting up a false picture of our prosperity in our international trade. Every year in his budget speech, the former Finance Minister of India, Mr. Deshmukh, used to dwell lucidly upon the current account surplus of India's foreign trade, without pointing out the heavy imbalance in our balance of payments position. Now after the end of the First Five-Year Plan we are being told constantly that our foreign exchange reserves are running short and that the balance of payments position is adversely against us.

Obviously our current resources in foreign exchange cannot be expected to finance the development programme envisaged in the second plan. India's exports are running at a lower level than was expected and as a result India has to fall back on her sterling balances to withstand the first impact of our increased requirements. Up to 1953, the trade deficit was mainly the result of higher food imports and currently the import of producer goods and raw materials for our developing industries are responsible for the running down of the sterling balances.

The sterling balances came down to Rs. 533

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crores in January of this year. The Government is obliged to maintain Rs. 400 crores worth of sterling balances as the currency reserve, while at least Rs. 40 crores are needed as working balances. Commitments have already been made for an advance payment of Rs. 80 crores for the Rourkela steel plant. The import of steel is now one of the major drains on foreign exchange. As a result, import control belt has been tightened up and the biggest casualty being the virtual ban on the import of cement. The phasing of the Plan outlay and ultimately the total Plan outlay itself will henceforth be governed mainly by foreign exchange considerations.

But mere import control is no remedy for the shortage in foreign exchange. What the authorities do not take into consideration is that the more you restrict your imports, the less will be your exports. The figures of our foreign trade for the last several years will testify to the truth of this statement. Under the present pattern of foreign trade a country cannot expect to have more exports by buying less and less from the countries concerned. Foreign trade is a two-way traffic. The history of India's foreign trade in the post-war years is the story of falling exports following the import restrictions. The Government is making too much of the bogey of falling exports and dwindling foreign exchange reserves. The restrictions on imports of house building materials, like cement, and consumer goods, will adversely affect India's internal economy. The supply being restricted, prices are having upward movement resulting in higher prices and higher cost of living. Higher costs of living means higher cost for planned projects and our exports. Practically that is the fact with our planned outlays and the falling exports on account of higher prices. The import control on consumer goods will create a vicious circle forcing the price level upwards and increasing the cost of the Plan.

The sterling balances represent an extraordinary growth during an abnormal period, namely, the last world war. The sterling balances should not be made the only index of our external prosperity or stability. The provision for currency reserve for Rs. 400 crores worth of sterling balances is also unnecessary. No other country in the world follows this queer practice of maintaining currency reserve in foreigr securities. This is a costly provision which India can hardly afford to indulge, particularly at a time when our foreign exchange resources are required for urgent nation-building projects. The recent Commodity Agreement with the USA will to great extent relieve India for the payment for food imports. Capital goods should be imported against loans from the International Bank and the International Finanace Corporation, recently set up. Last India should strive to increase her exports by tapping new markets and our motto should be "not aid, but trade." For that purpose, bilateral trade agreement should be the basis of foreign trade.

Indian Rice Statistics

The Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Union Ministry of Agriculture, has recently brought out a booklet on rice statistics. The booklet contains many interesting figures. The area under rice in India is about one-third of the total world acreage under rice. India's production is one-fourth of the total world production and her average yield per hectare is 1,[illegible] kgs. of paddy as against the world average of 1,650 kgs. India is the second largest producer of rice in the world, China being the first in production. India produced in 1954-55, [illegible] million metric tons of milled rice, Pakistan 2 million metric tons, Thailand 3.6 million metric tons, and Burma 3.8 million metric tons.

Of the total area under rice in India roughly one-third is irrigated, and the rest generally depends on rain water. During 1954-55, the area under Japanese method of paddy cultivation was about 1.3 million acres. The total additional production as a result of this method of cultivation rose by 6 lakh tons. The marketable surplus of rice in India is about one-third of total production, the rest being retained in villages for local consumption and seed. India is a large consumer of rice. In 1954, she imported nearly one-eighth of the internationally traded rice. The capital consumption of rice in India is, however, low. Taking the post war average (1947-48), the per capita rice consumption in India and Pakistan was about 68 kgs., per year as compared with 164 kgs., per year in Burma, 121 kgs., per year in Indonesia and 102 kgs., per year in Japan.

Rice is the chief food crop for half the world's population. It covers more than [illegible]

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million acres which on an average produces annually about 160 million tons of clean rice. It is predominantly an Asian crop, about 91 per cent of the rice being produced and consumed in South-East Asian countries, extending from the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent to Japan. In 1956, the total acreage of rice in India was 76.25 million acres, representing 24 per cent of the total cultivated area. The total production in 1956 was 2.5 crore tons.

The diversity of conditions under which rice is grown is peculiar to India. It has at one extreme the deep water rice of Assam and West Bengal growing in a rainfall area of 75 to 150 inches and on the other there are areas in which rice is grown as a dry crop with 25 to 30 inches of rain. The crop is again grown on lands almost at sea level, as in the river deltas and in lands even below sea-level with protective embankments, and at altitudes of 3,000 to 5,000 ft. above the sea-level. The crop is grown at different seasons.

The Importance of the Middle-East

Why all this anxiety about the Middle East? Why did Britain and France risk a world conflagration? Here is an assessment of all that, as made by the *New York Times* of January 21st:

"The richest farmlands on earth do not command as much attention today as do those sandy acres, cultivated in strips and circles and fabulously underlain in places with oil, that we call the Middle East.

"In Moscow, the modern leader of the Tartar horde joins with a ruler from what used to be called Cathay to express a tender solicitude for the 'peoples of the Near and Middle East.' In Cairo the potentates of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria offer the synthetic State of Jordan money and arms to replace the dole that until lately used to come from London. In Ankara the Premiers of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan are completing a two-day discussion of the effect of the Eisenhower Doctrine on their respective countries.

"Finally at the United Nations the seventy-four delegations that last Saturday noted Israel's failure to retire to the old armistice lines, as required by previous resolutions, may well be wondering what will happen if she does not do so within the stipulated five-day period. Secretary-General Hammarskjold cannot put them out, even if he felt himself authorized to use the U.N. police force. The Egyptians, who could not keep them out, cannot be expected to put them out either.

"The terms of the situation are not wholly stated in any communique, resolution or set of minutes. The world's attention is on the Middle East because this area is at once a bridge, a route and a source of a raw material absolutely indispensable to Western Europe. The Russians want the bridge as a means of sending their influence more strongly into Africa. They want to be able to control the oil not so much because they themselves need it but because Europe does need it. They have relatively little use for the Suez Canal, but life would be brighter for them if they could turn the canal off and on, like water in a pipe.

"The stakes are high, even when measured solely in the material units which the Russians use and which they assume are also our own first thought. They are higher still in terms of human liberties, which really do matter to us. Our opponents misjudge us if they imagine we would spend many billions for defense in order to protect an oil investment of a few millions.

"The stakes are high, but the rules of the game are difficut. Having used our General Assembly vote to make the British and the French, our old and close allies, withdraw from Egypt, we seem logically committed to apply the same pressure to the Israelis. But the situation, practically regarded, is not the same. If the Israelis were to withdraw unconditionally within their old boundaries they would leave the Gaza Strip, with its 200,000 refugees, in at least a temporary state of anarchy. They would also expose the Gulf of Aqaba and their own port of Elath to a renewed and totally illegal Egyptian blockade.

"In short, a complete, literal and unconditional compliance with what is now asked of the Israelis would restore the situation which led to the recent little Middle Eastern war, in which Israel, Britain and France took part against Egypt. The chances for a lasting and just peace would be slight. The danger of a wider war would be greater than ever.

"The obvious solution is to put the Gaza Strip and the Gulf of Aqaba under control of the U.N. The Israelis have indicated some readiness to do this in a proposal, revealed yesterday, to

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administer Gaza under U.N. direction leaving eventual disposition to a plebiscite. It may be that the necessary two-thirds General Assembly majority, present and voting, cannot be found, and that if we move the required resolution we may suffer a loss of prestige. Even if this is so the test should still be made.

"The Eisenhower Doctrine cannot be treated as something to be applied by and by in a still nebulous emergency. The emergency is here. If we are to avoid the necessity of applying force at some later time, to rescue some Middle Eastern country that has asked our help, we will have to see to it now that neither anarchy nor dictatorship spreads in the Middle East. We can do this peaceably, now. But the sands are running out."

The Suez Tangle

The following special political report, as published in the *New York Times* of January 19, throws a flood of light on the Anglo-French plot, and the forces that actuated it:

"Paris, January 18—Our European allies are sometimes skeptical of the high moral pretensions of United States diplomacy. A case in point was the unpublicized Dulles speech during the September 19 afternoon session of the London Suez Conference.

"Ten days previously Britain and France had completed a military build-up to invade Egypt between September 12 and 15. This plan, of which we had more than an inkling, was held up as a result of our strong objection and equally strong assurance that we intended to help safeguard Europe's vital interests.

"In this atmosphere Dulles, redfaced with earnest indignation, told the London meeting: "I don't care how many words are written into the Charter of the United Nations about not using force. If in fact there is not a substitute for peace in some way to get just resolutions of some of these problems, inevitably the world will fall back again into anarchy and into chaos.

"We have just as much a responsibility to seek a solution in conformity with the principles of justice and international law as we have a responsibility to try and prevent the use of force. * * * You cannot solve the problem [of Suez] just by halfway measures which relate only to peace and which do not also put the full weight of our strength behind what we believe to be a solution in conformity with the principles justice and of international law."

"Britain and France eventually decided United States was not placing 'the full we of its strength behind such a solution attempted action on their own. This fa miserably. They are now in the uncomfort position of having to rely totally upon us apply 'the principle of justice' under the brella of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

"They have been given little detailed in mation concerning our Middle East polit policy. This is partly because of our desir avoid the embarrassment of apparent associa with our European allies. And it is partly cause of personal mistrust existing between Western foreign ministers, a mistrust tha bound to persevere while Dulles, Lloyd Pineau stay in office.

"There are three categories of problems which we must seek settlement: economic, mili and political. The economic aspect is, Europe, most urgent. The United States, sconced in fat-dripping prosperity, must recog that unless existing agreements to exploit transship Arab oil are not soon reapplied Eur faces strangulation.

"Yet Syria is making no effort to repair sabotaged Iraq petroleum pipeline. And Na has told Arab statesmen he will "never" per Israeli access to Suez or the Gulf of Aqaba will ban British and French ships until Israel linquishes the Gaza Strip. If and when happens will he again raise the ante for Bri and France?

"Militarily it is tricky to try and reinforce area. Arab Governments privately make no se of their desire to use arms received aga Israel. Many Middle Eastern states are competent to employ new weapons. W Hitler sent guns to Yemen they were care locked up to prevent them from wearing ou

"Some countries cannot safely be armed in terms of internal security. Hundreds thousands of Bedouins recognize no governm only family and tribe. Could there ever be p in giving rifles to the indigo-painted warriors Yemen? Should we forget the political ac tions of military cliques in Egypt, Syria Jordan?

"No matter what their leaders tell us, Arab Governments still have no more intention

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accepting Israel's existence than their forebears had of accepting the Crusaders' kingdom of Jerusalem. Without precise guarantees can we ask Israel to evacuate Gaza—where German engineers built concrete forts for Egypt—or the entrance to Aqaba—where Nasser had mounted British coast-artillery rifles?

"The existence of Jordan seems doomed. Cairo and Damascus want to include it in a grand federation under Egypt and Syria. Saudi Arabia and Iraq prefer to partition it between themselves. Undoubtedly King Saud and Prince Abdul Illah will say as much in Washington. Both men privately dislike Nasser, fear Russia and respect America. Abdul Illah's life was saved by our Baghdad Minister sixteen years ago.

"The United States has the power and wealth to seek what Dulles called "just resolutions." But we would be unwise to encourage a new Middle East arms race—despite Moscow's munitions peddling.

"We are worried that during 1956 the Soviet bloc quadrupled free world loans and credits—largely in Islamic countries. Yet we should be careful in ladling out our own economic aid. Unless it can be put to useful purposes it is valueless. It must not only benefit the area's inhabitants but also help reopen vital links with Europe's choking industry."

People's China and India

We print below a report from the *New York Times* of January 20th, as an example of political kite-flying:

"Hong Kong, January 19.—Communist China has quietly begun a thorough re-examination and reappraisal of its policy toward India, well informed sources from Peiping reported here today.

"The decision to review and re-evaluate the relationship between Communist China and India, the recognized leader of the Asian and African neutral states, was said to have been based on these major considerations :

"The possibility that Prime Minister Jawharlal Nehru's visit to the United States and his talks with President Eisenhower might result in a better understanding, a closer relationship and less distrust of long-range objectives between India and the United States.

"An apparent lack of progress and accomplishment, from Peiping's point of view, in the recent talks between Chou En-lai, the Communist Chinese Premier, and Prime Minister Nehru.

"The belief held by some top-level Chinese Communists that the co-existence policy with India has been far more rewarding for India than it has for China.

"The greatest fear expressed by top-ranking Chinese Reds was that a softer policy by Prime Minister Nehru toward the United States would be reflected in the smaller Asian and African neutral nations that regard India as their leader and look on Communist China as their guardian.

"Peiping has been largely successful with the Asian and African neutrals in casting the United States in the role of the most dangerous world aggressor and the main threat to world peace. Closer understanding between the United States and India could do much to lessen or destroy this belief, the sources said.

"Peiping's leaders were aware, these sources added, that any relaxation of the fear of the United States in the smaller nations as a result of Prime Minister Nehru's increased confidence would correspondingly weaken their dependence on Communist China as a 'big brother.' This would reduce its position of leadership by strength in Asia.

"In relation to the second point, observers who were in Peiping when Premier Chou returned on January 2 from his three-day talks with Prime Minister Nehru, reported that an atmosphere of evident dejection surrounded the usually buoyant Chinese leader.

"Although diplomatically phrased official announcements of successful exchanges between the two Asian leaders were made later, no specific statements of progress were made and there has been no subsequent evidence to indicate that the Chinese Premier had won any significant concessions or important pledges in New Delhi.

"It also was reported by the same sources that shortly after his return to Peiping, Premier Chou admitted knowledge of rumors in India that the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, religious leaders of Tibet now visiting Calcutta, were being approached by United States agents in efforts to influence them against returning to their Chinese-controlled state.

"Asked if Communist China would pursue a stern policy to put down any resulting uprisings in Tibet if the two Lamas did not return, the Premier was reported to have answered that

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Peiping would be forced to adopt the policy that she has endorsed in Hungary.

"It is believed that the Lamas quelled earlier uprisings against the Chinese by persuading the people to accept the Chinese occupation peacefully."

"Algeria Lives in Fear"

We append below an extract from the *New York Times* of January 24, to show what is happening today in Algeria, which is being forgotten by the world:

"ALGIERS, Algeria, Jan. 23—The conflict in Algeria has expanded continuously since the rebellion started two years ago. Today it is a country-wide everyday display of ambushes, hit-and-run raids, assassinations and sabotage.

"Fear and tension have now become the background to daily existence. Last week communiques and newspaper accounts reported approximately twenty-five European civilians and several times that many Moslems killed or injured in terrorist incidents. A dozen farms were burned and hundreds of farm animals slaughtered.

"Railway lines were cut in more than a dozen places, a station was set afire and a train was attacked and derailed. Security forces killed more than 250 rebels in a score of clashes with insurgent bands and hundreds of Moslems were arrested in policing sweeps.

"In one of the more bloody attacks against Europeans, a suburban Algiers bus was stopped yesterday by armed Moslems. Its seven European passengers, including three women, were lined up by the roadside and killed with rifles and submachine guns.

"It was a relatively quiet week but typical of conditions that have become routine in Algeria.

"It is estimated that there have been nearly 5,000 assassinations since the rebellion began in November, 1954. Most of those killed have been Moslems who have worked with the French or fallen afoul of revolutionary discipline.

"The number of Europeans assassinated is about 1,000. French forces have lost more than 2,000 men killed and have killed, according to French figures, nearly 20,000 Moslems in military and policing operations. Most roads, although extensively used, are considered unsafe. Railways operated at a reduced level in the face of ambush and sabotage hazards."

Eisenhower Doctrine for Middle East

President Eisenhower in a message to extraordinary joint session of the Senate the House of Representatives on January asked the United States Congress to author the use of United States military forces "protect the territorial integrity and polit independence" of any Middle East nation questing such aid to resist "overt armed gression from any nation controlled by int national communism." He added that he wo later on ask Congress for 400 million dol for aid in the Middle East during the next fiscal years. The President also announced intention to send a special mission to the Mi East soon to explain the co-operation planned for the area.

James Reston, Washington correspond of the *New York Times* writes: "On seve points the President used ambiguous langu but it can be said that this was purpos ambiguity. He did not, for example, de what was meant by the 'Middle East area.' did not say whether he would consult with Congress or just with the leaders of the C gress, or whether he would do so before or w or after ordering United States troops action in response to an appeal for help aga armed Communist aggression."

In his message to the Congress Presid Eisenhower referred to the importance of Middle East which possessed about two-thi of the world's known oil deposits and thro which passed the Suez Canal which was important to the economics of a great many the nations of the world. So long the colon powers—notably Britain and France had ma tained a stability in the area. The withdra of these powers from the Middle East se following the achievement of independe by a number of Middle Eastern countri created a power vacuum in the area inasmu as the newly independent countries were strong enough to maintain the stability of region. Then there was the Soviet move domination over the area.

In such circumstances, President Eis hower told the Congress, it was "essential th the United States should manifest through jo action of the President and the Congress determination to assist those nations of Mid-east area which may desire that assi

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ance." His proposed action had three distinctive features. The President said:

"It would, first of all, authorize the United States to co-operate with and assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle East in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence."

Secondly, it would authorize his Administration "to undertake in the same region programs of military assistance and co-operation with any nation or group of nations which desires such aid."

Thirdly, it would "authorize such assistance and co-operation to include the employment of the armed forces of the United States to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations requesting such aid against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism."

The President assured the Congress that the actions taken by the USA in the event of an armed attack in the Mid-east would be "subject to the over-riding authority of the United Nations Security Council in accordance with the Charter."

What Next ?

The world is evidently passing through a very critical phase. The "cold war" which looked like melting away has been re-inforced by the events following the Anglo-French attack on Egypt and the Soviet intervention in Hungary. Later events have demonstrated that the two colossi—USSR and the USA—were in no mood to reconcile oneself with the other—threatening in the process the independence of small countries.

The game being played by the two giants is purely selfish and solely motivated by power-politics. The USA opposed Anglo-French aggression on Egypt and was on that account hailed throughout the world. It was expected that she would help the emergence of some sort of stability in that highly unstable area of the world. But then came the Eisenhower doctrine of filling up the power vacuum in the Middle East created by Anglo-French withdrawal from the area. This new move of the USA intensified the mutual differences of the Middle Eastern countries and brought upon them a new pressure from the Soviet Union who could not reasonably be expected to view with indifference the reinforcement of American military strength near her borders. The Middle East thus presents a highly unstable atmosphere.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union, which had shown some welcome changes of its policy during early 1956, indicated of late—particularly after the Hungarian uprising—that she was also in no mood to loosen her grip on the satellites in Eastern Europe. No doubt Mr. Gomulka extracted great freedom for Poland; but the Soviet hold on other countries of Eastern Europe remain as firm as ever. From the latest reaffirmation of the Warsaw Pact contained in the joint Soviet-Czechoslovak statement of January 30 it would appear that the grip is being tightened up. The suppression of the Hungarian uprising continues to be glorified as an act of great international help to the people of Hungary.

Simultaneously with such military and political tightening up of the Communist camp there has been a determined effort to close up ranks ideologically. After her exposure during the Hungarian crisis the Soviet Union apparently felt so uncertain of her own position that the task of providing a theoretical justification of Soviet Russian stand fell on the Chinese Communist Party which in a 14,000-word statement published as an editorial article of the Peking *Jin Min Jih Pao* (People's Party) virtually endorses every step of the Soviet Government. The Chinese Communist Party soundly condemns Marshal Tito and other Communist intellectuals who had criticized Soviet atrocities in Hungary.

The position is that at the end of the first month of the year the two power groups stand farther apart and the nations favouring non-involvement in power-bloc rivalries find themselves in increasingly greater danger.

Eden Retires

Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister, resigned his position on January 9 after a brief audience with Queen Elizabeth the Second at the Buckingham Palace. His resignation, made on grounds of failing health, was accepted immediately.

After consultations with leading Conservative politicians—including Sir Winston Chur-

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chill and the Marquess of Salisbury—the Queen appointed Mr. Harold Macmillan, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Eden Cabinet, as the new Prime Minister. On January 14, the new Premier announced his Cabinet which included among others: Mr. Macmillan (Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury); Mr. Peter Thorneycroft (Chancellor of the Exchequer); Mr. Sellwyn Lloyd (Foreign Secretary); the Earl of Holme (Secretary for Commonwealth Affairs); Mr. Arthur Lennox Boyd (Secretary in Charge of Colonial Affairs); Mr. Duncan Sandys (Defense Minister); Mr. Richard Auster Butler (Home Secretary and Lord Privy Seal); Mr. David Eccles (President of the Board of Trade); Marquess of Salisbury (Lord President of the Privy Council); and Viscount Kilumir (Lord Chancellor, *i.e.*, Chief Justice). The numerical strength of the Macmillan Cainet was eighteen—one less than in the preceding (Eden) Cabinet. The average age of the members of the Cabinet was 53 compared with 55 in Sir Anthony Eden's team.

Notable among the members of the Eden Cabinet who were left out of the new Government were: Mr. Anthony Head (whose handling as the Defence Minister of the military aspects of Suez had come in for severe criticism in some newspapers and Conservative political circles); Sir Walter Monckton (who had reportedly opposed the invasion of Egypt); Mr. Gwilym Lloyd George (the Home Secretary in Eden Cabinet) and Mr. Patrick Buchan-Hepburn, the former Minister of Works.

The departure of Sir Anthony Eden from No. 10 Downing Street was in no way unexpected. The Anglo-French aggression in Egypt towards the close of last October resulted in widespread criticism of the policies of the Eden Government in both Labour and Conservative circles alike. There were a few minor resignations from the Government and there were repeated reports of a Cabinet crisis. About the middle of November, Sir Anthony Eden temporarily withdrew from Government on grounds of ill health and went to Jamaica for rest. The Lord Privy Seal Mr. Richard Auster Butler deputised for the Prime Minister and led the Government and the country through a very critical period when Great Britain stood virtually isolated in the international field. Speculations became rife whether Sir Anthony would rejoin the Cabinet at As a matter of fact, however, he resumed duties of the Prime Minister. But there never any doubt of his impending retireme

While the resignation of Sir Anthony E was not unexpected political circles were gre surprised at the appointment of the new P Minister. It was almost universally held the Queen would ask Mr. Butler, who had d tized for Sir Anthony during his absence to a new Conservative Government. But ins she named Mr. Harold Macmillan as the Prime Minister. In her decision the Queen greatly influenced by the advice of Sir Wi Churchill and particularly of the Marque Salisbury.

A fresh controversy arose over the app ment of the new Premier. Labour le charged that the Queen, by naming the Pr before the Conservative Party had electe leader, had imposed her choice upon the p and had thus involved the Crown in a poli controversy inasmuch as the Conservatives no alternative but to elect Mr. Macmilla their leader since a failure to do so would construed as implied disobedience to the Qu

The new Prime Minister, Mr. Macmi in one of his early declarations made it c clear to the Labour politicians, who had clamoury for a fresh general election, tha was not going to comply with their dem On January 22 the Conservative Party animously approved of his appointment as new leader of the Party and Government.

The retention of Sellwyn Lloyd as Foreign Minister and the passing over of Butler, who was reporedly the leader of group opposing the invasion of Egypt, in fa of Mr. Macmillan would seem to belie expe tions of a change in the foreign policy of U.K. following the resignation of Sir Anth

Commenting upon Sir Anthony Ed departure from the British political arena only twenty-one months as Premier, the *York Times* International Edition, January writes that his resignation "also illustrates tragedy of his policies, a tragedy that ha roots both in the changed world situation has also changed Britain's role and in Br political developments at home." His resi tion at the moment had largely been due t failure of the Anglo-French intervention

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Egypt which, according to the *Times* had "turned into a political and military debacle of serious consequences to Britain, to Europe, and to much of the free world" and with which the newspaper nevertheless finds itself in full sympathy (the Egyptian aggression according to its interpretation had been undertaken following the "principle" of "opposition to the appeasement of the dictators," the British "mistake" having lain in mistiming the attack), but it was also a "culmination of (British) dissatisfaction with Sir Anthony's rule that began long before Suez."

That dissatisfaction had its root in the general discontent of the British middle classes with the policies of both the Conservative and Labour parties in creating and maintaining a welfare State. "Sir Anthony has become, in part at least, a victim of the revolt. It remains to be seen what his successor can do in stemming it," the *New York Times* concludes.

Elections in Poland

National elections were held in Poland on January 20 to fill up 459 seats in the Polish Sejm (Parliament). Polling was quite heavy, more than 90 per cent of the electorate voting in some provinces. The result indicated the country's reaffirmation of its faith in the leadership of the Communist Party under the guidance of Wladyslaw Gomulka whom the people endearingly called "Comrade Wieslaw."

Though there was only one list of candidates, elections in Poland this time was held in greater freedom than was the case in October, 1952, when elections had been held last. There were 720 candidates (of whom only 83 had sat in the outgoing Sejm) for 459 seats. The electors were thus offered a limited choice. Women candidates numbered 28 against 68 elected in the last Sejm.

The list of candidates was prepared by the National United Front composed of the Communist Party (which was allotted more than 50 per cent of the nominations), United Peasant Party (allotted 25 per cent of the nominations), Democratic Party (with 15 per cent of the nominations) and 114 non-party members—representatives of trade unions and their mass social organizations and 22 Catholics.

Mr. Gomulka topped the list having gained 99.4 per cent of the votes in his constituency in Warsaw. All the other leaders of the Communist Party including Premier Cyrankiewez and the President Aleksander Zawadski were also returned. The leaders of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, Mr. Stefan Ignar and Professor Stanislaw Kulczynski were also successful.

The significance of the Polish elections lay in the fact that, to quote the correspondent of the London *Times*, "some people did strike out the names of Communist candidates, and that this was allowed." As the *Hindu* points out, "The voters have indicated their preference among the candidates on the lists in a marked manner: for instance, while Mr. Gomulka led his list decisively, the next two men on the list, belonging to the United Workers' Party, went to the bottom of the polls. A non-party architect and a Catholic obtained the second and third places. It may be possible for Poland to have fully free elections in due course."

To understand the significance of the relatively free elections in Poland it was necessary to recall the delicate position of Poland between Russo-Western rivalry and of Mr. Gomulka in particular. His problem is peculiarly complex: to maintain the independence of Poland both against Western Powers—Germany in particular and from the Soviet Union on the other hand; and to ensure the people at least a stable economy. Admittedly this was no easy task. Waclaw Solski writing in the *New Leader*, November 26, makes the point quite striking. "One false step in either direction," writes Mr. Solski, "may destroy not only him but Poland. Some 30 Soviet divisions are massed on Poland's eastern borders, more than 20 on her western frontiers. The opinion prevails in Poland that Soviet troops have been sent to Germany primarily to frighten the Poles with the memory of September, 1939, when Poland was invaded simultaneously from Germany and the USSR." Both the *Hindu* and the *Statesman* in their leading articles rightly underline this point.

The last Sejm was a shame as Mr. Gomulka said in his speech before the eighth plenum of the Polish Communist Party. And it was to be noted that only 83 members of the old Sejm could secure re-nomination (how many of them were actually re-elected was not yet clear). Most of the present members of the Polish Parliament had suffered under the old regime and if it is recalled that on his assumption of

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leadership Mr. Gomulka had clearly indicated his determination to restore the right and authority of the National Parliament, it would not be far wrong to expect the Parliament to exercise more powers and to that extent fulfilling one of the conditions of democratic functioning—namely, the executive accountability to the Parliament.

The Djilas Trial

Milovan Djilas, the 50-year-old Montenegrin poet, essayist and revolutionary, was one of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party and was Vice-President of Yugoslavia until his deposition in 1954. His disgrace in 1954 followed the publications of his articles in the Yugoslav press criticising the various aspects of Yugoslav political life and the bureaucracies in the party and administration. In those articles he had criticized the one-party system and had suggested the adoption of a multi-party system in Yugoslavia. He was tried and sentenced to a term of imprisonment but was let off without having to serve the term. With him was expelled Vladimir Dedijer, ex-member of the central committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, and official biographer of Marshal Tito. (For details see *The Modern Review* for March, 1954, pp. 178-180).

Djilas lived since then as a private Yugoslav citizen until his second arrest following the publication in the U.S. anti-Communist weekly, *The New Leader* No. 19, 1956, an article written by him on the recent upsurge of the peoples of Eastern Europe against Soviet domination, and on Yugoslavia's attitude toward those events.

Djilas wrote that the eastern European events of late October, 1956, had posed three questions: "(1) the further possibilities of national Communism, (2) the replacement of Communism by a new system, and, along with this, the right of a people heretofore under Communist rule to choose its own—non-Communist—path of development, (3) the problem of future foreign (and . . . internal) policy of the Soviet regime."

The basic thesis of Djilas was that Communism as a social system was no longer capable of leading mankind along the path of social progress. Even "national Communism" was unable to perform the tasks of further social development. The example of Yugoslavia had indicated that "national Communism can mer break from Moscow and, in its own nation tempo and way, construct essentially the iden cal Communist system." And yet even t Yugoslav experience with its many historic peculiarities could hardly be deemed to applicable to other Eastern European countr where the Communists could not have come power without the backing of the Sovi Government and army.

Yugoslav national Communism, Dji wrote, "was above all, the resistance to Mosc of the Communist Party" of Yugoslavia w the support of the people behind it, "In Yu slavia, therefore, the entire process was led carefully controlled from above, and tendenc to go farther—to democracy—were relativ weak." In the other countries of Eastern Eur however, the Communist resistance to Mosc had not been initiated by the Communist Pa but had resulted from the discontent of t popular masses so that from the very first bridled tendencies had been expressed there transcend the bounds of national Communis itself. The leaders in those countries, divor from popular support, had to look upon Mosc for support for the maintenance of their aut rity and had, therefore, tried "to halt further estrangement from Moscow."

Yugoslavia's attitude toward the disconte of the other Eastern European countries agai Kremlin domination, according to Djilas, been to support that "as long as it was co ducted by the Communist leaders," but she "turned against it—as in Hungary—as soon it went further"—transcending the bounds national Communism. Djilas disliked Yugoslav reluctance to go further which inherent in the prevailing system in Yugosla itself.

Moscow's conduct in the Hungarian Re lution had been determined by both exter and internal reasons. "Just as Yugoslav rev revealed Moscow's imperialism with regard Communist countries, so the Hungarian Rev lution threatened to reveal the Soviet inter system as the totalitarian domination of a exploiting class—the party bureaucracy," wr Djilas. The victory of the Hungarian Revo tion with its political democracy and soc control of industry and banking would ha meant the confinement of the Soviet syste

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within the national boundaries of the USSR and would thus have engendered new processes there. The existence of a rift in the Kremlin leadership was undeniable. In external policies, however, the diffrence between the competing Soviet groups lay in their methods, in the word of Djilas, "whether to stick to the old army and police methods (Stalinist imperialist methods); or apply new ones in which economic and political elements would be dominant. Attempts at introducing the new methods led to the Polish case, the return to the old ones led to Hungary. Both methods proved ineffective. From this spring the splits and conflicts in the USSR."

The chief significance of the Revolution in Hungary, despite its failure, lay in the fact that it meant "the beginning of the end of Communism generally" in the same way as "Yugoslav Communism, separating itself from Moscow, (had) initiated the crisis of Soviet imperialism, that is, the inevitable birth of national Communism," Djilas wrote.

The grounds of the present arrest and trial of Milovan Djilas are not quite clear to us in India where news about Yugoslav developments are reported in a rather slipshod manner. So far as it can be ascertained from the scrappy reports Djilas was arrested for publishing critical remarks about Yugoslavia in a foreign press. Referring to this charge Vladimir Dedijer pointed out that as no Yugoslav newspaper would be ready to publish anything written by Djilas or Dedijer (they could not even secure any respectable job in Yugoslavia suited to their talents and attainments) if they had to publish anything they had no alternative but to resort to the hospitability of the foreign press.

It is hardly possible to pass any judgment on the merits or otherwise of the trial of Djilas —especially on the basis of absence of virtually any dependable and tolerably full account. Yet the arrest and trial of Djilas solely on the offence of his publication of an article in the foreign press—considered against the revelations of Dedijer—pointed to the crisis facing the intellectuals all over the world, a crisis that had so poignantly been expressed by the late Albert Einstein when he had declared that if he should be born again he would like to be born a manual worker. Everywhere—in western "democracies" no less than in Communist dictatorships—intellectuals face a dilemma of how to reconcile the pursuit of truth (at least as they conceive it) with the interests of powers that be. This problem has been present since the time of Socrates and the vast progress made by mankind in the material field would seem to have been unable to produce any corresponding change for the better at least in so far as intellectual freedom is concerned. Otherwise how to account for the liquidation of scores of intellectuals (including Maxim Gorky it would now seem from the Khruschev disclosures) in the Communist countries and the extensive book-burning in Communist China and "free" USA? How is it that the leading American writer, Howard Fast, whose concern for individual freedom and human dignity and independence could hardly be doubted after his reaction to Khruschev disclosures and whose books had once been distributed by the Government of the United States of America, could find no publisher in the USA to undertake the publication of his now famous book *Spartacus?*

Indian Administration

The *People*, a weekly news-magazine published from Lucknow, in its leader on December 30, throws some light on an aspect of present Indian administration—its top-heavy and uneconomic character. Referring to the general situation prevailing in the Uttar Pradesh, the newspaper points to the phenomenal growth in the number of officers in higher ranks without however any corresponding rise in the efficiency of the administration.

"Everywhere and in all departments," the *People* continues, "the number of supervisory officers has increased; in some cases abnormally. In the Secretariat itself there were formally six Secretaries, five Deputy Secretaries and one Under-Secretary; as against that there are 81 officers of similar cadre today. In a popular government an increase in the number of officers is inevitable. But we strongly maintain that such a colossal increase is not only disproportionate but also unnecessary."

At some point since independence there was an effort to reduce the number of higher administrative personnel: the number of Divisional Commissioners were reduced from ten to three; the work done by the Board of Revenue

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was sought to be done through a newly created Land Reforms Commissioner. What became of that effort? Not only did it prove a failure but the number of officers increased even beyond the original strength. Thus there were now ten Divisional Commissioners and the Board of Revenue "which was regarded superfluous seven years back will have five senior Indian Civil Service officers along with some two senior officers of the Provincial Civil Service" and there were similar admissions about the number of Superintending Engineers in the PWD.

Even then did these plethora of officers contribute to the toning up and increased efficiency of the administration? Far from that. In most cases people were occupying posts to which they were not so eminently suited. The Divisional Commissioners whose duty it was to advice junior district officers were mostly persons whose experience of district administration was far from adequate. In British days, considering the nature of Secretarial functions requiring expert advice to be tendered to the Ministers-in-Charge, no person would generally be brought in as a Secretary unless he had about fifteen years' experience in the district administration. "Have we today in the Uttar Pradesh Secretariat a single Secretary who has 15 years' experience of district administration?" the *People* asks.

In this connection the remarks made by Mr. John Strachey, the British Labour leader, bear some interest. Mr. Strachey who had been to India on the invitation of the Indian Statistical Institute wrote in an article in the *Encounter* (reproduced in the weekly *Bhoodan*, January 23, 1957) on his impressions on India in which he said that India would in fifteen years time become an industrialized socialist community.

The major Indian industries would be publicly owned, wrote Mr. Strachey and a "double process of industrialization and socialisation" would be going throughout that period. Any breakdown in the Second Five-Year Plan would not thus mean any return to "private enterprise capitalism but a transformation of India into some form of totalitarian or dictatorial community."

In addition to economic difficulties for the successful implementation of the Plan there was another, and, perhaps, more important, obstacle to it—the administrative lag.

"The main administrative obstacle to th plan," wrote Mr. Strachey, "lies in the admini trative service itself. The I.C.S. together wi the admirable positive qualities which it shar with Whitehall shares also to some exte Whitehall's *laissez-faire*, cautious, non-inte ventionist conservative approach to econom affairs. Indian civil servants are for the mo part reluctant planners and I think this h resulted in delays which have cost India de The worst difficulty is likely to be sheer short of numbers of trained administrative staff do this gigantic work."

Rewriting Indian History

Inaugurating the nineteenth Indian Histo Congress at Agra on December 25, Shri K. Munshi, Governor of the Uttar Pradesh, s that the task before modern Indian histori was to rewrite Indian history from the Indi point of view but discarding any partisansh He said that the rewriting of Indian histo had to be done with a view to discovering wh in the course of centuries "we felt and suffere how we reacted to new conditions, what we the central ideas and fundamental values whi persisted through time, how we were influence or overwhelmed by the impact of exter forces or internal disruption and how we s vived them to emerge as vital and free natio

The modern historian must try to draw objective picture avoiding the narrowness a prejudice of the British writers and the ov glorification of everything Indian whi characterised early Indian historians. He pa a warm tribute to the "sturdy generation historians" who had met the challenge European historians by upholding India's p culture.

He criticised the shortcomings of Marxist historians whose view of history w highly schematic and therefore greatly distorte "Such history neither illumines the past nor t future. That is why in countries where it is vogue it has to be re-written time and again eliminate inconvenient episodes and develo ment."

Historians could have only one approach the historical—he said. The first step in histo ca. interpretation was to recognise the impo tance of truth, that is, of searching a tabulating records with integrity and thorough ness; of weighing the testimony in a scrupulo balance.

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THE ROLE OF NON-RAJPUTS IN THE HISTORY OF RAJPUTANA

By Prof. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D.

(1)

About ten years back I happened to visit the commercial town of Malpura in the Jaipur State. I mingled with the concourse of picturesque humanity that covered the busy *chauk* of Malpura on the market day. The sight of a market or a *mela* in Rajputana is an object-lesson to the historian that the history of Rajputana is not the history of the ruling Rajputs only but of non-Rajputs as well, who form the vast majority and who have perhaps a much older history to tell than the Guhilots and Chauhans, Rathors and Kachhwahs. The market square of Malpura made me ashamed of my indifferent knowledge of the ethnography of the so-called aboriginal races, whose specimens are preserved till today in the hills and sands of Rajputana. Next to the most familiar Bhils, Minas and Meos, Jats and Meds had also been the makers of the history of this land; today a ruler, tomorrow a robber and the day after a miserable labourer or beggar,—such has been the lot of these peoples. The same fate seems to await the proud Rajput on the cross-road of Medieval and Modern India. Before we rush to the philosophy of history, much spade-work in and around Rajasthan history is yet to be done.

We should, however, confine our discourse mainly to the role of three non-Rajput communities of Rajputana; namely, the Charan, the Kayeth and the Vaish or Baniya, in the medieval history of the land. The Charan is peculiar only to Rajputana; whereas the Kayeth and the Vaish, much-flattered as well as much-maligned communities, so indispensable for their administrative and business brain, are found everywhere and always.

(2)

To begin with the Charans.

The Charan does not claim emergence from any limb of Brahma like other castes of Hindu society. Surajmal Mishan, the great Charan PoetLaureate of Bundi Court in the second half of the nineteenth century,—in his grand epic, the *Vamsa-bhaskar*, traces the origin of the Charans to the *Suta* referred conjointly with the Maghadha in the Mahabharata; others of this fraternity claim that Charans were heavenly beings (who are mentioned with Siddha and Gandharva as singers of the praise of gods and heroes),—and that they came down to earth in the company of the Kshatriyas!

Whatever might be his origin, the Charan and the Rajput in historical times are found inseparable like body and soul. In the social fabric of Rajputana, the Charan occupies an intermediate position between the Brahman and the Rajput, and in character he combines the characteristics of the Rajput with those of the Brahman. The Charan is not a beggarly wandering ministrel as the general impression goes. The Charan was the esteemed and faithful companion of the Rajput, sharing his *ammal* (opium) and half of his loaf in adversity, and receiving his extravagant bounty in prosperity. He followed his client chief on horseback to the thickest of fight, where the poetic fire of his *geet* of old gave a Rajput "the strength of ten" on the field of carnage. The post of honour at the main gate of the princely castle belonged to the premier Charan, who haughtily demanded his *neg* there from bridegroom's party, and whose privilege it was to open that gate on the foe in times of sally and receive the first blow of hostile sword.

The Charans as a class were always humoured and honoured wherever a Rajput who cared for his reputation did ever live; because the Charan's tongue would cut both ways, and cut deeper than the *katar* (broadsword) of a valiant foe. But for this eternal dread of satires and unsavoury reflections, the Charan as well as his counterpart in other climes, the ministrel and the chronicler,—would have starved in the Middle Ages, whether of the East or of the West.

The Charan was not the proverbial strife-monger between rival clans adding fuel to the fire of fray on a point of honour; he was rather an agent of peace in the feud-torn land of the Rajputs. The typical Charan of Rajputana was fearless of speech, true to his word unto death, kindly and charitable to all, and genuinely devoted to his country's good and the welfare of the Kshatriyas particularly. He was no ordinary beggar; and even the meanest of the Charan would disdain gifts and charity of any

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other community except those of a Rajput. The Charan, though as sensitive and proud as the Rajput, excelled the Rajput in humane virtues, moral courage and political morality. His weapon against the Rajput was only his moral force backed by a superstition; namely, the threat to kill himself and thereby bring upon the obdurate Rajput the wrath of gods. The Charan was classed with "the cow and the Brahman," whose slaughter was forbidden to the Rajput. Next to the Rajput the Charan only enjoyed the privilege of giving *sarna* (protection) under his roof. When rival septs living in neighbourhood indulged in civil feuds, both sides would send their women and children to the houses of the Charans, which were a haven of refuge in a demilitarised zone as it were though within the striking distance of skirmishes. Thus the inviolability of the Charan's home saved the seed of the clan when its adults were killed in insane feuds. A single determined Charan rushing in between the ranks of fighting warriors sometimes stopped blood-shed. If the exhortation of the well-wishing Charan went unheeded, he would kill himself with his *katar* in living faith that no Rajput would dare to cross the ban of a Charan's blood. This was no fiction, but a long-established institution in the code of honour and morality backed by a religious awe in that land of eternal vendetta.

The Charan's patriotism, courage and devotion earned for his community a precedence over all other castes inclusive of the Brahman in the customary law of the land. Notable Brahmans, Vaishyas and Kayeths were sometimes the recipients of such distinctions of a first grade chief, as *tazim* and *langar* (reception by standing and the gift of gold anklet); but these privileges and distinctions were *personal* with them only; whereas in the case of a Rajput or a Charan, the same honours once conferred were meant in perpetuity for their successors unless definitely withdrawn by the ruling chief.

(3)

The Charans were more liberal in their social outlook than the Brahmans. Unlike the Brahmans they would join Rajputs in jovial gathering, take flesh and liquor and also cooked food from the hands of other castes. Like the Rajput he belongs mainly to the sturdy cult of *Sakti* worship. They are in general worshippers of *Mataji* (Divine Mother and her incarnations). When two Charans meet they greet one another not with the usual "Ram, Ram" but with *"Jai Shri Mataji."* *Mata* is an incarnation of *Sakti,* and there are several shrines of more than one *Mata* or incarnations of saintly Charan ladies of old with miraculous powers. We have it on the authority of Gu[illegible] that the shrine of Karaniji of the village Deshnok near Bikanir is held in great reverence by the Charans and Rajputs. If we believe the late historians, Munshi Devi Prasad of Jodhpur who knew every inch of Rajputana beyond Ajmer westward,—this temple of Karaniji remains to this day a veritable paradise of rats (*chuha*). Rats move in confidence and live a care-free life there. These rats fearlessly climb on necks and heads of devotee pilgrims, who take this otherwise nuisance as a token of divine favour! They are affectionately over-fed with *bajra* grain by the temple authorities and pilgrims. If a rat meets with death by some unintentional act of any man his only penance is to offer a gold rat to Devi as the only condition of forgiveness of his sin.

Appropriately enough these rats are for[illegible] called "the Kabas[1] of Karaniji." These privileged "robbers" are always guarded by a contingent of ten or twelve Charans armed with *lathis*[2], which make a short work of prowling cats.

It is said that the Solanki ruler Siddha[illegible] Jai Singh made a home for the then wandering Charan community in the territory of Cu[illegible] where they were given rent-free land. [illegible] they multiplied; but after some time the [illegible] of wandering blood impelled the more adventurous among them to turn their backs on Cutch and settled life. The roving Charans entered the Desert of Rajputana and became known as the aristocratic Maru Charans; whereas, those who clung to their home in Cutch became the degraded Kachhela Charans. The Malia Charans who boast of 120 septs spread all over with expansion of Rajput power all over Rajputana, Western India, Malwa, Central India and Kathiawad. They multiplied rapidly

1. The Kabas are a predatory tribe claiming hereditary guardianship of the temple of Dwarka where they levied blackmail from pilgrims.

2. *Guleri-granth,* Vol. I, p. 253; footnote (Nagari-pracharini Sabha).

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owing to their custom of marrying many wives and keeping concubines in imitation of the Rajputs.

The Charan is entitled to beg of a Rajput only; but there are seven categories of persons and communities, who in their turn have a hereditary claim on the Charan's bounty, and are not allowed to beg of any other community. Besides their *kula-guru* family of Brahmans living in Ujjain till today, and the *purohit* (family priest), these are: the *Rao* Bhat of Chandisa sept of Marwar (who are the Bhats of the Charans as of the Rathors of Marwar); the *Raival* Brahmans, the *Goind-pota* and the *Viram-pota dholi-s* (Bhats singing with *dhol*?) and the *Motisar* community. These Motisars were originally Rajputs of Jhala, Khichi, Parihar and other septs, who had become the devotees and worshippers of *Avar Mata* (the guardian goddess of the Charans), who gave them the divine gift of poetic talents even without learning how to read and write. Evidently the Motisar stood in the same relation to a Charan as the Charan stood in relation to a Rajput as his hereditary panegyrist and custodian of fame. A Motisar in praising any distinguished Charan gives him the compliment of *Abari ka ked*, which means, according to Pandit Guleri[3], a descendant of *Yayavar*. Who this mythical Bedouin ancestor of the Charans was cannot be determined at present. At any rate it mystifies further the origin of the Charans like that of the Rajputs.

(4)

The Charans are also known an "Kula" or "Kulaa." Their quarrel with the Bhats in general except with those of their own is long-standing. It is said that one *dholi* Bhat named Rajlal, an inhabitant of Marwar, composed a satirical poem *Kula-kulamandan* to hold the Charans in contempt. It is said that the Bhats once in a full public audience of Akbar's Diwan-i-Am spoke ill of the origin of the Charans (*Akbar Sahaji ra dari-khana mahi Bhat Charan-kul ri nandak kidhi*). At this time a Brahman named Lakhaji, the *guru* of the Charans, was a high favourite with the Emperor. Lakha invited his own *guru*, Gangāramji, who lived in the village of Jajiyan in Jaisalmir. Gangaram came and expounded the Tantrik work, *Shivarahasyam* to an assembly of the Pandits in the presence of the Emperor, who accepted his authority to the discomfiture of the Bhats. The Charans became grateful to Lakha for his powerful patronage extended to their fraternity in the Mughal Court. Charan Dursa of *Adha* sept commemorated this in a *duha*:

Dilli dargah amba phal, uncha ghanan apar;
Charan Lakkhau charan, dal navanvanhar.

[*i.e.*, Delhi court (patronage) is a mangofruit placed too high above; Charan Lakkhau is the bender of the branch (of the tree) for the Charans (to get at that)].

Old Lakha received rich land-grants in Ujjain from Akbar, and retired in old age to Mathura. There Maharajah Udai Singh of Marwar, whose daughter was married to Prince Salim, came there on a pilgrimage and desired to see Lakha, a subject of Marwar. The Rajah came on three successive days to Lakha's house but went away disappointed as Lakha remained inside the house. This was because the Rajah had confiscated the *sasans* (gift villages) of the Charans and Bhats of Marwar, who resorted to a *dharna* at Aauva, a village in Jodhpur territory. In that *dharna* one Goind *dholi* (ancestor of Goindpota section of Bhats dependent on the charity of the Charans) was the first to die in this common cause by cutting off his own head. The Rajah did not yield till many Charans committed suicide. On the fourth day old Lakha[4] at the intercession of his wife agreed to pay a return visit to the Rajah. Such were the proud and community-conscious Charans of old in Rajputana.

* * * *

If Chand Bardai, the reputed author of *Prithviraj Raso*, was a historical character, traditions portray in the *Raso*, the relation in which the ideal knight of Rajput chivalry and the best and bravest of ministrels stood in times of old. However, we should confine ourselves

3. According to Pandit Guleri, *Yayavar* (corrupted to Avari), was a *rishi* (saint) and the founder of a school of poetry, known as *Yayavariya*. Rajashekhara the tenth century A.D. describes himself as a Yayavariya, which makes Guleri surmise that this poet was a descendant of *Yayavar* (*Guleri-granth*, p. 253).

4. Guleri on the authority of Munshi Deviprasad (*Guleri-granth*, II, p. 253). Saktidanji is the representative of Lakha's line in whose house are preserved *farmans* of Akbar, letters of Durgadas, Kavi-kalash (of Sambhaji's court) and others which were shown to Pandit Guleri.

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to the *Khyats* and other chronicles of indigenous origin to pick up a few selected anecdotes to illustrate the role of the Charans in Rajput History.

To begin with Mewar.

1. When the fortunes of Mewar sank low under the onset of the Khilji imperialism, and Ajaysi's son Rao Hammir exhausted in resources and spirit had gone away as far as Girnar to seek a new home for his people it was a saintly Charan woman, mother of Baru Charan, who came to the rescue of the Sisodia prince by purchasing 500 horses from her own funds for the use of his followers. Baru accompained Rao Hammir to Mewar, and when Hammir recovered the independence of Mewar, he made Baru the *Barhat* (premier Charan), whose descendants are known to this day as Sauda Barhats of Mewar.

2. When the murdered Ranmal Rathor's body lay uncremated for fear of the wrath of Rao Chunda (ancestor of Chundavat sept of the royal family), it was a Charan of Mewar, Chandan by name, who gave the dead body a religious funeral in defiance of Chunda's order, and courted expulsion from his ancestral home leaving a silent lesson behind for Rajputs that hatred should not pursue the dead.

3. Kumar Jagat Singh, son of Maharana Karan (grandson of Pratap), had one day gone out for hare-hunting outside the Kishan-pol gate of Udaipur when he was being pursued stealthily by a stranger on horse. "Now on demand of my brother's blood," cried the Naruka Rajput from Dhundahar country (Jaipur), who was about to deal the prince a mortal blow. And as suddenly the head of the assailant fell down at the feet of the prince, struck down by the sword of Charan Khemraj, who having scented some evil was following the prince unnoticed. After his accession, Maharana Jagat Singh I conferred a *jagir* of an yearly income of thirty thousand rupees on Khemraj, whom he used to call "Bhai Khemraj." The Maharana honoured him by accepting his hospitality with the ladies of the royal household for fifteen days on the occasion of the marriage of Khemraj's daughter in his village home. (For other anecdotes, Introduction to *Vamsa-bhaskar*).

4. When Aurangzib sent an army to destroy Udaipur in the time of Maharana Raj Singh, the Maharana had to seek the shelter inaccessible hills. At this time Charan N of Sauda Barhat family (descendant of B whom Maharana Hammir had made the p mier Charan of Mewar),—used to carry s plies and information from the palace of U pur to the hiding place of the Maharana. O a friend in jest said, "Barhatji, how is it you have now turned your back on the v gate of the *Raoti*, where once you so haugh stood to demand *neg* (customary gifts to Charan on occasions of marriage)?" Cut to quick by this taunt, Naru sent away his fa to the defiles of the Aravala, and he him with twenty choice comrades took post at first gate or Badi-pol of the palace. When Khan and Ruhullah Khan came to des temples and idols, Naru rushed to the te of Jagdish situated opposite the palace and died there to a man fighting against enemies of his country and religion.

5. In the month of Paus, 1816 (1750 A.D.), Rajah Ummed Singh of S pura took the field against Rajah Sardar S Sisodia of Baneda. Two *kos* from Baneda pitched his main camp, and sent forward his Kumar Ran Singh to storm the castle. Sa Singh fled away in a hurry leaving his wom folk behind. When the troops were abou force their way into the palace, Charan D (who had several years before left Baneda disgust for Shahpura),—with naked s barred the entrance of Shahpura troops thundered, "Over my dead body only, shalt find a passage to the *zanana* of Bane The assailants stood aback knowing the co quence of using force against a Charan Deva, whom the Rajah of Shahpura hi sent with the Kumar. On hearing of strange conduct of Deva, Ummed Singh ro the palace gate of Baneda, where Deva standing grim as death. He embraced D praised his courage and loyalty, and said him that Shahpura would also expect of such service in times of need as he was re to render bravely to the families of his for unkind lord of Baneda. He gave Deva in free gift a village now known as Kh Devpura, which is still in the possession of descendants of brave Deva.

(5)

The Charans played an equally impor

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role in the history of Marwar, specially during the War of Independence under the lead of great Durgadas. In the battle of Delhi when Durgadas sallied out of Jaswantpura to cover the flight of infant Ajit, Charan Sandu and Mishan Ratan (son of Newal) were among those who fell in fight to pay the debt of salt to Jodhpur. Among the select braves who accompanied Durga to the court of Shambhaji for escorting the rebel prince Akbar from the clutches of Aurangzib were the Charans, Sandu Jogidas, Mishan Bharmal, Sarau, Asal-Dhanu and Vithu-Kanau. It was Barhat Charan Kesari Singh, who undertook at a critical moment to win over Rathor Sangram Singh (grandson of Mahesdas), a high and trusted *mansabdar* whom Aurangzib sent against the nationalists. And the Charan did it so successfully by his fervent appeal to the honour of his clan that Sangram threw away his *mansab*, and assumed the leadership of the nationalist party against Aurangzib. In a battle near Jodhpur (B.S. 1742), Ratnu Charan Sahasmal bravely gave up his life.

When minor Ajit was for the first time shown to his loyal chiefs on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, 1743 B.S., Barhat Charan Kesari Singh was one of the privileged few to be present. Many years after when Maharajah Abhai Singhji, (son of Ajit) arrayed his troops outside Ahmedabad against Sarbuland Khan, the Charans and Bhats as was usual sang the praise of the ancestors of the Rathor chivalry as a martial preliminary. Among these were: Rohriya Gorakhdan, Kesardan's son Karanidan II, Rupnath Dadhvariya and Dadhvariya Dwarakadas, Sandu, etc.[5]

When Kumar Man Singh Rathor had fled to Jalore from the wrath of Maharajah Bhim Singh and was standing a long siege there, Charan Jugta, who accompanied the fugitive prince, used to go out of the besieged fort and bring in food by begging from the hostile Rajputs outside. The besiegers having been warned by Bhim Singh refused further permission to Charan Jugta, and so the Charan handed over all the ornaments of his females to Man Singh to defray his expenses.

Maharajah Man Singh thought of punishing the chief of Sirohi, who had in his days of distress refused protection to his womenfolk. Rao Bairisal of Sirohi was forced to sue for peace on the promise of a payment of a lakh of rupees as war indemnity. But Bairisal had no money. So the Charan of Sirohi stood surety for the amount, and the Jodhpur army withdrew. When the Charans failed to realise this sum within the stipulated time, they went in a body to Jodhpur and offered their lands and possessions in redemption of their promise. Man Singh, touched by the honesty and sacrifice of the Charans, excused this indemnity altogether.

However, the importance of the Charans in the history of Rajputana lay not so much in politics and war as in the sphere of literature of Medieval Rajputana. Time and space allow us hardly to touch the fringe of the subject. Suffice it to say that the Charan raised the dialect of the Desert to the dignity of the literary language of the court and aristocracy of Rajputana and outside, which later on developed into Rajasthani Dingal and gradually pushed back Sanskrit to a secondary place. The Charan literature occupies, perhaps, the most prominent place in the literary history of Rajputana. Dingal poetry breathes more of martial air and laconic fire than softer long-drawn tunes of love and religion which characterise the Pingal. The Charan poetry comes in three forms : *Duha, Geet* and *Rasa* (martial Epics). Everything in the Charan literature is invariably grafted on history and legend, though sometimes confused and distorted in their extant versions. The Charans composed *Geets* or songs, which were, however, not for vocal music but for declamation and spirited recital in assemblies. Epics are in the form of *Rasas* of heroes of old or eulogistic biographies of popular contemporary rulers. Its prose takes the form of *khyats* (traditions and chronicles), or of *varta* (stories) and *vamsabalis* (descriptive geneologies). Folk literature, such as, *Dhola-Maru ra Duha* seemed to have had originated with the Charans.

On the whole, the Charan was the Voice of the Desert and the soul of the medieval history of the Rajputs. Unfortunately much of their literature transmitted orally till the nineteenth

5. This account of the Charans of Marwar has been compiled from Maharajah Abhai Singh Rathor's biography in Hindi verse, *Raj-rupak* (Introduction, pp. 6-60; Nagari-pracharini Sabha edition).

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century from generation to generation, or jealously guarded as family heirlooms when reduced to writing—, has been irretrievably lost.

We only hope that the Charan should come by his own in history with the progress of historical researches in Rajputana.

(6)

The Rajput was in general all brawn and muscle without much brain in peace and war, though there have been a few exceptions like Maharana Kumbha and Sanga of Mewar, the Kachhwah trio of Man Singh and two Jai Singhs, solitary Durgadas of Marwar and the belated Zalim Singh Jhala of Kotah.

The Rajput was essentially a grabbing warrior, and no organiser or administrator The brain behind the Rajput history was supplied mostly by the Kayeth and the Vaishya, and partly by the Brahman. A history of Rajputana worthy of the name cannot be written till further researches are made into the family records of these non-Rajputs, who practically ruled the Rajput principalities and manned their whole civil administration. They have a legitimate share of the glory that history has hitherto assigned to the Rajput exclusively. The Rajput had an ear for music, but he had no head for figures; of administrative abilities, industry and thrift he had very little. The Kayeth and the Vaish, on the other hand, combined these qualities with those of a soldier and a diplomat when occasions would arise. Moreover, a Rajput chief would scarcely trust a fellow Rajput as an adviser in political and revenue matters. Hence, the office of *Pradhan* or Chief Minister in a Rajput State was invariably assigned either to a Kayeth or a Vaish; the *kamdars* of most of the Rajput *Jagirdars* even were from non-Rajput communities. "Make your brother a *Pradhan*, and you may as well write off you Raj"—embodies Rajput political wisdom as we read in Nainsi's *Khyat*.[6] There was also another reason for this preference given to a tactful and trusty non-Rajput for the post of *Pradhan* in a Rajput principality. On an expedition not commanded in person by the chief or his heir-apparent, different septs of the same clan even would rather submit to the command of a non-Rajput *Pradhan* than agree to have the head of one a rival family as their Commander-in-Chief. The same was the case also in every *thikana* fief. Kotari Bhimji Mahajan or Bengu, as to by Tod, was not the solitary instance in Rajputana where those who were born to weigh *ata* in a grocer's shop could wield swords with both hands to put Rajput heroism to blush and cut a passage to the Paradise through the hostile battle array.

M. M. Ojah has given us an illuminating survey of the part played by non-Rajputs in the history of Mewar. Materials for a similar account of the services of the Kayeth and the Vaish are available for Jodhpur, Jaipur and other Rajput States. We shall begin with a brief notice of the services of non-Rajput families of fame in Mewar in the light of Ojah's *Rajputane ka Itihas*.

1. *The Family of Bhama Shah* (Vaishya) The name of Bhama Shah is remembered throughout Rajputana with as tender affection and reverence as that of Maharana Pratap. He was the son of Mahajan Bharmal, an Oswal of Kavadiya *gotra*. Bharmal had been appointed commandant of the strategic fort of Ranthambhor by Maharana Sanga, and he continued to hold the same post when that fort passed on to Hada Surajmal of Bundi as the guardian of his nephew, Kumar Vikramjit. Bharmal's two sons, Bhama Shah and Tarachand grew up dashing soldiers and capable administrators. The two brothers fought in the battle of Haldighat under Maharana Pratap. Pratap made Bhama Shah his *Pradhan* in place of Mahasani Rama, and appointed Tarachand to the charge of Godwar district. During the critical years of Pratap's fortune Bhama Shah raided Akbar's *subah* of Malwa, and brought a booty of twenty lakhs of rupees and twenty thousand *ashrafis* to the Maharana. The astute politician and diplomat Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim tried hard to seduce Bhama Shah to the service of the Emperor by alluring offers; but Bhama Shah was no Tanaji Malsure.[7] In the last fight of Pratap against the Mughals, Bhama Shah took a prominent part at the battle of Diver along with the Chundavats and Sakhtavats. He continued in the office of *Pradhan* under Maharana Amar Singh till his death on

6. For an anecdote illustrative of this maxim, see *Khyat*, II, p. 69.

7. Shivaji's most valiant lieutenant, who for a time deserted his service and became a Muslim.

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January 26, 1600 A.D., leaving instructions to his wife to hand over to the Maharana a book wherein he used to enter the sites of buried treasure of Mewar,—the secrets of which were known to him alone. What a noble contrast with Nana Fadnavis who secreted the wealth of the public treasury, spent the same for personal benefit only, and handed over the secret book of his treasure to his widow as a parting legacy!

Tarachand, younger brother of Bhama Shah, rose high in martial fame and enjoyed life much better than any average Rajput of those stormy days. He built a beautiful *baradari* (garden palace) and a *baoli* at Sadri near which stand in stone sculptures Tarachand himself, his four wives, one favourite concubine (*khawas*), six dancing girls and his musician with his wife. So an Oswal seems to beat hollow a Mughal *amir* in the art of graceful living!

Jiva Shah, son of Bhama Shah, succeeded to the office of *Pradhan* under Amar Singh, and Jiva Shah's son Akhairaj held the same in the reign of Amar's son, Maharana Karan.

2. *Sanghvi Dayaldas* (Vaishya): What Bhama Shah had been to Maharana Pratap, Dayaldas was to Maharana Raj Singh I, during the critical years of his fight with Aurangzib.

Dayaldas was the son of Mahajan Raju, whose ancestors had been Sisodiya Kshatriyas, but who merged themselves into the Oswal community of merchants on account of their conversion to pacifist Jainism. Exploits of Dayaldas need not be repeated here. He built at great cost the magnificent marble temple of Adinath, which stands on a hillock overhanging Rajsamudra lake.

3. *Pancholi Biharidas*: He was a Panchauli Kayeth of Bhatnagar sub-caste. Panchauli is derived from *Pancha-kula* (the village notable of the Panch or village council of elders), according to competent Sanskritists (*e.g.*, Guleri); but they claim to be emigrants from ancient Panchala country (modern Rohilkhand). He was more than a *Pradhan* in the time of Maharana Amar Singh II, when diplomacy and flexible administrative policy could only save the State.

4. *Family of Amar Chand* (Brahman): Amar Chand was the son of a Sanadhya Brahman named Shambhuram, who had been employed as Superintendent of the royal kitchen in the time of Maharana Jagat Singh II. Maharana Pratap Singh II was highly impressed by the sterling qualities of Amar Chand, a man of vigour and devoted honesty, fearless in speech and straightforward in action as he was. He made Amar Chand his *Pradhan* with absolute powers, which offended the ambitious and intriguing queen-mother. After some time Amar Chand was poisoned by Ram Peary, a maidservant and evil genius of the queen-mother. Though he was the virtual ruler of Mewar for many years, he died a poor man leaving no means to his widow to buy a coffin-cloth for him. Whatever he took as his pay he spent almost the whole of it in charity and public welfare keeping for himself just enough for a frugal life. His death started Mewar on the road to ruin and humiliation.

5. *Mehta Agarchand* (Vaishya): His ancestors were Chauhans of the ruling Deora sept of Sirohi. One of them had been converted to Jainism by the famous saint and scholar Jinaprabha Suri of Akbar's court; and since after, his descendants became merged in the premier merchant community of Oswals. The original home of Agarchand's family was Jodhpur. He became the *Pradhan* of Maharana Ari Singh II, and was succeeded in his office by his son Devichand.

6. *Family of Seth Jorwarmal Baphna* (the Rothchilds of Rajputana): Originally Parihar Rajputs, the Baphnas accommodated themselves in the Oswal community with the change of their cult (from Brahmanism to Jainism), and consequently of profession. When Col. Tod came to Mewar as Political Agent, he advised Maharana Bhim Singh to invite Seth Jorwarmal from Indore to restore the solvency of his bankrupt State. Jorwarmal set up his business house at Udaipur saddled though by a bad bargain. The helpless Maharana said to Sethji, "You meet all expenses of my State from your shop, and all the revenues of Mewar will be deposited in yours." And, as if, by magic Seth Jorwarmal turned the deficit budget of Mewar into a surplus one within a short time; and over and above he provided for the prodigal expenses of the Maharana's pilgrimage to Gaya and released him from his heavy debts—of which he owed twenty lakhs to Jorwarmal alone.

Jorwarmal's success was an object-lesson that he who can manage well a business con-

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cern knows also how to handle the finances of a kingdom, and that a soft Baniya can turn *zabardast* in repressing lawless elements and corrupt State servants, who retard the flow of wealth from agriculture and trade to the coffers of the State.

7. *The Gandhis in Mewar* (Vaishya): The Gandhis in Mewar played rather a dubious part in Mewar. Somchand Gandhi secured the post of *Pradhan* through intrigue, and by intrigue he maintained himself in power in the time of Maharana Bhim Singh. However, he was a man of some political foresight and dilomatic ability. He succeeded in keeping out the Marathas for a time from Mewar, and counteracting their policy of establishing undisputed Maratha ascendancy in Rajputana. To keep himself in power he added fuel to the smouldering fire of hereditary rivalry between the Chundavats and Sakhtavat septs. He was murdered in the palace by Rawat Arjun Singh Chundavat. Somchand's son, Satichand paved the way for the utter humiliation of Mewar in a mad pursuit for the revenge of his father's blood on the Chundavats.

(7)

Non-Rajput communities played a similar though a less conspicuous part in other States also, which we cannot afford to notice here in detail. But their part in the history of Jodhpur is too important to be ignored by a historian for correcting the general impression that the history of Rajputana is, perhaps, a bundle of adulating chronicles of Rajput oligarchies of the land. With the progress of research Rajput history shall reveal itself as a history of the people of Rajputana as well. This is particularly true of the history of Jodhpur from the death of Maharajah Jaswant Singh onward. We propose to add only a brief sketch of the role of non-Rajputs in the reigns of Maharajah Ajit and his son Abhai Singhji in support of our contention.

When Aurangzib heard the news of the death of Maharajah Jaswant without an heir in Jamrud, he at once sent his officers to confiscate the property and treasure of the Maharajah, and summoned the chief nobles and the household officials of Jodhpur to the imperial court. Bhati Raghunath and Kayastha Kesari Singh were brought to Delhi to submit an account, whereupon Kayeth Kesari Singh told the Emperor that he alone was responsible for it. He went home from the *darbar* and drank poison preferring death to a disclosure of his master's property,—as the spirited Ratan Charan, Virbhan, says:

Kayath tyag vichare kaya,
Kasari Singh Ram ka jaya.

When Rathor Durga with the widow of Jaswant and her newly-born child were besieged in their house at Delhi by Aurangzib's troops Rathor Durga vowed to save Ajit at any cost. At her own prayer the Rani's head was cut off on the bank of the Jamuna, and the warriors sallied out to hew their own way with infant Ajit through hostile array. In the grim battle of Delhi, Kayeth Hari Rai and Muhta (Vaish) Visna died fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Rajputs.

Non-Rajput associates of Durgadas played all through a brave and loyal part in all his activities. When Durgadas summoned a council to have its opinion whether Prince Akbar should be given refuge, besides the Chara already mentioned the following were also invited:

Bhandari (Vaish): Askaran, Raichand, Dipavat, Sawant Singh, son of Khemsi, Hemraj, son of Jagannath.

Kayasth: Harkishan, brother of Kesari Singh who died in Delhi.

Purohit: Puskarna Brahmins Akhai and Dalpat's son Dronacharyya Vyas (Brahman)—Lakshmichand and Balakrishna, son of Murar.

In a battle near Merta (Tuesday, second of bright fortnight, Kartik, B.S. 1738), Purohit Raghunath died fighting, and several years after Purohit Akhai Singh was one of the few to have the privilege of seeing Ajit in his birth place in Sirohi.

Bhandari Khimsi and Kayastha Gulabchand were trusted lieutenants of Ajit in his dealings with the Sayyid brothers. Bhandari Viyayraj, Muhnot Sango and Kayeth Mahesh were posted in the fort of Ajmir when it came to the possession of Ajit.

When Maharajah Abhai Singhji led his army to attack on Haidar Quli Khan outside Ahmedabad, the Maharajah assigned the command of his right wing to Bhandari Bihari and that of the left wing to his younger brother fiery Prince Bakht Singh. In the centre un-

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the Maharajah, along with the Rajputs the following non-Rajput commanders were posted:

Gujar—Kehar Samdasot, Sundar and Khetal Bhagot.

Vyas (Brahman)—Fatoh Dipchandot, Bhai Udaychand, Jaharmal Jasavat.

Purohit—Sivar Sunjo, Kehar and Nandalal.

Astronomer—Jaidev, son of Dronacharj.

Bhandari—Girdhar, Ratan, Dalo, Dhanrup, Bijairaj Khetsiyot, Samaldas Lunavat, Amro Devaut, Lakshmichand, Maidas Devichand, Singhvi Achal, Jodhmal and Jiwan.

Muhta (Vaish)—Gokal Sundardasot, Gopaldas Kalyandasot, Devi Singh, Megh Singh and Sadaram Rupmalot.

Modi (Baniya)—Peethal and Tikam.

Pancholi (Kayeth)—Balkishan, Lalo Harkishanot, Dolo, Madho and Rupo.[8]

(8)

As regards the writer and the mercantile communities there was the other side of the medal in medieval Rajputana as in the modern. The Kayeths, though highly indispensable, were also adept in intrigue and habitually inclined to nepotism. In almost every Rajput State, particularly in Amber, the Kayeths held most of the key-posts for which they alone were qualified by their knowlege of Persian and half-Mughal upbringing. The post of vakil or diplomatic agent of a State at the imperial court was generally filled by a Kayeth; because it required bribing, intriguing, spying and bluff without which no business could make any headway at the Mughal Court. There was, however, a propensity in the Kayeth's shrewdness to cut both ways to his own profit at the cost of the interests of his own master as well as of the Empire. In humbler situation also, a Kayeth with his pen at the desk was dreaded much more than a blustering Rajput with his hand on the hilt. A Kayeth's solicitude or smile and courtesy boded evil for anybody having business at the Rajput's *deori* and the *dari-khana* (equivalents of Mughal *Diwan-i-Am* and *Diwan-i-Khas* respectively).

However, in the countryside, the Baniya figures more than the Kayeth in popular vituperation, born of the jealousy of his affluence and the natural antipathy between the capitalist exploiter and the exploited masses. An oath "by the sins of a shop-keeper" was,—and is still considered irrevocable; a curse of the same formula would shake even the sceptic. Nainsi tells us in his *Khyat* how the Baniyas of Kelakot in Cutch-Bhujnagar, threatened with ruin on account of four years' successive rain-fall and bumper crops in that dry region, had recourse to *vartiya* (Tantric wizard) to lock up rains and create famine in the land.

The Rajput had his own method of balancing his economy against the Baniya by setting some of his kinsmen to rob and steal and sending others to keep them out if paid for by the Baniya. A rough method of replenishing the exhausted state was to impose a periodical fine on the Patwaris and merchants under the name *Tisala dand*, because of its realisation every third year in the Kotah State down to the time of Zalim Singh. No offence was needed, no reason need be given for *Patel barar*, payable by every Patel, no matter honest or corrupt. The amount was arbitrarily fixed and willingly paid because the Patels provided themselves for the contingency beforehand at the expense of the poor tiller of the soil. A similar fine was levied on Borahs and other merchants, whose income the State had no means to tax otherwise.[9] This reminds us of the treatment meted out to the Jews in Christiandom during the middle ages.

This was the law of jungle prevailing in the heart of an otherwise civilised country, having even less justification than the practice of the Pathan Maliks. When debts mounted up and demand on for repayment became insistent, the Pathan would have the house of the Baniya of his village,—who was his book-keeper and moneylender to meet unlimited credit,— burnt down periodically with all his papers, pay him a little to start business anew and allow him to grow fat again like his *dumba*.

(9)

The Rajputs with their subordinate partners, the Kayeth and the Vaish, make up after all, only the top-dressing of the history of Rajputana. The pre-Rajput history of the land had been the history of wandering and settlement of the Bhils, Jats and Meds, Meos and Minas, who became submerged under the successive waves of migration of the Rajput Kshatriyas. Of these peoples all are of Aryan if not of Indo-Aryan stock except the Bhils,

8. These lists are compiled from *Raj-rupak* of Virbhan (Nagari-pracharini Sabha Edition).

9. For *Patel Barar* and *Tisala Dand*, see Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma's *Kota Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. II, pp. 541, 548.

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who are supposed to be of Dravidian origin. The Meds[10] (Mers) and the Jats were found always moving together, as in Muslim histories Jats and Meds are invariably mentioned together. Those of the Meds or Mers, who still remain Hindus, stand today as much outside the pale of Brahmanism, as their reputed ancestors, the Madrakas, living between the Indus and the Ravi in the days of the Mahabharata stood along with the Vahikas (later on known as the Jats, who are called *Vaheks* still in Sindh). Modern scholars are inclined to identify the Meds or Mers with the Medes or ancient Iranians. The Meds held sway over the whole tract now covered by the States of Kotah, Bundi and Mewar; whereas the Jats lived in the Jangal-desh (a portion of ancient Kuru-Jangal region), which covers Bikanir and some portion of the Jodhpur State. During their days of ascendancy their ruling families ranked as Rajputs, while the rank and file, perhaps, clung to their unorthodox food, faith and superstitions. The Sanskritised name of *Medapatamandal*[11] for Mewar proper preserves the memory of their sway in that region from which they were gradually pushed and confined to their modern habitat Merwara. There they lapsed back to their semi-wild life, and later on entered the fold of Islam out of spite to the Rajputs.

The Bhils, perhaps, represent the oldest stratum of the population of that portion of Rajputana, which lies between the table-land of Malwa and the Desert beyond the main range of the Aravala mountain with its submonte skirt of hills and jungles. Waves of migration of the Indo-Aryans and later on of the Sakas and Hunas, and other peoples like the Jats and Meds and Meos and Minas swept successively over this region submerging the Bhils, and passed away by leaving a silt of peoples of Aryan stocks and isles of a higher civilization. But the Bhils seemed to have had recovered ground just as Nature recovers own against man in unguarded moments turns the garden of his civilization into land.

However, the Bhils are found in occupa of the Aravala regions down the banks Chambal from which they had evi pushed the Meds west and northward. N of the history of the Bhils before they into clash with the Rajputs is definitely k Ruins of an old Bhil town, Asalpur, lie miles north of Nahargarh on the left ba the Barni stream; and another fort of now known as Akelgarh, stood on the bank of the Chambal a little south of Kotah itself was the last capital of a Bhil Kotiya Bhil, who deserted his older capi Akelgarh. The Bhils lived in small forts accommodating, perhaps, the ruling whose territory did not on the average 25 square miles.[12] Their kingdom was a confederacy of small clan republics, combined against a common foe in time war, or fought amongst themselves over and women when left alone. They were altogether foes of civilization; agricu flourished and merchants carried on their under their protection, and they had Bhats and musicians from outside to their leisure;—as we can surmise from references in the Rajput *khyats*. They into a subject-people along with the Mi Bundi in the time of Samar Singh Hada ascended the *gadi* of Bundi in 1243 Samar Singh had to fight a severe battle Akelgarh against Kotiya Bhil in which hundred Bhils and three hundred Hada R were killed.[13]

The Minas about this time shared wit Bhils the mastery over the whole tract Bundi to Dhundahar (modern Jaipur cou They occupied an intermediate position be the Rajput and the Bhil in civilization orthodoxy. Jeta Mina became a very pow ruler in Bundi in the beginning of the thir century. In those days Rajputs and Mi ruling status intermarried though the were looked down upon for their unorth customs and food. When such alliances profitable in cash or territory, the Rajput

10. For Meds, see Nainsi's *Khyat*, I, p. 7, footnote 1, by Ramnarayan Dungar, *Brihat-Samhita* mentions another tribe Mandavya along with the Meds. It is not unlikely that the Mandavyas also had their settlements from Mandor or Mandawar in Marwar to Malwa, where we have such place-names as Mandasor, Mandu, etc. The name Mandavya in abbreviation and popular use probably became Mand, if these were a distinct people from the Meds.

11. Inscriptions relating to Med dynasty are said to have been found in the Kotah State (Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma's *History of Kotah* in Hindi, Vol. I, p. 4).

12. Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma's *History of* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 33.

13. *Ibid*, p. 61.

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adily admit the Kshatriya status of the Meds d Minas of their neighbourhood. So Jeta ina of Bundi, whose power had hitherto lipsed that of the intruding strangers, the ada Chauhans of Bundi,—proposed a mar- ge between his two sons with the daughters Rao Deva. Rao Deva replied that if the inas would give up their evil customs and form themselves he might give them two ughters of his brother in marriage. Jeta reed to this condition with alacrity and gave undertaking in writing to fulfil all the nditions of Rao Deva. With two girls Rao eva came to the village of Umarthun, pre- red the *mandap* of marriage and raised a mporary reception house for the bridegrooms' rty of the Minas. But this was really a ath-trap. Jeta Mina came with a large party hich was lodged in that house. Wine and asting went on merrily, no marriage took ace, and not a single Mina remained alive xt morning, fire and sword having done the edful in the lime-light of the callous Rajput achery. Similar was the fate of Kotiya Bhil Kotah at the hands of Rao Jeta (grandson Rao Deva), who killed the Bhil chief by ing him to a friendly feast. These are pical of the way by which the Rajputs des- oyed the power of non-Rajput tribes in ajputana.

The Bhils and Meds of Mewar put up a ff resistance to Rajput aggression. Nainsi in e last quarter of the seventeenth century rites:

". . . three *kos* from Devaliya was a Greater erwada, where lived Burar-Bargat, Bujmal, and nar septs of Mers in 140 villages. Once they were elled by Rana Jagat Singh, but reinstated at the tercession of Jhala Kalyan. At present Rana Raj gh has expelled all the Mers and settled in their lages Sisodiya Rajputs of Chundavat, Saktavat and navat clans with their *basi* (clients attached to a mily or clan). These people (Mers) used to com- t depredations and lawlessness. The land between evaliya and Meval is called *des* (country) of Mandal , the chief place of which is Dharyabad, where lived e Mers, behaving as subjects or as *mirasis* (roving gands levying blackmail). There were 140 villages Mers here, whom Rana Raj Singh has ousted and en their villages to Sarangdeo Rajputs.

"The Bhil lord of Mahesar Hill and paragana ra is an extremely devoted and loyal vassal of the na. His ancestors bore the title of Rawat. At sent this place is in possession of Ravat Narsingh- das . . . Mahesar range of hills is 12 *kos* in breadth, where *pargana* Jurra is situated . . . In times of difficulty this place is an impregnable shelter for the Dewan (of Ekalingaji, *i.e.*, the Maharana). There in Panarwa, Narsinghdas holds 200 villages, Ranak Dayaldas Bhil 25 villages, the descendants of Gangadas 140 villages. Bhils live as subjects . . . In the rear of Dungarpur lives Bhil Khangar Bhagora. Herein for 150 *kos* are the settlements of the Bhils only . . ."[14]

The Bhil was a potent factor of success in Maharana Pratap's war of independence against the Mughal Empire. The Mina still holds as dear to the prestige of the Kachchwas as their ancestors who had once voluntarily accepted the Kachchwa dynasty as rulers over them. A Rajput in distress always found protection and hospitality among these brave primitive peoples. They were humoured by the Rajputs in times of difficulty and flattered as "uncle" or "nephew" (*bhanja*); but once tight on his saddle the ungrateful Rajput had nothing but contempt and chastisement for these peoples. Had better wisdom dawned on the Rajputs these peoples could have been easily reclaimed by them as an integral part of the Rajput polity of Medieval India. The Rajput failed, and paid dearly for his sins. Had it been otherwise, the Rajput would have played a nobler role than that of brave watch-dogs of alien regimes after 1000 A.D. But the old vigour of the Indo-Aryan polity that had strengthened itself by digesting the Sakas and Hunas[15] in ancient times was gone, and the missionary zeal and catholicity of religious and social outlook of the Brahmans had vanished from the land. With the loss of political independence appeared the symptoms of a cul-

14. Nainsi, *Khyat*, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.
Mandal ka Des appears to be a wrong translation in this passage. *Barah* (twelve), *chaurasi* (eighty-four), etc., are the units of a *Mandal* (a social and semi-political confederation), among the Jats and kindred tribes. So *Mandal ka Des* possibly means the 'territory' covered by a *Mandal*.

15. The word *Shaka* was used in Rajputana to denote a foreigner, a *mlechcha*, later on applied to Muslims by analogy. The Hunas were admitted to be Kshatriyas, whose daughters were eligible for marriage by the Rajputs. In the Hariana tract of the Punjab, the Hun is remembered as a doughty fighter and a boisterous braggart talking big. If somebody is reluctant to meet an opponent, others encourage him saying, "Is he Hun!?" They snub and taunt a boasting fellow saying, "Some big Hun seems to have come!" Legends of Rajputana contain references to *Hun virs* (Hun braves) as lawless depredators, who used to live in inaccessible defiles and plunder merchants and pilgrims (Vide *Guleri-granth*, I, p. 218).

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tural dyspepsia and spiritual bankruptcy of the body-politic of India. The result was that Islam stole a march over the Hindu society at the start, and later on, rode rough-shod over the prostrate Hindus. Islam coerced and tempted into its own fold a considerable portion of these neglected and prosecuted tribes only in a less refined and beneficent way than that of Christianity in modern times.

However, the forgotten history of these non-Rajput tribes is the coral reef on which the multi-coloured landscape of Rajput history unfolds itself. But these fossils of humanity will some day spring to life under the magic breath of liberty and change the medieval complexion of Indian society. These peoples cling to their lands for livelihood, which is anything but enviable as the sigh of the countryside goes :

Kura karsan khayd gehun jeemen baniya.

[*i.e.*, the cultivator is left only the refuse of grains to appease hunger, while the Baniya (shop-keeper-*cum*-moneylender, feasts on wheat.]

(10)

Any future research into the history of the so-called non-Aryan races of Rajputana shall have to seek light from philological studies of the spoken dialects in the countryside of Rajputana. And these dialects are anything but modern Hindi. One competent authority remarks about the spoken language of one of the easternmost States of Rajputana, namely, Kotah :

"Grammar and accents of the *bhasha* of Kotah have similarities with those of Gujarati . . . There are some characteristics in the style of pronunciation, which show no connection either with Sanskrit or with Persian. There are also some words in their vocabulary, whose relation with Sanskrit or any Semitic language cannot be established. From this it may be surmised that in the language of the Kotah State there has been possibly some hybridization with the languages of foreign tribes, Huna or Gujar."[16]

The Rajput of modern times tries to forget himself in opium and wine, which too he may sadly miss in no distant future under the new dispensation tabooing all intoxication except that of power and purse. Nothing but the ingrained fatalistic philosophy will remain to console him for the loss of his glorious past, and reconcile himself to new conditions remembering the poet Bhasa's words:

Kalakramena jagatah parivartamana,
Chakrarapankiriva gachhti bhagyapankih.

(11)

History of mankind has been, on whole, one of progress and reorientation the advent and exit of virile nations. medieval history of Rajputana receive similar reorientation with the rise of the puts. Its modern history also is receiving a reorientation and not a set-back unde lead of the non-Rajput majority. If the puts had been in the forefront of Med India, and the wealth of the Mughal E flowed into the barren tract of Rajputan the shape of war booty and pay of R mercenaries, the same phenomenon catche eye today only with the Marwari mercha not the Rajput soldier in the vanguard to the wealth of Hind and of outside in a when intellect and business acumen can ac much more than sword and muscle.

The seed and soil of Rajputana have lost their properties though the world turned topsy-turvy for the Rajput cavalier his horse. The Oswals and Agarwals today as heirs to the fame of the Chauhan the Rathor, the Sisodia and the Kachchwa whose blood has mingled in theirs through version to Jainism and the impact of eco forces, and whose robust optimism and of adventure they emulate in peaceful tions of life.

The bulldozer of Secular India is bre down the crust of medievalism on society, which the sword of the Rajput for centuries. The steam-roller of economic and political forces will, per knead the Old and the New India in enduring cement for a Welfare Polity in the non-Rajputs will get an opportunity grow to their full political stature. Let us hope that the spirit of sacrifice and heroi the children of Rajputana shall continue inspire future generations with the old of their land :

Ghar jatan dhram palatan, tiriya padta la
Ye tinhuhi din maran-ra kaha r

16. Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma, *History of Kotah* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 22.

17. When the home and hearth is in when religion is at stake, when the womenfolk distress; these are the three days of days for all whether a pauper or a prince.

Quoted in Jagadish Singh Gahalot's *Rajput Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 5.

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PUBLIC OPINION IN DEMOCRATIC INDIA

By Prof. D. C. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

The faith in "Rational Man" is the corner-stone of democracy which is sustained and developed by the constant conviction that the people can determine their own needs by means of a process of rational thought and that having determined what they want they are capable of seeing that they achieve it through the processes of the government. Democracy is government by public opinion.

The political history of India is a sorrowful saga of strife and dissension among many nationalities and communities. The Indian "nation" of today may mean only the people of India as they apparently stand together and united presumably ignoring the dark chapters of the past history. Indian democracy at present will mean a pattern of popular government based on the foundation of the opinion of these people and as such public opinion in India at present becomes a subject-matter of great importance and interest. But in a country the great bulk of the population still remains plunged into the darkness of illiteracy, where the people are, as a result of the centuries-old tradition, inflamed furiously at the slightest provocation on religious or communal grounds, what and how much of public opinion can possibly be deciphered in order to gauge its nature, strength and intensity as the life-blood of the democratic government in India? Are we to accept "that great compound of folly, weakness, prejudice, wrong feeling, right feeling, obstinacy and newspaper paragraphs" as the public opinion and let our governmental machinery be run at random or is it prudent to curtail the free play of the democratic process in India by ordering our administrative system according to the opinions rendered by the "Elite" of the people and not by the spasmodic outbursts of capricious feelings and emotions of the sand-heap of irrational multitude of people that live in India?

The latter suggestion betrays a genuine lack of faith in the capacity of the unenlightened people of India to form and exert general opinion about the important problems of the country. If this faithfulness is justified, then, certainly, India will have to limit her experiment with democracy accordingly, at least during the transitional period. To say that the Indian people have not the capacity to form sound public opinion may mean either of the two things or both. Firstly, it may mean that the Indian people have not the educational backing to form rational conclusions on important socio-political issues placed before them. It may mean, in the second place, that the people of India due to their long-standing diversities are incapable of coming to any unanimous opinion on important problems.

Distrust in the intellectual capacity of the masses with reference to important problems is nothing new. It is a standing indictment against democracy that democracy is a "patent impossibility evidently due to the utter inability of the people to judge issues dispassionately and rationally." But the objection is based upon superficial observation. Gladstone, the celebrated political genius of England, who can definitely be regarded as an astute appraiser of the public opinion of his time and country, however, once stated:

> "I painfully reflect that in almost every political controversy of the last fifty years, the 'leisured' classes, the 'titled' classes have been in the wrong. The common people,—the toilers, the men of uncommon sense—these have been responsible for nearly all the social reform which the world accepts today."[1]

A member of the law faculty at the University of California, Max Radin, analysed the popular vote in California on 115 referendum propositions put before the people in State elections between 1936 and 1946. He found that in a substantial majority of cases the voters took the same attitude towards the propositions as was taken by two of California's conservative institutions, the Conservative Club of

1. Gallup: *A Guide to Public Opinion Polls*, London, 1944, p. 85.

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Sanfrancisco and the Town Hall of Los Angeles, after extensive study of the issues by their legislative committees. Dr. Radin concludes from the evidence of these 115 referenda that the voters not only displayed caution and good judgement but they rejected crackpot suggestions with greater firmness than their elected representatives in the State legislature.[2] This is not anything unnatural. As Ogle observes :

". . . man is motivated by reason, rather than by emotion or superstition, when he most clearly is aware of the situation in which he is asked to act. Awareness of the situation is not necessarily a function of the 'elite' . . . Superstition is rife when men grope in ignorance, but there is ample evidence to demonstrate that when they have knowledge they make judgements whose primary motivating factor is reason. It would seem, therefore, that the criterion of using reason is not necessarily a hypothetical mental or physical superiority, but plain knowledge of the facts of the case. Men will make decisions or choices by means of a reasoning process when they have knowledge; if they are unable to use reason they will employ witchcraft. It appears that the 'elite' is as fallible in this respect as any other group, and that, pressed for a decision, the superman is as likely to rely on the portent of mystic rites as is the yokel. It appears equally certain that the superman is able to wish as strongly as the yokel, and that his wishes influence. his thinking in exactly the same way and to the same extent in absence of sobering facts . . . The average citizen has neither the understanding nor the competency to deal with the great mass of complex, technical material which the civil servant of today handles. He has, however, an understanding and knowledge of the matters with which he is in daily contact. Concerning his job, and his business, the average man is expert in the detailed sense of the world: he knows more about that particular facet of life than anyone else. The strength of the democratic system of government rests in its ability to tap this reserve of exact knowledge at its source."[3]

It may be confidently contended that the democratic experiment in India cannot be unsuccessful simply on account of illiteracy among the people in India. The vast millions of ordinary Indians living in the villages may be illiterate, but they are not unintelligent. Average Indians are marked by their shrewd understanding of the implications of a problem vitally affecting their immediate interests. He has in full measure that "understanding and knowledge of the matters with which he is in daily contact," to which Ogle has attached so much importance. Formation of public opinion among the rural population in India cannot be brushed aside as sheer impossibility. But, of course, the extent and nature of the public opinion to be found in rural India must be limited to matters directly affecting the vital interests of the rural population. Issues like the industrial policy, or deficit financing insurance at nationalization cannot be placed before these people for sound opinion. On issues like these the opinion conveyed by the educated people living in the urban areas must be taken as the representative opinion of the country. This brings us to the second point. It must be admitted that there cannot be anything like an undivided or unanimous public opinion on any important issue in India. One and undivided public opinion is an impossibility not only in India but in every democratic country of the world at present. The term "public" cannot have any greater denotation than "a group which will admit in any way that its members have the same interests or that its members belong together—or could probably belong together under the proper conditions."[4] Consequently, "there is, then, not one public, 'the public' of the politician, nor are there several publics, but literally an infinite number of publics in any country. An individual may belong to thousands of publics, and most of us must belong to a very large number."[5] If there are different "publics," it is natural that there will be diverse and divergent "public opinions" too. Lord Bryce appears to have been aware of this possibility of divergence although by public opinion he means one opinion, that is the opinion of the majority only. According to him,

". . . public opinion is a congeries of all sorts of discrepant notions, beliefs, fancies, prejudices, aspirations. It is confused, incoherent, amorphous, varying from day to day and week to week. But in the midst of this diversity and confusions every question as it arises into importance is subjected to

2. Gallup: *A Guide to Public Opinion Polls.*
3. M. Ogle: *Public Opinion and Political Dynamics,* Boston, 1950, pp. 25, 26, 16; 28; 29.
4. Ogle: *Ibid,* p. 44.
5. Ogle: *Ibid,* p. 44.

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process of consolidation and clarification until there emerge and take shape certain views or sets of interconnected, each held and advocated in common by bodies of citizens. It is to the power exerted by any such views, when held by an apparent majority of citizens that we refer when we talk of public opinion as approving or disapproving a certain doctrine or proposal, and thereby becoming a guiding or ruling power."[6]

Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell was fully aware of the possibility of multiplicity in public opinion and attempted to strike a balance by his compromising formula. According to him,

"Public opinion to be worthy of the name, to be the proper motive force in a democracy, must be really public . . . A majority is not enough and unanimity is not required, but the opinion must be such that while the minority may not share it, they feel bound, by conviction, not by fear, to accept it; and if democracy is complete, the submission of the minority must be given ungrudgingly."[7]

Without disputing the fundamental contention of Dr. Lowell it may be, however, pointed out that on particular occasions the question of majority and minority may not arise at all. For instance, in India, today considering the widespread illiteracy it will be sheerly meaningless to refer the issue of deficit financing in the country to the rural population for their judgement and find out whether the majority is in favour or not. Only those issues which have direct bearing upon the lives of the rural people should be referred to them for their opinion. On these familiar issues they may differ amongst themselves and then in order to ascertain the public opinion of the rural population on these particular issues Dr. Lowell's formula may be applied with success. Prof. Ogle gives an instance which may be of interest in this connection. The peasants of Ohio (U.S.) were recently called upon to come to a decision as to whether they desired to participate in the wheat crop control plans of the national Department of Agriculture. The problem before the farmers simply involved casting a balance and determining whether cost was met by gain, and in a case of this nature certainly the most competent person to make such a judgement was the man who would have to operate under the programme if it were adopted. As it happened, the various farm groups disagreed among themselves since the conditions of farming and farm economy differed from one area to another. For example, the Ohio farmers wanted to exempt from the count of acres planted to wheat the amount which they grew as feed for livestock, whereas the Nebraska and other middle-western groups protested that they were unable to compete on similar terms and this practice would give Ohio farmers an unfair economic advantage. All these problems, however, were within the especial competence of the farmer and here, in this case, if the Government wanted to determine their policy in this regard simply on the basis of the "public opinion" of the rural population of the country, then, they could secure that opinion in accordance with the suggestion given by Dr. Lowell, There are, however, issues on which "public opinions" of the different cross-sections of the people of the country, as a whole, need be taken into consideration. For example, in the present case, not only the farmers of the country, but also the businessmen were interested in the problem of controlling the amount of wheat produced and the price of wheat at least in so far as the American crop influences the international price quotation. Manufacturers who used wheat also had a stake in the price. Thus each of these groups had a vested interest in wheat; each was concerned with opposing, modifying or encouraging the wheat control plans of the Department of Agriculture; and each had a knowledge of conditions that could be gained only through actual working experience. Nevertheless, no single member of any one of these groups of people was able to comprehend in full the problems of the other groups which were affected by the projected programme. On such occasions, it will be the duty of the Government to ascertain the "public opinion" of the country as a whole out of the vast welter of "public opinions" of the different cross-sections of the population and here also Dr. Lowell's definition of public opinion will be of great help. In any case diversity is recognised to be the inherent factor of public opinion which is not necessarily detrimental to the democratic process.

Democracy attaches the greatest value to the

6. James Bryce: *Modern Democracies*, New York, 1921.

7. A. L. Lowell: *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, New York, 1913, p. 5.

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individual and public opinion is, on ultimate analysis, nothing but a synthesis of individual opinions. As individuals differ among themselves, it is natural that public opinion will be a heterogenous entity. Opinions are expressions of attitude and an attitude is "a mental neutral state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related."[8] According to Prof. Thurstone, the attitude of an individual implies "the sum-total of man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats and convictions about any specific topic."[9] Prof. Childs defines attitude as "a disposition on the part of an individual to act or react in a certain way, usually favourably or unfavourably, toward a particular issue or object."[10] Thus, if opinion means expression of attitude and attitude implies certain disposition to act or react to certain object or event, then the whole argument goes to emphasize not only the "receptive" aspect of human mind but also the "creative" aspect. It is this creative aspect of human mind which explains the "inordinate variety" of human nature; it explains why reasonable, unprejudiced men reach different opinions, even though they have the same information. Every person may have certain inherent disposition. But this fundamental disposition while manifesting itself in diverse forms is naturally affected, modified and ultimately diversified by the objective conditions under which different persons have to live and act. One mind reacts differently to different stimuli, and similarly different minds react differently to the same stimulus. This variability is largely due to the variety of experiences which go to give peculiar bends to respective human minds. As Dr. Walter Lippmann observes:

"Whatever the equipment at birth, the innate dispositions are from earliest infancy immersed in experience which determines what shall excite them as stimulus. . . . The cognitive processes and the actual bodily movements by which the inst achieves its end may be indefinitely complicated. other words, man has an instinct of fear, but wha will fear and how he will try to escape, is determi not from birth, but by experience. . . . There is *prima facie* case then of supposing that because p sons crave some particular things, or behave in s particular way, human nature is fatally constituted crave that and act thus. The craving and the act are both learned and in another generation might learned differently, Analytic Psychology and so history unite in supporting this conclusion. Psychol indicates how essentially casual is the nexus betw the particular stimulus and the particular respo Anthropology in the widest sense reinforces the v by demonstrating that the things which have ex men's passions, and the means which they have to realize them, differ endlessly from age to age from place to place."[11]

Prof. Childs has compared public opin with weather. Weather implies certain atm pheric conditions and public opinion imp certain conditions of the people's mind. As weather changes according to the alterations the atmospheric conditions, similarly, pub opinion fluctuates along with the changes of conditions of the people's mind brought ab by different factors. Psychology and Anth pology conjointly proclaim not only the possi lity but also the inevitability of multiplicity flexibility of opinions to be expressed by di rent individuals and groups of individuals different periods of time.

In a democratic country where pu opinion gets the widest possible scope of play, opinion of the people on any partic issue must be carefully sorted out of the vast geries of "opinions" of different cross-sections the people of the country prevailing in any pa cular period of time. The greater the diver the greater is the necessity of careful and sc tific method of ascertaining or segregating cream out of the complicated and complex m of mixed feelings and reactions. In democr India, let us have faith in the inherent capa of the people to form opinion on relevant iss and then proceed to devise the most appropr method or methods of correctly ascertaining real opinion of the people on different proble The success of the great democratic experim in India will largely depend upon the exte

8. Gordon Allport: *A Handbook of Social Psychology.*

9. Thurstone & Chave: *The Measurement of Attitude*, Chicago, 1929, pp. 6-7.

10. Childs: *Introduction to Public Opinion*, New York, 1940, p. 62.

11. Walter Lippmann: *Public Opinion*, pp. 188-89.

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Mr. U Nu, former Prime Minister of Burma, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Shri Appa Pant at the Palam airport

Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama at the Exhibition of Paintings of the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society in New Delhi

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Dr. S. Radhakrishnan declared open for light traffic the western tube of the new Banihal Tunnel, Kashmir

The Chinese Women's Cultural Delegation at the Palam Airport, New Delhi

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which there will be opportunities before the people to make their views sufficiently articulate. In 1893, Lord Bryce pointed out that the next stage in the development of democratic government would be reached "if the will of the majority of citizens were to become ascertainable at all times." He observed that "the choice of one man against another is an imperfect way of expressing the mind of a constituency." Political development in different countries in recent period certainly proves that the election returns cannot be taken as the infallible evidence revealing the will of the people on specific issues. Political parties or their candidates now-a-days fight elections usually on the basis of a number of principles or measures. The victory or defeat of a party candidate cannot conclusively demonstrate as to which particular principles or measures were accepted by the electorate and what particular principles were rejected by the electorate although they might have voted for the candidate on the basis of other principles. The victory or defeat of any party candidate does not necessarily imply the acceptance or rejection by the electorate of all the principles for which he stood. In the Presidential election in U.S.A. in 1921, the Democratic Party candidate won. There is good reason to believe that this victory was possible because the Democratic Party stood for the League of Nations. But certainly it is not correct to hold that of the nine million Democrats all were staunch supporters of the League. As Dr. Lippmann points out:

"... many of the millions voted, as they do, to maintain the existing social system in the South, and that whatever their views on the League, they did not vote to express their views. Those who wanted the League were no doubt pleased that the Democratic Party wanted it too. Those who disliked the League may have held their noses as they voted. But both groups of Southerners voted the same ticket. ... The Republicans majority was composed of men and women who thought a Republican victory would kill the League, plus those who thought it most practical way to secure the League, plus those who thought it the surest way offered to obtain an amended League. All these voters were inextricably entangled with their own desire, or the desire of other voters to improve business, or put labour in its place, or to punish the Democrats for going to war, or to punish them for not having gone sooner, or to get rid of Mr. Burleson, or to improve the price of wheat, or to lower the taxes, or to stop Mr. Daniel (the Democratic candidate) from outbuilding the world, or to help Mr. Harding (the Republican candidate) do the same thing."[12]

In the last general election in India the Indian National Congress candidates were victorious in many constituencies. But the victory of these candidates does not necessarily indicate that the voters were all in favour of all the principles or measures of the Congress party. There were thousands of people who wanted to see the Hindu Code Bill stopped for ever, but at the same time voted for Congress on the consideration that the Congress government in the country had been trying to do many good things in other spheres; there were many who were thoroughly disappointed by the Congress party's hesitant approach to Socialism but at the same time voted for Congress on the consideration that it was this party who had achieved the national independence of the country through many troubles and turmoils. Similar was the case in respect of other political parties whose candidates either won or were defeated. Evidently, election results cannot be relied upon as a safe guide to gauge the public opinion on particular issues prevailing in a country in a particular period of time.

Lord Bryce also noted that with the swift changes of event many problems may come up which could not be submitted to electorate. He wrote that

"The action of opinion is continuous, that of voting occasional, and in the intervals between the elections of legislative bodies, changes may take place materially affecting the views of voters."

Press and platform are regarded to be the two media for the ventilation of public opinion on any particular issue when there is no immediate chance of having a countryside election or popular vote on the issue. But it is well known how very deficient these two organs are to discharge the functions expected of them under the existing social conditions. The press in almost every country is under the control of some "group," and as a result, views on different important issues are allowed to appear in respective papers only after "due" checking and consideration and there are papers, both in

12. *Ibid*, pp. 195-96.

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India and outside, who like to publish news or comments or criticisms on certain selected topics only having complete or partial "black-out" in respect of other "harmful" and "useless" matters.

The public platform certainly serves one important purpose, that is, it provides an opportunity to the leader to express his views to the people. But there ends its purpose and utility at least in so far as we are concerned with what happens usually. In a perfect democracy, however, what is more important is that the people should have a direct opportunity when every one of them would be able to express individually his or her opinion on a specific issue. The public platform does provide the people with this opportunity. In some advanced countries it has become a practice for individual citizens, who consider themselves to be minority in the country, to write or wire their representatives in the legislature expressing their considered views on particular problems. As a practice it is not anything bad. But as a medium of ascertaining public opinion on particular issues it is certainly misleading. As there are persons who considering themselves to be minority want to put pressure upon the members of the legislature through correspondence, there are, on the other hand, citizens who do not like the idea of making their pressure felt to the members of the legislature through correspondence, but come out with their considered views whenever there is any occasion of expressing views collectively and the people belonging to the latter group are found to be far numerous than the people belonging to the former category. If the people belonging to the first category are given the name "articulate minority," then, the people belonging to the larger (second) group may be called "inarticulate majority." In U.S.A., the Burke-Wadsworth Selective Service Bill of 1940 proposed that all men between the ages of 21 and 31 should be required to register and should be liable for one year of military service. During the summer of the year fourteen Senators received as many as 30,000 letters from the citizens on this issue. During the same time a survey of public opinion, covering an accurate national cross-section of voters was taken. The views expressed through these two channels were as follows:

Opinion expressed in Congressional Mail Selective Service Bill:

For the Bill—10 per cent
Against the Bill—90 per cent.

Opinion expressed on Poll Question: "Do favour increasing the size of our Army and Navy drafting men between the ages of 21 and 31 to se in the armed forces for one year?":

In Favour—68 per cent
Against—27 per cent
No Opinion—5 per cent.

The results indicate that if these fourte Senators had based their votes solely on mail they received, they would have gone co ter to the wishes of the majority of the peo as reflected in the poll. So, George Gal poses the question:

"Hundreds of minority group have their spok men. What about the views of the inartic majority?"[13]

More than fifty years ago Lord Br wrote: "The best way in which the tenden at work in any community can be discover and estimated is by moving freely about amo all sorts and conditions of men and noti how they are affected by the news or the arg ments brought from day to day to their kno ledge." Modern answer is the system of public opinion polls.

"By their very nature," writes George Ga "modern sampling polls can and do separate popularity of candidates from the popularity of iss Polls can report which views of the candidate the p lic favours, which they reject. The speed with wh sampling referenda can be completed for the en nation is such that public opinion on any given is can be reported within 48 hours if the occasion r rants. Thus the goal has nearly been reached wi public opinion can be 'ascertainable at all times' Public opinion pools can not only deflate the cl of pressure groups and of minorities seeking sp privilege, but, more important, they can reveal will of the inarticulate and unorganized majority citizens."[14]

Dr. Robinson has pointed out that t development of polling techniques may divided into five phases, and we are now what Robinson calls the fifth phase in the dev lopment of "scientific" public opinion polls.

13. George Gallup: *A Guide to Public Opin Polls*, p. 5.
14. Gallup: *Ibid*, pp. 3-5.

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"It is a phase," writes Prof. Childs, "in which students of public opinion not only are concerned with questions of method, but also are raising questions regarding the social and political significance of these techniques. The polling agencies themselves are seeking to refine and improve their methods. Business executives and others are displaying an extraordinary interest in public opinion, and are eager to find out what it is in order that they may bring their conduct into conformity with it. And students of public affairs are trying to evaluate present trends and determine what, if anything, needs to be done in order to enhance the social usefulness of polling procedures."[15]

In whatever forms it may be, in democratic India, if the people are to be given fair and square opportunities to make their views articulate, public opinion polls are necessary. The technique of the polls may require modifications in conformity with the peculiar conditions prevailing in our country, but the system should be introduced without delay. It is not sufficient that at the interval of every five years there will be country elections of candidates and in between the intervals there will be some scattered bye-elections. The pattern of economic and social life of India is undergoing radical modifications very rapidly giving rise to many unforeseen but important questions which cannot be left to the exclusive discretion of the representatives in the legislatures. Particularly, in view of the fact that India is a federation, it is in the interest of the greater unity and stability of this federal country that on general questions people belonging to the different regions of the country should be given full opportunity to express their views. Democracy in order to be perfect must be dynamic. But this dynamism is undermined if the government of the country always wants to determine its policy only in accordance with the wishes of certain representatives who were once elected under a particular context of situation. So public opinion polls should be introduced in India and it will be through these polls that the people of India will be able to infuse fluidity in the whole administrative set-up which, under the traditional system, has a natural tendency of moving towards bureaucracy which is bad.

If the public opinion polls give the people the opportunity to express their views on specific issues, then in order to ensure that the people are really in a position to form correct opinions, it is necessary that there shall be proper organisational support to educate the people in general. It is true that the people in general have the capacity of coming to broad decisions on questions concerning their immediate interests. But they can give verdict only when the questions have been placed before them in an absolutely objective, that is, unbiased and untwisted form. Information and implications of the issues must be presented to the public in a really scientific fashion and it is here that there enters the factor of propaganda in democracy. Propaganda in its purest sense must stand to help the citizens make wise and intelligent decisions, and as such democracy for its success has to depend largely upon scientific propaganda. But this aspect of the question is often forgotten and propaganda has come to imply some competitive effort on the part of some interested parties to confuse and bewilder the popular mind by repeated use of a number of catch-words and slogans surrounded by an aroma of an ideology which possesses validity more in theory than in practice. It is just in order to save the ordinary public from the unwholesome influence of such propaganda that there is the necessity of some expert but disinterested organization entrusted with the task of enlightening the people with relevant facts and figures concerning important issues confronting the country from time to time. Individual citizens have the capacity to form judgment. But a judgment on an issue concerning the people, as a whole, must be a judgment backed by sufficient knowledge,—knowledge which must come from much wider experience than the utterly limited experience of the individual citizen. As Dr. Lippmann observes:

"You cannot take more political wisdom out of human beings than there is in them. And no reform, however, sensational, is truly radical, which does not consciously provide a way of overcoming the subjectivism of human opinion based on the limitation of individual experience. There are systems of government, of voting, and representation which extract more than others. But in the end, knowledge must come not from the conscience, but from the environment with which that conscience deals. When men act on

15. Childs: *A Text Book of Public Opinion*, p. 52.

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the principle of intelligence they go out to find the facts and to make their wisdom."[16]

That is why Dr. Lippmann advocates the establishment of an Intelligence Bureau.

Prof. Childs would like to call it "a clearing house of ideas and opinions" which will function as "a reservoir into which individuals and groups with bright new ideas can pour their questions. One of the primary functions of such a clearing house would be to arrange and classify these ideas, eliminate duplications, revamp, and integrate others so that they could be presented to the public in a systematic manner. With orderly classification would come more significant statements of issues. The ordinary citizen cannot as a rule examine all ideas and programmes and sift the less from the more. There must be some agency to do this for him."[17]

Dr. Lippmann wants his projected Intelligence Bureau to perform two-fold function. In the first place, it should act as a bridge between the legislature and the different administrative departments; and in the second place, it will try to associate politics of a country with the principles of political science as such.

"This establishment," writes Dr. Lippmann, "would pretty soon become a focus of an information of the most extraordinary kind. And the men in it would be made aware of what the problems of the government really are. They would deal with the problems of definition, of terminology, of statistical technique, of logic; they would traverse concretely the whole gamut of the social sciences. It is difficult to see why all this material, except a few diplomatic and military secrets, should not be open to the scholars of the country. It is there that the political scientist would find the real nuts to crack and the real researches for his students to make . . . The central agency would thus have in it the makings of a national university. The staff could be recruited there for the bureaus from among the college graduates. They would be working on theses selected after consultation between the curators of the national university and teachers scattered over the country."[18]

The ideas of Prof. Childs and Dr. Lippmann are not mutually contradictory but supplementary. In India, it is time that social scientists of the country seriously think over the question of establishing some sort of organization through which they will be able to enlighten the people's mind. In the vast experiment of democracy, that is going on in India today, the social scientists have a very role to play. But when problems are numerous and complex, individual effort can be of very little significance. Whether we call it "a clearing house of ideas and opinions" or an Intelligence Bureau or a Social Research and Guidance Centre, social scientists in co-operation with the industrialists, the government departments and the universities of the country must try to set up an organization which should always try to present before the public unvarnished facts and ideas for their elightenment and guidance and at the same time will try to gauge the currents and cross-currents engendered in the minds of the people by various events or issues and it may be good if the government of the country be prepared to take note of the findings of this authoritative organization and shape their policies and programmes accordingly. This is another way in which real flexibility or dynamism can be infused in the rigid democratic set-up of a country.

16. Walter Lippmann: *Public Opinion*, p. 397.
17. Childs: *Introduction to Public Opinion*, p. 137.
18. Lippmann: *Public Opinion*, p. 392.

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2. Ogle: *Public Opinion and Political Dynamics*
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8. Childs: *Introduction to Public Opinion.*

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A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF THE STUDENTS OF A COLLEGE IN A RURAL AREA OF WEST BENGAL

By Prof. Dr. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL

The education system of a country cannot be divorced from its programme of economic development. The Second Five-Year Plan lays a greater emphasis on industrialization than the First one without, however, seeking to reduce the volume of employment in agriculture. Improvement of agricultural practices and development of small-scale industries have been given a very important place in the economic programme. The needs of our education have to be estimated in such a context of development.

The present paper is an attempt at appraisal of our economy and its educational needs in the light of a socio-economic survey of the conditions of the college-students of a rural area. Such an appraisal is considered by the writer to be pertinent in view of the facts that the conditions of the students largely reflect the economy in which they are nurtured. The present study is related to the students of the P. K. College, Contai, Midnapore.* The survey was conducted by the writer in October, 1955, under the auspices of the Economic Society of the college. All the students present on the day were investigated though all of them did not answer all the questions which were put to them. The findings are given below:

Table 1 shows the condition of the students' residence:

Table 1

Type of residence	*Number of boarders*	*Percentage to total*
Students' Mess (affiliated to the College)	151	21.4
Private Mess	85	12.1
Own house	145	20.7
Relatives' house	72	10.3
Non-relatives' house	260	35.5
Total	713	100.0

Thus we find that residences of students not living in their own houses are scattered, a large number constituting 35.5 per cent of the total reside in private houses belonging to persons to whom they are not related.

Table 2 shows the conditions which the students have to fulfil to secure board and lodging in the houses of non-relatives.

Table 2

Conditions	*Number*	*Percentage to total*
By rendering some services, *e.g.*, tuition	99	38.5
Partly by rendering services and partly by paying	18	6.9
By fully paying	85	32.7
Free	58	21.9
Total	260	100.0

Thus it is obvious that the conditions of residence of the students 45 per cent of whom have to earn their board and lodging are not conducive to studies. Besides, living in various fragmented houses is not helpful in the growth of community life among the students.

Table 3 shows the housing condition of the students:

Table 3

No of students occupying one room	*Total number of students in each class*	*Percentage to total*
One	86	12.1
Two	212	29.9
Three	165	23.4
More than three	247	34.6
Total	710	100.0

It is apparent that the housing condition of the students is not at all satisfactory, more than three persons having to occupy one room in the case of 34.6 per cent of the total number of students.

Table 4 shows the distance which the students have to travel for attending the college:

Table 4

Miles	*Number of students*
Up to two miles	411
Above two miles	242

Thus a large number of students have to come from a long distance simply for an attendance at the college.

Table 5 shows food-expenditures of the students which is one of the chief elements in consumption-standard:

Table 5

Food-expenditure	*Number of students*	*Percentage to total*
Up to Rs. 20	289	44.5
Rs. 20 to Rs. 30	274	42.2
Above Rs. 30	88	13.3
Total	651	100.0

* Contai is a Sub-divisional town in the district of Midnapore with no other similar town within 60 miles. The Contai P. K. College is rapidly growing; it has degree course both in Science and Arts; its roll-strength was not more than 300 in 1945; by 1955 it has increased to 1,000.

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Thus we find that the standards of food-consumption is extremely low, 45 per cent of the students having to consume food worth not more than Rs. 20 at the present-day prices.

Table 6 shows the quantity of milk-consumption:

TABLE 6

Quantity	*Number of students*	*Percentage to total*
0 oz.	580	80.8
0 to 8 ozs.	100	13.9
Above 8 ozs.	38	5.3
Total	718	100.0

Thus 80.8 per cent of the students do not take any milk which is an indispensable part of a nutritive diet.

Table 7 shows the extent of fish-consumption:

TABLE 7

Number of days for which students take fish	*Number of students*	*Percentage to total*
1—10	91	13.2
11—20	248	35.9
21—30	352	50.9
Total	691	100.0

Thus nearly 50 per cent of the students do not take fish for more than 20 days a month.

There is larger deficiency in the consumption of egg and meat as in Table 8:

TABLE 8

Number of days for which students take meat or egg	*Number of students*	*Percentage to total*
0	238	33.0
1—10 days	444	61.7
Above 10 days	38	5.3
Total	720	100.0

Thus nearly 95 per cent of the students do not consume egg or meat for more than 10 days a month.

Table 9 shows how students have been able to procure their books for study:

TABLE 9

Percentage of books procured to total required	*Number of students*	*Percentage to total*
Up to 25	114	16.4
25 to 50	237	34.0
50 to 75	182	26.1
75 to 100	164	33.5
Total	697	100.0

Thus it is found that 50 per cent of the students have not been able to procure books more than 50 per cent of what is required.

Table 10 shows the occupational classes from which the students are drawn:

TABLE 10

Occupational class	*Number of students*	*Percentage to total*
Trade and profession	145	20.1
Service	117	17.0
Agriculture	428	62.9
Total	690	100.0

Thus nearly 63 per cent of the students are found to belong to families engaged in agriculture.

Table 11 shows the holdings of the families of the students belonging to the agricultural classes:

TABLE 11

Holding	*Number of students*	*Percentage to total*
Up to 5 acres	229	57.5
5 to 15 acres	87	21.9
Above 15 acres	82	21.6
Total	398	100.0

It is found that nearly 58 per cent of the students belong to families having holding not in excess of 5 acres.

The students were asked to note the vocation which they would like to take up after the completion of education. Table 12 indicates the future aims of the students in regard to vocation:

TABLE 12

Occupation aimed at	*Number of students*	*Percentage to total*
Trade	29	4.4
Teaching	234	33.3
Legal profession	29	4.4
Engineering	71	10.0
Medical profession	39	5.7
Social welfare-work	72	10.0
Agriculture	88	12.9
Indefinite	121	19.3
Total	673	100.0

Thus though 63 per cent of the students belong to agricultural families, only 12.9 per cent of them are aiming at agricultural occupation on completion of their studies. This tendency follows a demand for school-teachers in rural areas arising out of the urge for educational expansion. Again, agriculture in its present state is less profitable, less respectable and much more tiresome an occupation compared to others like teaching. Besides, there is scope of maintaining agriculture as a subsidiary source of earning by leasing out lands to *bargadars*.

CONCLUISONS

Education should be viewed as the most important factor contributing to the formation of human capital

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As such it must be given the most important place in a plan for economic development. A programme for educational reform must take in view whatever can make education contribute its fullest quota to the human-capital-formation.

The above survey abundantly reveals how the present urge for higher education in a rural area of West Bengal is struggling for fulfilment against extremely adverse circumstances. A progressive society must provide productive opportunity for its utilization.

The findings of the survey suggest some basic tasks to be done for the purpose :

First, there should be provision for a consolidated residence for the students in the college vicinity with all its common facilities which are helpful in building an active mind and body.

Secondly, there should be a state-subsidy towards provision for nutritive food for the students.

Thirdly, provision has to be made for a special library for the poor students who can borrow books from the library for a period extending to the end of their study-course.

Fourthly, there is the task to be done towards reorientation of an institution like the present one under survey, keeping in view the end of a static rural economy and the birth of a dynamic one.

The college under survey turns out every year nearly 30 graduates in Science and 80 in Arts. They are mostly to join the teaching profession. A plan for rural economic development leading to diversified occupations would suggest that there should be a two-year-post-graduate course for practical training in such a college to qualify each student for any particular occupation likely to be open to him at the end of his studies.

Training can be given in the technology of small industries, improved agricultural practices, technique of handicrafts, business organization, economic investigation and social welfare activities. Addition of a practical post-graduate-training-course to the existing higher institutions of rural areas must be given adequate consideration if the nation is really interested in changing the shape of its rural economy. Such a training course would possibly yield better results than the National Extension Service. This is because the students of the college of rural areas are mostly drawn from the agricultural classes (of Table 10); and as they are students with a formative mind they can be better moulded by any post-graduate training to be workers in the service of a progressive rural economy than what the National Extension Service can do. It is they who would carry economic revolution to the villages.

It is possile to reorient the existing colleges of rural areas on the lines suggested here without serious changes in their structure. The change will only be in the nature of an addition. In fact, students educated at rural colleges are too poor to avail opportunities of post-graduate training or education which is available only in the big cities. Provision of facilities for post-graduate training at the colleges of rural areas would democratize the opportunity of post-graduate training. But as masses of students may not have aptitude for the theoretical aspect of post-graduate education, the post-graduate training in rural areas must have a practical bias just to enable the students to qualify themselves for various occupations.

There must be a recognition of the fact that colleges in rural areas have got a special importance of their own in so far they extend education to people who could never obtain it in their absence. Government efforts in the field of higher education would be much more productive, if they are concentrated at present in rural areas where development has the largest significance. It is high time for us to realize the truth that progress consists in the discovery of new resources, new talents, new people and new energies. There must be an end of the stereotyped outlook which is blind to the vast possibilities outside the confines of big towns.*

* I express my thanks to Prof. Biman Palit, M.Sc. and Prof. Arun Chowdhury, M.Sc., for their help and my students who actively participated in the survey—specially—Sri Swadesh Santra, Sri Amalesh Misra, Sri Dibyendu Sengupta, Sri Purnendu Sengupta, Sri Rudrendra Acharya and Sri Naresh Nanda.

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MESSAGE OF INDORE

By SHRIMAN NARAYAN

The Indore Session of the Congress was historic from several points of view. At Avadi we had resolved to establish a Socialist Pattern of Society in India. At Amritsar, the Congress called upon the Indian people to consolidate their freedom and bring about a psychological and emotional integration of the nation. At Indore, the Congress incorporated the socialist idea as its basic objective. Although the addition of the words "Socialist" before "Co-operative Commonwealth" was suggested by the Congress Working Committee some months ago, the Indore session had the privilege of formally amending the Constitution in this regard. The Congress did not add the word in a routine or light-hearted manner; this was done with a full sense of responsibility and seriousness.

The Indore session will also be remembered for

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placing before the Indian people an inspiring Election Manifesto. The Manifesto adopted at Indore after detailed discussions gives as a clearer picture of the Socialist Society which we seek to establish in this country. The previous Election Manifestoes of the Congress were prepared and published by the Working Committee. It was for the first time that our Election Manifesto was discussed informally at the Calcutta session of the A.-I.C.C. and later by the open session of the Congress. This special procedure was adopted in order to take the Congress workers into the fullest confidence and give them an opportunity of discussing various issues regarding the Manifesto freely and frankly. The Manifesto, as finally published, is surely a valuable document which lays down in concrete terms our basic policy and programme for achieving a Socialist Pattern of Society in this country. The document deserves critical study and attention by all those who are interested in the progress and development of India. It is necessary for Congressmen to, first, study the Manifesto deeply themselves and, then, explain it to the people.

The Indore Congress laid great emphasis on moral values. It is true that material standards of living have their importance. But as the Congress President observed in his address:

> "The human being is not simply a mass of matter. There is an essence in him and this essence of human existence should count for more with the human community."

The President remarked that Socialism in India should lean "more on the side of Gandhiji's conception of Sarvodaya." The Election Manifesto also referred to the message of the Buddha and emphasised the ideal of non-violence and goodwill, in a world torn by hatred and violence. The resolution on the conduct of Election campaigns drew the pointed attention of the people to the importance of moral values and the maintenance of high standards in public as well as in private life. Congressmen were enjoined to conduct the election campaign as a high level without any recrimination or bitterness. It was emphasised that the campaign for elections should be in the nature of a social education movement among the masses. In other words, the Congress desired that during the forthcoming general elections different political parties should try to practise the principles of *Panchsheel in public life*. This emphasis on moral values in election campaign deserves our very serious attention. The idea will not only inspire millions of our people but will also guide other peoples of the world.

The Election Manifesto enumerates the achievements of the Congress since Independence. It also underlines certain special features of the Second Five-Year Plan. In addition to the need for increa India's agricultural and industrial production, e is laid on the urgency of solving the problem of employment and under-employment. It has also b pointed out that production on land does not ne sarily increase with mechanisation. "Mechanised a culture may be useful in some areas, but, in view the man-power available and often not fully used is desirable to encourage *intensified methods of c vation on a co-operative basis.*" In a report of World Bank Mission, it has been pointed out India's agricultural yields, which are at present am the lowest in the world, can be among the hig with the labour force available. It is aimed agricultural production during the Second Five-Y Plan may be increased by about 30 per cent.

The Manifesto has drawn our attention to the need for decentralised planning. It declares "the Panchayats have an important role to play this planning." Special emphasis is laid on the o nisation of agricultural co-operatives on a pop basis at the village level. The role of small-s village and cottage industries is also mentioned clearest terms. Although a large measure of cen isation has become inevitable in modern life, manifesto points out that we have "at the same t to decentralise in so far as this is possible." manifesto also stresses the need for developing l initiative in harnessing of local resources in order develop a spirit of self-reliance and new confidence

We have also to explain to the people the n for bringing about greater economic equalities. W out reducing the existing glaring economic inequal it will not be possible to bring about a socialist soc in India or elsewhere. With this end in view structure of taxation will have to be reconstru It will be necessary to ensure a minimum standard all our people, particularly of the poorer sections will also be essential to revolutionise the methods production in order to check the accumulation wealth in the hands of a few. It is clear that de tralised production will help this process.

India is determined to bring about a social economic revolution through democratic and peac means. The Election Manifesto concludes with following significant sentences:

> "The great adventure still beckons to e person in India and to the success of that adv ture the Congress had dedicated itself. It s again, therefore, a renewal from the people of I of that faith and confidence which have given in such abundant measure in the past. With newed strength firmly based on the goodwill of people, it is determined to labour for the advan ment of the Indian people and for world peace

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SHILLONG

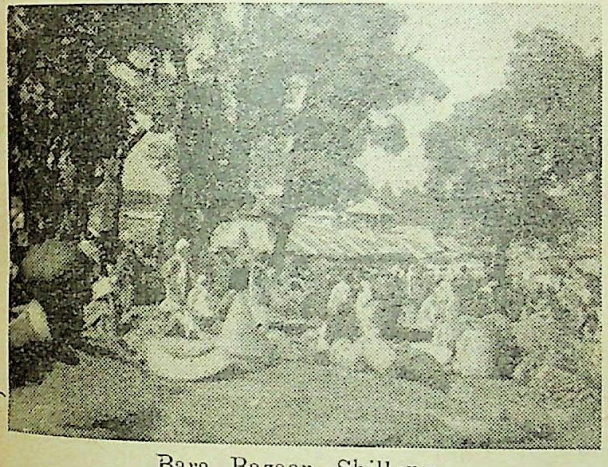
By Principal JOSEPH MINATTUR, M.A., LL.B., J.D.

Shillong is a charming little town glamouring for attention. It glows in the bosom of the Khasi Hills. It is the capital of the State of Assam and headquarters of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills District.

It is often referred to as the Queen of Hill Stations in India. The Hills District itself is called the Scotland of the East.

The town is called after a Khasi, U Shillong, who, according to popular legend, met a god on the peak overlooking the town from the south.

Shillong is about 5,000 feet above sea-level. It has a bracing temperate climate. It was because of the comfortable, cool climate that it was chosen to be the capital of the Province of Assam by the British Government.



Bara Bazaar, Shillong

Shillong is a highly cosmopolitan town. It is no exaggeration to say that one finds here people from almost all climes of the world. On an evening at Police Bazaar one sees people dressed in a thousand different costumes and speaking all the tongues of Babel and a few others which then lay latent in the womb of time.

The town is specially remarkable for its people and its natural scenery.

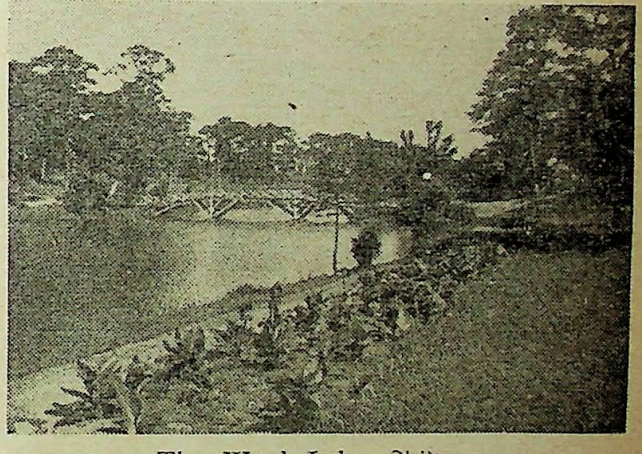
The Khasis who form the majority of a population of 58,512 in the town were living in the Khasi hills when the British came in contact with them in 1824. Their origin is as misty as one of Shillong's wintry nights. They speak a tongue belonging to the Mon-Khmer group of languages. It is related to some of the languages spoken in South-east Asia. The languages of the neighbouring hill tribes have no resemblance to it.

The Khasis, by temperament and choice, are a very friendly people. Like the Coorgs in South India, with whom they have many things in common, they are self-denying and hospitable.

They are a freedom-loving people. They have had democratic institutions from time immemorial. Their Raja's called Syiems have been constitutional rulers and have been, in the literal sense of the word, ministers of the people.

The Khasis follow the matriarchal system, with the result that the Khasi woman is independent and self-confident. The youngest daughter who inherits the family property is responsible for the care and management of the household.

The Khasi woman is probably the most modestly dressed woman in the world, with the exception of *purdanashins*. Her dress reminds one of a Carmelite nun's religious habit. Even the religious habit might stand second to the Khasi woman's dress in respect of modesty.



The Ward Lake, Shillong
Photo by Prof. B. C. Mohanti

In spring, the multi-coloured dresses of the many groups of people inhabiting the town and the myriad groups of people inhabiting the town and the myriad varieties of flowers wearing a bee in their button-holes lend to Shillong the appearance of a rainbow in reflection. Not that such reflections are wanting.

When snips of sunshine scamper with rivers and streams, Shillong's scintillating waterfalls, as they pass curtsying to the giver of all energy, twinkle like a million gold coins sparkling. The Bishop Falls around the corner of the town, with a height of nearly 400 feet, are probably the most frequented of all. Not a few broken-hearted lovers with their more than ordinary aesthetic and emotional sensibilities have claimed mystic union with the sparkle and shine of these falls. The Beadon Falls, the Sweet Falls, the Elephant Falls, and the Spread Eagle Falls are not less enchanting. One could see visitors stand spell-bound before these waterfalls for hours.

Shillong lies in a cup, surrounded by soulful, pine-scented hills. The grove of shadowy pines, tremulous

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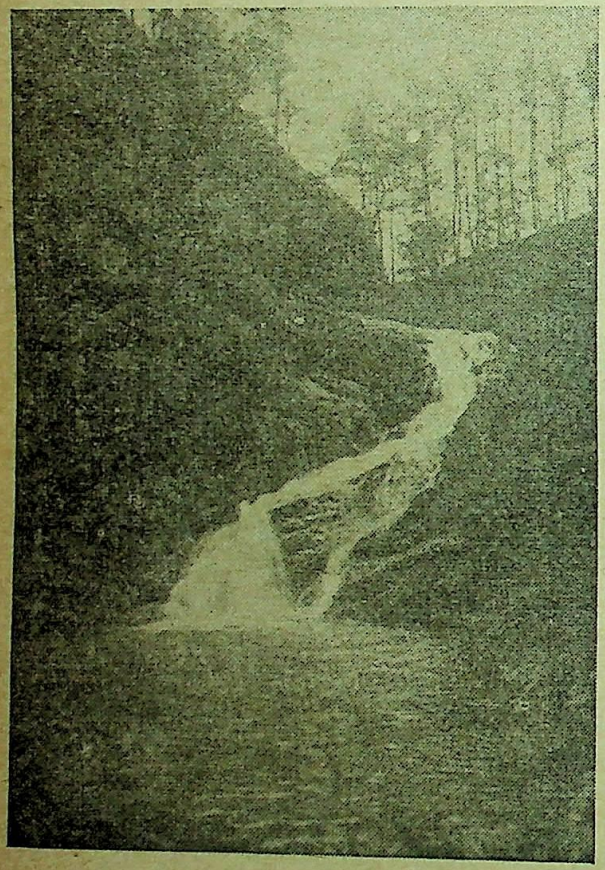
in the breeze on the hill slopes, shower fragrant lullabies on the town below.

As one meanders along to the town by the Gauhati-Shillong Road, amid scenes of wild natural beauty, with ranges upon ranges of hills on either side, one passes by Bara Bazaar, the dirtiest part of the town. It is as congested as a humming bee-hive. Every eighth day is a Barabazaar day in Shillong. That day people from the neighbouring villages come jostling to the bazaar with their heavy loads of raw materials for sale. With its heavy traffic, bustling crowds and brisk shopping, Barabazaar day is something of an event in Shillong.



Spread Eagle Falls

Police Bazaar pulsates with people of fashion and houses of entertainment. In the evening, the fashionable, the rich and the official classes are seen driving to the Shillong Club. Khasi belles in their warm clothes of myriad hues stroll along the streets. One hears hums of conversation as people crowd about the cinema houses. Of the four cinema houses in the town, two are here and a third is in the neighbourhood. Brisk shopping goes on in the inelegant buildings skirting the narrow roads. The roads of Police Bazaar are not much broader than the path to heaven; if two buses cross each other, there is no place for the pedestrian.

Beside the Shillong Club, there is the most artistically constructed Ward Lake where man has conspired with Nature to make of it a thing of bea With its inclined lawns, and elfin islets, in an eve it is a joy for the leisurely, the listless and the lo lorn.

A few yards away, spreads in eagle-fashion, new Secretariat Building with a statue of the Maha standing sentinel to hinder the entry of corruptio

Laitumkhrah is probably the neatest part of town. Three of the four first grade colleges Shillong—St. Mary's, St. Anthony's and St. Edmu —are situated here. The Catholic Cathedral, biggest Church in Assam, the justly famous Lo Convent High School, and the three colleges Laitumkhrah an appearance of grandeur not unm with glamour.

Laban, with its whispering pine-trees and clusters of buildings standing on an ascending s of levels, if not of loveliness, and seemingly shou to one another "Excelsior," presents a picture exqu'site beauty. At sundown the yellow shine of electric bulbs from these ascending rows of ho blends with the fading rose of the sunset and cr for the onlooker an air of visionary gleam. The 'Laban' is probably from Sanskrit *labanya*, if from Hebrew *laban*, which means white. There touch of the jasmine about Laban.

St. Anthony's College, Shillong

The Golf Links and the Race Course, the open expanses of the town, which provide football cricket grounds for the young and the agile are sympathetic to the idle gossips who find in them a listless evening, a lush park. When the golf-links swathed in reels upon reels of moonlight on a sum night, with the moonbeams dancing a soft bullet the silvery stream close by, Shillong appears to a planned harmony of divine creation.

At Jaiaw, in the north-west part of the town, is the Welsh Mission Hospital, reputed to be the in the State. It has not only the most up-to- scientific equipment, but also the most generous cordial mental equipment of its self-effacing do

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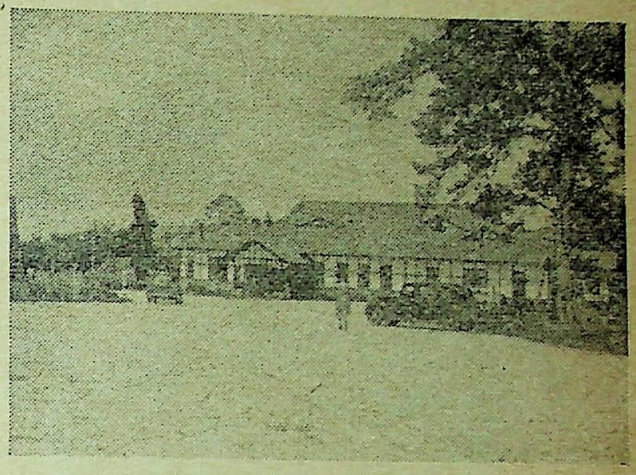
and nurses. The Civil Hospital, the Reid Chest Hospital, the Ganesh Das Hospital, and the Pasteur Institute are the other important medical centres of Shillong.

Happy Valley, the military headquarters of the State, is just over a league from the town. As the wind goes on telling ghost stories, rows of whistling pines escort a beautiful, motorable road to this lively valley of enchanting loveliness.

The many picturesque roads criss-crossing the town are like blue ribbons thrown over piles of green silk. Besides these roads which number nearly forty and the two main roads leading to Gauhati and Dawki, there are four roads running to places of importance within the hills district. One is the Shillong-Cherra Road, leading to Cherrapunji, 33 miles away, through captivating scenes of exquisite natural beauty. Cherrapunji is admired by all for its Mawsmai Falls and is famous the world over for its heavy rainfall. It is the second rainiest spot on God's green earth. Another road is the Smit Road which runs to the headquarters of the Syiem of Khyrim State, about seven miles from Shillong. In Smit village every year is held the Nongkrem Dance, the national festival of the Khasis. A third road leads to Jowai, the sub-divisional headquarters of the Jaintia Hills. There is still another which, branching off from the Shillong-Cherra Road, goes to Mawphlang, fifteen miles from Shillong.

Owing to the apprehension of earthquake whose visitations are not infrequent, most of the houses of the town are built of planks and reeds covered with plaster, after the manner of the Japanese.

Though many houses are seen cropping up in the Laitumkhrah and Nongthymmai (the word means new colony) areas, no scientific town planning has been so far attempted.



Shillong. Club

It is necessary that the roads of Shillong be made broader. They should not be allowed to push a careless soul onward to his mortal destiny. The Barabazaar area which is a desperate heartache to anyone with any sense of cleanliness, has to be kept neat and sanitary. But then this progressive town is still very young. It dropped its swaddling clothes only the other day. One feels with Clifford Laube, the American poet, that

"It is wrong that a town be rashly judged
By the reek and the smoke around it curled.
Surely the windows of Eden were smudged
That morning God started the wheels of the world."

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PHALLIC CULT OR SEX-BELIEF

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B. (Cal.), Sahitya-Ratna (Alld.)

From time immemorial man has traced a mystic connection between human sex-life and all generative phenomena. It is believed that in pre-historic times the Asuras were worshippers of the Phallus or the *linga*. A pre-historic *lingam* is illustrated by Foote and an object resembling a *lingam* has been found at Mohen-jo-daro. We can know from the epic literature that in the beginning, that is before adopting the outward form of worship of the Aryans the Asuras were devotees of Mahadeva who represents *lingam* or phallus and thus they were the worshippers of the Phallic emblem. But this mysterious connection between sex and life was not without meaning. The phallic cult (*lingam* and *yoni*) refers to the creative energy of the powers of nature; in Oriental symbolism it is one of the expressions of the intense life and ends in absorption into the godhead. To the cultured Hindu the phallus is only suggestive of the philosophic concept that God is a point, formless, or that He is the One. Throughout oriental literature the *lingam* has been used metaphorically to express true relationship between the human soul and God. Even in these days we find among savages that fruitfulness and plenty are mystically traced to sex, and thus during a good harvest season and at the time of sowing they hold festivals in which promiscuous intercourse forms a prominent feature. 'The vitality of sex-belief is further illustrated by the tendencies of modern Freudians who maintain that all human activities are motivated by sex and that the Libido is the primal source of all teleological energy.'

The phallic cult or the *linga*-worship is common

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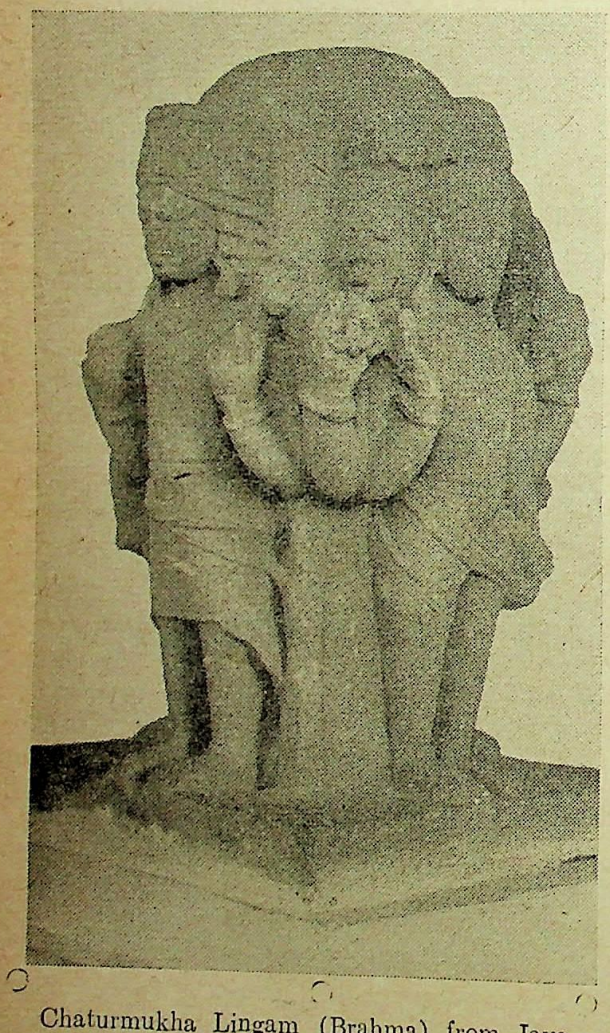
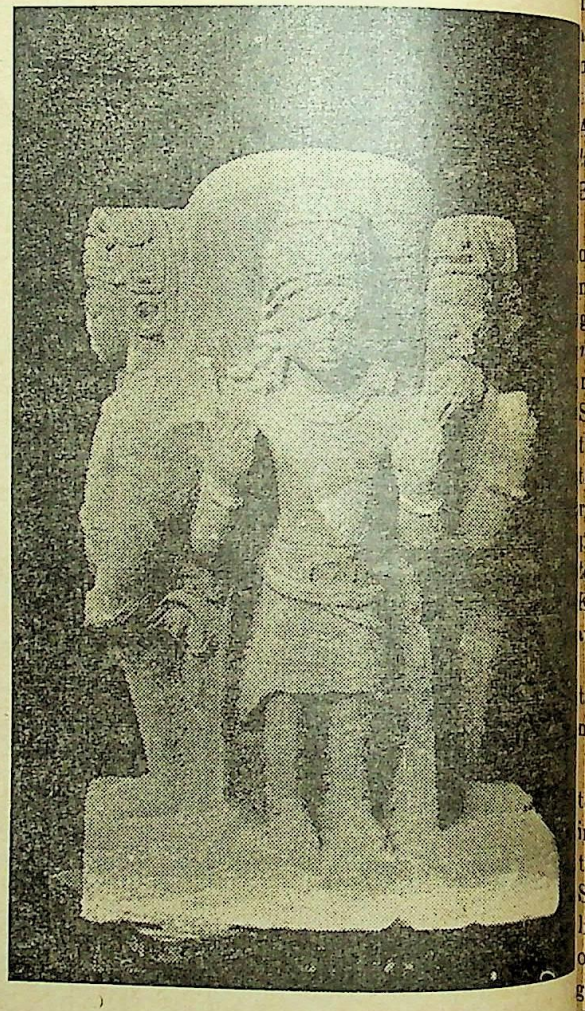
throughout the world. In India, it is most probably of Dravidian origin. The Siva-worship of India had one element in common with the primitive worship of the early Dravidian people, which is the worship of the phallus and the dedication of the virgins to the worship of the god. It might be said that the second element was brought by the Dravidians from their original home in South-West Asia. Some scholars have found references to the worship of the phallus in the Vedic age in a particular passage of the Rig-Veda.



Chaturmukha Lingam (Brahma) from Java

Siva-*linga* is, perhaps, the most common object of worship in every corner of India. It is an aniconic symbol which has taken the place of quasi-anthropomorphic symbols of Northern India; but in all probability the symbol is originally derived from the votive stupa of Buddhism. 'The ideas of the cosmic tree or pillar, and the churning stick of Vishnu the phallic symbol also stands for the pivot or the axis of the cosmic forces; it is at the foot of this *lingam* that we can get the joy of creation at the summit, the bliss of Nirvana.' But the Siva-*lingam* does not seem to have been known to Patanjali, nor does it appear on the coins of Wema-Kadphesis on which the god Siva is represented holding the trident, with the bull, Nandi, in the background. Having completed creation he turned *yogi* and the phallus became emblem. There are, indeed, many mythical st behind Siva's adopting the symbol of *lingam*. Siv the destroyer-god but when he is the god of fecun he is then worshipped in the shape of the *linga*. earliest *lingas* existing do not anti-date the Ku period. They are of the kind known as *mu lingams* with one (*ek mukha*) or more faces (*ch*



Chaturmukha Lingam from Java

mukha-lingam is more common; the gods t Surya, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva). At Gudimall near Renigunta, north Arcot District, exists one of most interesting and important monuments of Kushan Brahmanical art extant, the Siva-*linga* kn as Parasmamesvara, which is still worshipped. Thi realistic phallic emblem, five feet in height, with figure of Siva carved on its lower side. Judging f stylistic grounds Rao has assigned this *lingam* to first or perhaps, the second century B.C.

Along the roads of Greek and Roman antiqu *i.e.*, almost everywhere in those countries there m be seen images of Priapus at every field's end; so in India today we may come across often the little cylindrical boundary marks, more

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less ornamented, which are the *lingas*. This cult, however, is in no way the same as that of the Sakti, which often involves orgiastic practices. But according to one authority, 'Along with the worship of Sakti and Siva was also that of the *linga* and *yoni*, as evidenced in the realistically modelled and unmistakable figures in stone of both found in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan, together with numerous ring-stones.' Indeed, three types of cult stones are brought at Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa, the bactylic, the phallic and the *yoni* ring-stones of which the smaller specimens, carried and worn as amulets are more numerous than the larger ones which were objects of worship. At Bhita, we come across a *pancha-mukha* (five-faced) *lingam* which may be assigned to the first century B.C.

Along with these we should mention the combination of male and female elements in the person of Siva, a mixed being who united the characteristics of the god and of his Sakti, Uma, under the name of *ardha-nari*. This fact is so curious that an image of Ardha-narisvara is unmistakably described by a Greek author, Stobaeus (500 A.D.), quoting Bardasanes, who reports the account of an Indian who visited Syria in the time of Antonius of Emesa, *i.e.*, Elagabalus who reigned during 218-222 A.D. The *lingams* in Pallava period, at Ataria Khera, Nagod State, in Rajasimha temple and in the Brahmanical temple at Pariharpura Kashmir, and the *linga* shrines at Badami and Ellora and in the new capital of Mysore are worthy of notice.

The sex-belief has played a vital role not only in the religion of India, other countries of the world are not without its tinges.

The Temples of Venice in Greece were dedicated to the goddess Venus and the chief source of income in those temples was the institution of sacred prostitutes who were hired out to visitors. According to Strabo, 'There were about one thousand prostitutes living in the temple of Venus in Corinth.' In Babylon, once a woman entered the temple of Mylitta, the goddess of fertility, she was not allowed to depart till she found a customer and paid fee to the goddess. This reminds us of many temples of India which had their complement of Devdasi-slaves of gods. Such usages were considered highly proper and sacred, and the high and the low had to conform to the priestly code. Phallus worship and the cult of Venus were introduced into Rome from Egypt, Greece and Syria. There the phallus was called the *Mutinus*; the symbol was placed in a small chariot and driven through the towns and villages, the people accompanying it with lascivious songs and dances. Even the most respectable people with families used to crown the figures with flowers.

The ancient Egyptians worshipped the phallus of Osiris. The genitals of not only human but even of animals were worshipped by the Mediterranean people. Priapus, a phallic god, introduced into Greece probably from Egypt, derives his name from Apis, the bull-god of Egypt. Sometimes the phallus of goats and asses were worshipped because of the strong sex-nature of those animals. Judaism and Christianity tried their utmost to separate sex from religion but in spite of their vehement opposition sex-cults thrived in monasteries, nunneries and orders of knighthood.

Chaturmukha Lingam from Bihar

In Java, the *linga*, Siva's emblem, is the symbol of fecundity. It is made with three sections, square, octagonal and cylindrical, and is set up on a richly ornamented pedestal with a stone hollowed out to receive waters of ablution. That the Japanese worshipped deities in the shape of male and female genital organs is clear from Fuso-ryakki, a historical work, dating 339 A.D. The phallic cult is still maintained in Japan and such like temples are the Ebishima-jinja at Ishikoshi, to the north of the city of Sendai, and the Iwato-jinja in the Island of Shikoku. In Cambodia, the king-god is always represented by a *lingam*. But this

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does not appertain to any particular king but embodies the divine fiery essence incarnate in every king and essential to the welfare of the kingdom. A little to the south of Ankor Thom lies 'the three-storied pyramid known as Phonom Baken,' a typical prang where a *lingam* has been found in a shrine with an inscription of Yasodhisvara; during the reign of Suryavarman's successor a victorious general set up a golden *lingam* to worship the king's "invisible personality." The Cham kingdom was predominantly Saivite and in the temples the Hindu god was always worshipped in the form of a *linga*. In Champa, Siva was represented both as a human figure as well as a *linga* form; a *mukha-lingam* of Sambhu is found in Po-nagar.

Thus we find that almost in every part of world the phallic cult or the sex-belief had deep its root in the minds of the people; the meaning 'the creative energy of the powers of na was equally honoured by the people of diff countries. The ideas connected with sex-symbolis Hindu art and ritual are generally misinterpreted the Westerners because they take them out of environment of social life. Sir Monier-Williams justly remarked when he says:

"In India, the relation between the sexes regarded as a sacred mystery as is never held suggestive of improper or indecent ideas; and must not look upon this symbol with our We Latin tradition."

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FEMININE FASHIONS FROM FRANCE

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

The very name of France brings to our minds the romantic phrase: "ever-new fashions." France is universally acknowledged as the home of fashions and elegance and is justly proud of its heritage.

So many novel changes take place in Fr fashions almost every hour that it is impossible one to keep pace with the speed. There comes sudden change in the hair styles, in the leng

The expensive dress created this year by Lanuin Castillo

The proud and lovely wearer of the 'eaglet'

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garments, in hats and even in shoes. No other women in the whole world seem to be more fashion-minded than the French.

The leading Parisian fashion specialist, Lanuin-Castillo, has created another sensation this year. The typical thrice-folded coat with lovely skirt of the same type of luxurious cloth gives a "new look" to the wearer. No jewellery, except the ear-rings, is needed to complete the ensemble. This smart evening dress has already captured the hearts of the French women and is soon likely to be popular elsewhere.

The fashions, of course, have got to change from season to season to suit the occasion and taste. The close-fitting masculine dress, either blue striped pant and bush-coat or the long coat and pant, with a matching fur hat, is common in winters.

A new type of hat, the "eaglet," has lately been designed this year and is particularly favoured by the aristocrats. Woven with diamonds and glittering stones, it looks superb and bewitching. To the fashion-conscious woman, the "eaglet" is at once a necessity and pride.

France leads the world fashions and there is no exaggeration in saying that even the most glamorous film stars of the West are indebted to the fashion-designers of Paris. In luxurious hotels and glittering restaurants, in streets and cinema houses, in art-galleries and seaside resorts of France we can see the display of fashions at its best.*

* Photos by courtesy of Director, French Government Tourist Office, Bombay.

Fashion for winter sports (1955-56)

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MORE AFRICAN STUDENTS ENROLLING AT U.S. COLLEGES

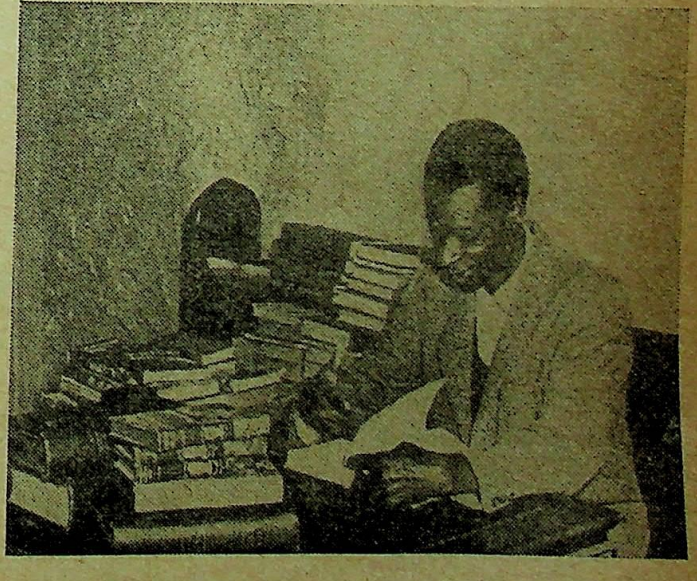
YOUNG Africans in increasing numbers are looking to American colleges and universities for completion of their higher education, according to preliminary figures reported at the beginning of the 1956-57 academic year.

While it is too early yet to compile complete statistics, college administrators throughout the country are predicting a sizable increase this year in the number of African students enrolled in U.S. institutions of higher learning, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

In the 1955-56 academic year, some 1,400 African students were enrolled, a four-fold increase over the number reported in 1949.

Several factors have contributed to this growth, according to educators who have made a study of the trends. One has been an increase in the number of scholarships offered by American schools to African students.

Typical of the scores of colleges participating in this "peoples-to-peoples" sort of educational program are Ohio Wesleyan University and Oberlin College,



Michael Ochuba of Oba, Nigeria, reading books in the first library in his home village in Nigeria

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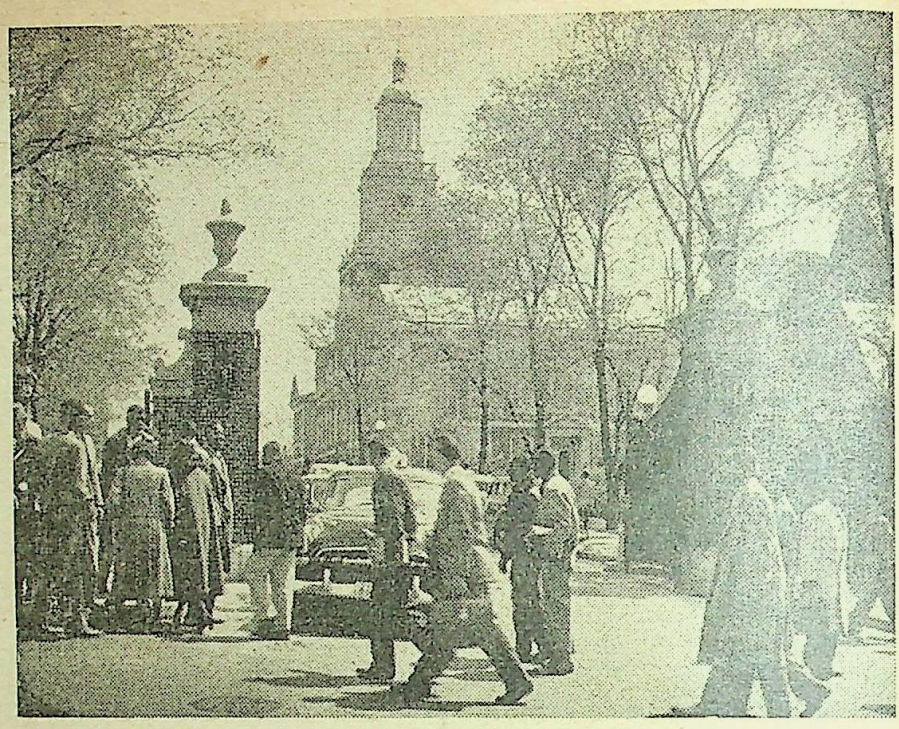
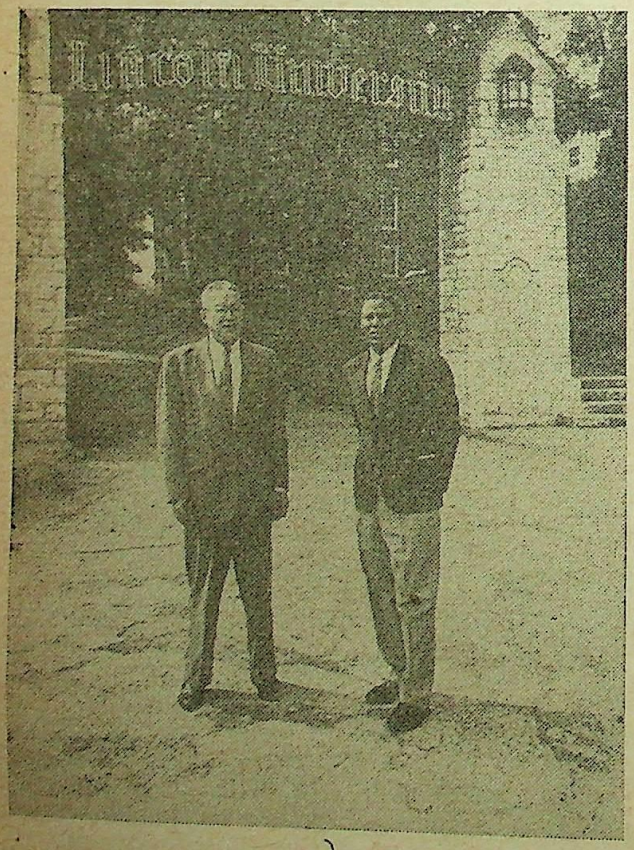


Harvard University in the nation's capitol at Washington is one of the most popular U.S. Universities for foreign students

both located in the central State of Ohio, which are now offering scholarships to girls students from East Africa.



Dr. Horace M. Bond, President of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, touring the campus with Damson K. Njirii of Kenya

The Institute of African-American Relatio... private organization dedicated to promoting i... relations among the peoples of the two areas ... offered to pay transportation costs to the U... States of students who are accepted under the pro...

Another factor has been the launching of e... tional programs by various African governments ... selves. Typical is Western Nigeria, which is pl... 600 overseas scholarships. Many of these will b... study in American schools, according to J.A.O. ... biyi, Western Nigeria's Minister of Education. ... is now visiting schools and educational associati... the U.S.

Still another factor has been the growing ... larity of industry-sponsored programs. Newest of ... was started this year by the Gold Coast C... Marketing Board. Under this program, 37 st... arrived here in September to begin college wor... scholarships provided by the Board. Others wi... low in future years.

There are also hundreds of African students ... under private auspices or who for reasons of their ... elected to pursue their higher studies at U.S. e... tional institutions. Perhaps the most unusual of ... is Miss Bertha Akim, first girl student in the ... from Tanganyika. She came to the U.S. in Se... ber under scholarship funds provided by a gro... students at Mount Holyoke College, a 119-ye... institution in the north-eastern State of Massachu...

The Mt. Holyoke students, hearing of Miss A... desire to entroll at a U.S. girls' school and her ... culty in arranging the funds required, appeal...

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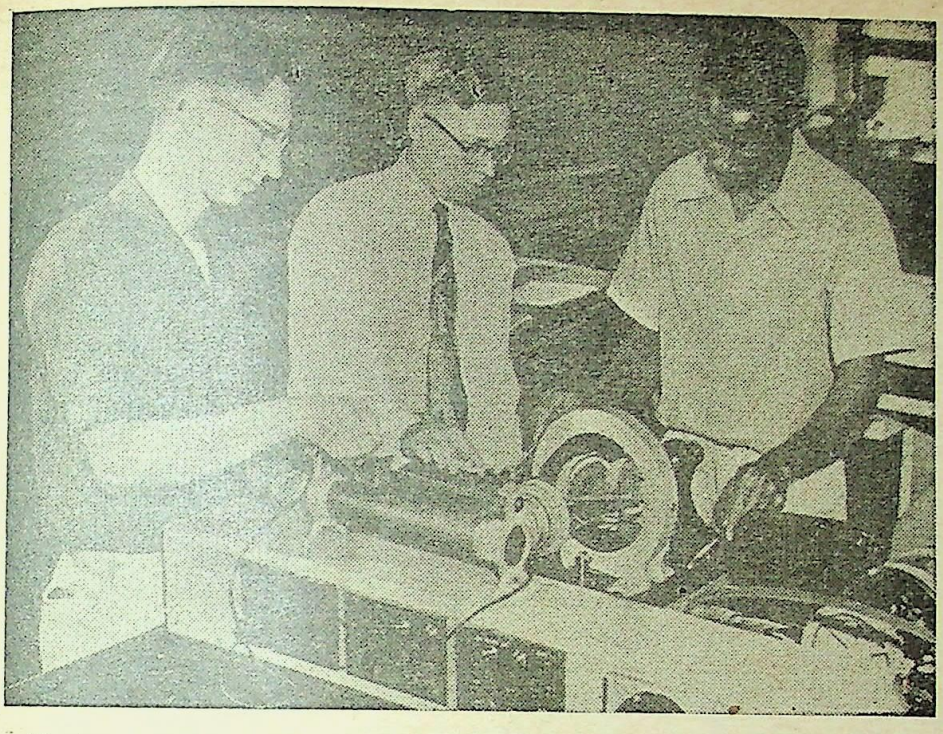
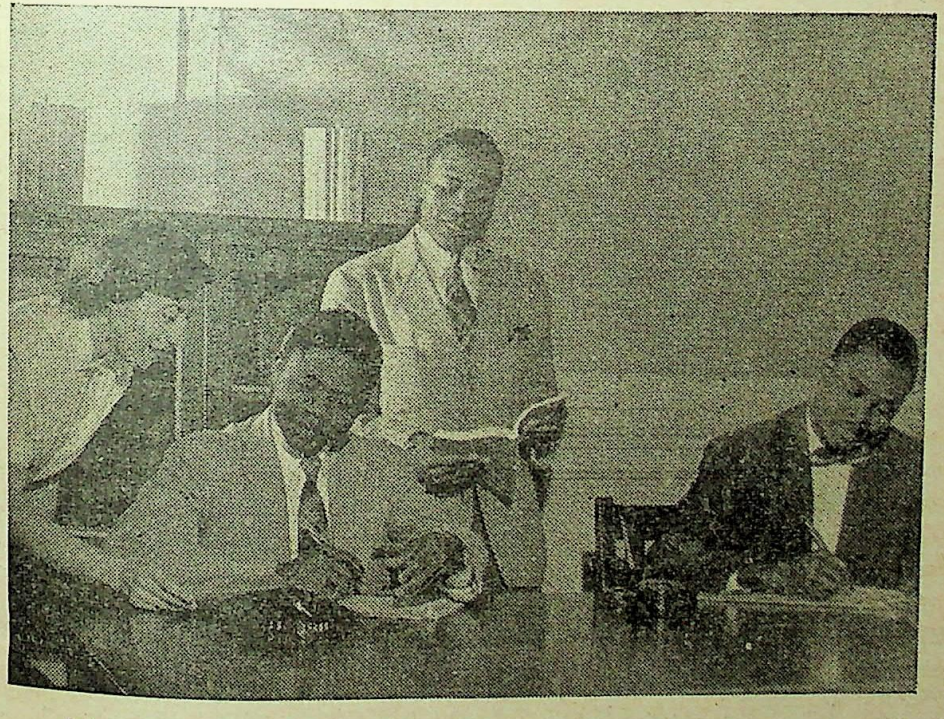


Students watch Michael Ochuba of Oba, Nigeria, adjust an electric motor in the workshop at Stout State College in Wisconsin



Many of the African students enrolled at U.S. colleges are preparing for careers as teachers in their home countries

several radio and television contest programs, made personal appearances, and in various other ways raised the necessary funds. As a result of their interest and activities, Miss Akim is now enrolled at Mt. Holyoke as a full-fledged student, and candidate for a degree.

Another and perhaps the single most important factor in the increased number of African students in the U.S., can be attributed to the activity of returning alumni. Their accounts of their experiences and achievements have aroused an interest in the U.S. and its educational system. Among many students back home, a curiosity has been aroused which can be satisfied only by first-hand experience.

Whatever the reason, African students are coming

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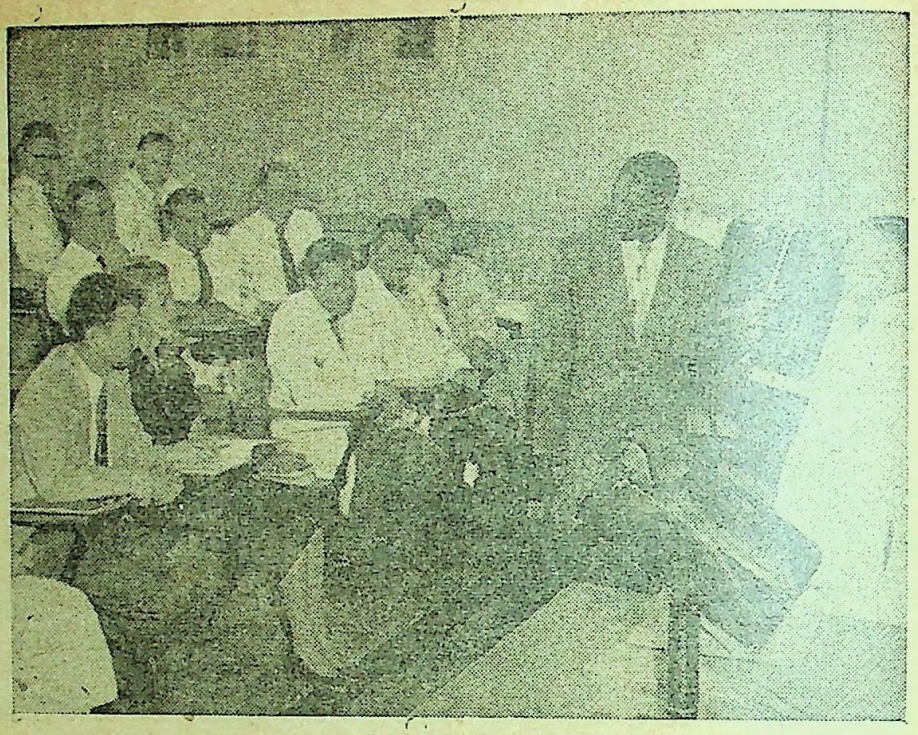

Most African students have earned excellent marks in their studies

Michael Ochuba, an African honor student at Stout State College in Wisconsin, joins a table tennis game in the student recreation centre

to the U.S. in increasing numbers—some to devote their entire time to study, others to travel extensively to broaden their knowledge of the country. Many work during vacation periods, some to help defray expenses, others to get below the surface, to see the 'how' and 'why' as well as the 'what' and 'where' of the American way of doing things.

There are indications that their numbers continue to grow, and that this "peoples-to-peo approach will contribute greatly to the broadeni the base of understanding and amicable rel between the peoples, young and old, of the two —*USIS*.

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THE POETRY OF WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS

By Prof. S. HALDAR, M.A., D.Phil.

The English literary tradition has maintained a sense of incompatibility between the theoretical and the practical; that is to say, what it has established in mere abstract principles has not been quite in agreement with what it has achieved in practical, positive, realistic and concrete form. What I would emphasise would mean the fact that the English literary tradition has been most occasionally the final aesthetic affirmation of what we really mean by a strong sense of antagonism between the theoretical calculations and the practical realisations. There could be no example far more living, convincing and glaring than, perhaps, William Wordsworth who has boldly asserted:

> "Between the language of prose and that of metrical composition, there neither is, nor can be, any essential difference."

His own practice has brought home to us the error of this statement. With due adherence to his theory, he very often tried to avoid the poetic diction and carry out his purposes entirely in such poems as 'The Thorn' or 'The Idiot Boy,' with the result that he produced mere verses, which by no means of language or critical generosity can be called poetry at all. His noblest poetry is great and magnificent only when it has violated his principles or theories and therefore, finally, it strikingly illustrated the truth that his theories were powerless to repress or subdue his spontaneous instinct and emotional passion as supported by his poems like 'The Tintern Abbey' and 'The Immortality Ode.' Bernard Shaw is another illustration towards the confirmation of this reality.—"For Art's sake alone, I would not face the trouble of writing a single sentence." But, in spite of this theoretical statement, Bernard Shaw has been a declared artist and the art of his representation has, by no means, been less in value and importance than the legacy of his thought to the future generation. He has sacrificed his artistic genius to the altar of his mission for the mental and moral illumination of the world at large and there was no one else, perhaps, better than Bernard Shaw himself who had observed:

> "It is not my fault, reader, that my art is the expression of my sense of moral and intellectual perversity rather than of my sense of beauty. I had better have written a beautiful play like *Twelfth Night* or a grand play like the tragic masterpieces."

The real fact is that the artist in Bernard Shaw was ingrained in him and it was deliberately relegated to the background due to the constant consciousness to his function as a propagandist to throw the searchlight on the traditional yet wrong values of the larger humanity in thought. Many of his dramas, say, *Saint Joan, Pygmalion* and *Candida* have been the expressions of lyrical exaltation, substantially in the dramatic form, of Shaw's fervent faith in the evolutionary creed of human generation. Bernard Shaw is a born artist and none but a true artist could have clearly remarked:

> "I have found a happiness in art that human life has never given me. I am intensely earnest about art. There is a magic and mystery in it that you know nothing of."

But the truth lies in the fact that there had been a constant conflict between Bernard Shaw, the propagandist and Bernard Shaw, the artist and finally, the former won the race. In spite of his strongest sense of art, Bernard Shaw had produced dramas which are really propagandist in purpose and journalistic in spirit and therefore, he has been an excellent and striking study of the incongruity between the theoretical statement and the practical achievement and that is, doubtless, the characteristic importance of the English literary tradition.

All literature is more or less symbolic in the sense that it is the partial representation of the inward truth and reality in the medium of language. Language has, therefore, been the proper medium, rather the only symbol for the expression of feeling or passion whatever or whichever the poet has felt, thought and penetrated. Language is, so to say, the representational symbolism for the inspirational intensity and the emotional exuberance that float up into the poetic mind. But poets, sometimes, go deeper down into the mysteries of the universe and penetrate right into the mere deceitful appearances. This higher understanding into the depth of the mysteries of the ultimate reality cannot be adequately expressed merely through the commonly known language; on the other hand, the depth, penetration and profundity require of a poet, other than the linguistic possibility, some convenient mediums which are, essentially in fitting with his more secret and mysterious understanding that can hardly be explained away by means of material logic and science which is more in concern with the visible, tangible and experimentable on the tables or in the laboratories. Perhaps, there could be no enemy more dangerous and destructive than the material science to the symbolic representation, to the deeper penetration of poetic imagination which is, really, in fact, a

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positive and definite insistence on the Ideal Beautiful beyond the physical world of sense and impression. In its most fundamental spirit and ultimate analysis, symbolism is essentially mystical and therefore, metaphysical in its approach to, and apprehension of, the most Contemplative Beautiful which plays, with its most ardent and passionate devotee, what we commonly understand by 'hide and seek'; yet that helps him towards the way of his realisation of the inscrutable and the mysterious significance that can never be fathomed out by means of the laws and the principles of the material sciences like physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology and economics.

Perhaps, the greatest and the most regrettable gap that has ever been created in the whole range of English literature and which any genuine sympathiser or lover of English literature is very palpable to discover, is that it has been marked by a conspicuous absence of what we really mean by a truly symbolist poet. Sometime, it is advocated that Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde are to be regarded as the powerful exponents of the symbolic art, having within the range of their command, a strong sense or belief in the existence of the Ideal Beauty just beyond the visible world of the physical reality. Rossetti's 'House of Life,' where he creates a strange and mysterious view of love and where, again, he brings, even, his religious subjects into his scope of Ideal Beauty; and Walter Pater's 'Renaissance,' where he has proclaimed art as the end of life, because it gives "a quickened, multiplied consciousness," are sometimes regarded symbolic. Rossetti and Pater were, at bottom, religious in character and temperament; their peculiar and strange view of love and art was to them an adequately powerful means to the realisation of the Beautiful, the Original, the Supreme and the Universal beyond the background of the world of sensuous experience. This was the basic principle of the Aesthetic Movement, championed by them, with the utmost zeal and energy, to realise in their literary achievement. This was a kind of challenge to the materialistic philosophy of their contemporaries, deeply absorbed in the philistine and mercantile pursuits of life. Instead of this positive accent on the Ideal Beautiful, they were essentially impressionists: they were highly satisfied or rather pleased with the sense-impressions which they met and experienced, and they gave them aesthetic expressions without having any attempt to exalt and transcend them to the height of the mystic apprehensions and thus, their convictions, theories and doctrines became less transcendental, less exacting and less mystical; yet this power of transcendentalism has been the main miracle of the symbolists in the real sense of the term. Why the English poets had not been able to attain the best of the excellence of the symbolists may be explained away by means of two reasons. The English poets have been decid- the most intense throughout the history of the literature; psychologically, they are very much served in their feelings and passions, which almost always, preserved in the subconscious of mind, and as soon as they get any opportunity reach to the level of the conscious, they automat become all the more powerful, violent and intense the power of this intensity makes them psychologi impossible to adhere to what they have alr formulated out as mere principles or theories in sultation with their practical reason and intell Secondly, the English poets are, by spirit, protes and by nature, are very fond of challenging the and the order and therefore, this natural inclin makes them impossible to submit the mystic sol and the metaphysical penetration which lie far be the jurisdiction of material science.

Any movement in literature can hardly be de in adequate measure. It is an ultimate resultan as many principles, theories, influences and pers ities as it could manage to think out. Passion too wild, feeling floats too strong, imagination fle high and personality becomes too alert. A single solitary definition fails hopelessly to include or r comprehend all the truth, reality, meaning and stance which tend to impregnate that particular m ment. There could be no illustration, perhaps, better than the Romantic Movement in the part of the nineteenth century England which definitely been a kind of bold challenge to all power or the capacity which a categorical defin could command within its limitation to put in single phrase or a bracket, satisfying, embracing cluding and comprehending of its tenets or su which are so manysided, so vast and so large in or possibility or potentiality. Yet the impos happened to be the possible, a single definition pened to be all the more gratifying, justifying sustaining; that is to say, what is very occasio unthinkable appeared to have been easily thinkab actual reality in the last decade of the nine century history of the French literature. The popular literary movement known as the symbol the very common sense of the definition, champi by the well-known poets like Baudelaire, Verlaine Mallarme, was doubtless, a strange, peculiar, ultimate harmonization between the merely abs principles and concretely practical achieve because in that particular period, there had been of much similarity and agreement amongst the em mental conditions responsible for the creative ac in literature out of the irresponsible imagin flights, and at the same time, poets were more c equally conscious to the same psychological r and truth. This apparently unexpected analogy tween the poetic impulses and the congenial gr

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for them to work upon, was really a very strange experience and an unprecedented phenomenon in the field of the French literature. In the field of the artistic rather symbolistic activity, Baudelaire was important in so far as he managed to exalt the integral values of the symbols, Verlaine exploited them as the artistic means for the instinctive response and realisation, and Mallarme raised them to the range of the metaphysical intentions. In our approach to it, it is all the more worthwhile for us to bear in mind that Mallarme happened to be the most representative of all that is important, significant and characteristic of the movement. Why the symbolist movement has grown up so admirably well enough over the field of the French literature in the last decade of the nineteenth century is a matter of much curiosity and investigation as well. The French mind is decidedly and deliberately more rational, having more of the command over its passionate urge and less of the susceptibility to the flood of the emotional intensity; that is to say, reason rather than emotion is the dominating ingredient of the French mind which makes the French poets possible to achieve a happy balance between the intellectual restraint and the passionate exuberance. Apart from this psychological truth and reality which is the peculiar characteristic of the French mind in general, there was another very important reason which helps to the success of the Symbolist Movement, that is to say, a conscious revolt against the scientific realism of the contemporary life which lost much of its faith or conviction in the traditional religion of Christianity and which hoped to find out a substitute of it in the field of the scientific truth. Against this general background of the material engrossment, Baudelaire, Verlaine and Mallarme conceived a world of Ideal Beauty more real, more lasting and more inspiring and to this strong conviction, that is to say, a strong reliance on a world of Contemplative Beauty, all of them contributed largely with a deliberate disregard for all other beliefs, conventions, customs and traditions. The equality of the French mind and temperament coupled with the equality of their common conviction in a particular period helped to the growth, development and culmination of this great movement in the French literature. For the creative activity in the field of literature, neither mere genius nor mere environment is sufficiently enough; on the contrary, it requires both of them simultaneously to meet together and there could be no better or grander opportunity than when the genius and the environment are found to be befriended together. This was the miraculous happening of the last decade of the nineteenth century French literature. And that is, probably, the most important reason as to why the Symbolist Movement in the French literature in that particular period was so successful, so admiring and so inspiring. What is a rarity in experience became a reality with the French Symbolists; that is to say, helped by the fertility of the atmosphere and backed by their psychological penetration, the French Symbolists attained to the wonders of success, which is unequalled, unapproached and unrivalled in the history of world literature.

William Butler Yeats has been a paradoxical phenomenon. Midwifed by the Irish parents, nursed by the Irish atmosphere and baptized by the English language, he became partly naturalised as an Englishman. But, yet, strangely enough, he was a splendid outsider from the English literary tradition. Why this has been a paradoxical possibility with him demands for one a curious investigation. Before the actual advent of Yeats over the field of the English literature it is very interesting to note that the Victorian poets like Tennyson and Browning had with them a literary convention, mainly based on moralising tendency and didactive import which tended to be a disease with all of them. 'In Memoriam,' 'The Princess' and 'The Locksley Hall,' Tennyson had sought to preach a terrible conflict between the science and the religion, the domestic love as the highest virtue with the woman, and the democracy as the political cacophony of the absolute meaninglessness. In almost all of his dramatic monologues, Browning had taken recourse to lecturing on some particular sermon or doctrine by means of the dramatic characters with a sense of objective detachment. The tendency to teach or moralise or sermonise has finally degenerated into a mere mechanical mannerism which is, doubtless, disastrous to art and poetry. The Victorian poets became, so to say, marked by the artificiality, insincerity, impurity and theatricality which resulted into a birth of what we generally understand by the literary chaos or crisis or tyranny. But the geniality is bound to follow the artificial, the cosmos is bound to be the inevitable aftermath of the chaos and the disorder is sure to give place to the order and that is the automatic law of Nature against which nothing can prevail. Against the background of the literary crisis was a gradual yet conscious revolt to replace poetry to its legitimate throne. It was the last decade of the last nineteenth century that was favoured by the Georgian poets who brought with them certain altogether new and peculiar characteristics. This movement had made for the romantic affinities and was largely marked by a dreamland atmosphere of the tranced aloofness. But it had with it a very dangerous defect which may be called a lack of a satisfying balance between the intellectual equipment and the emotional intensity, mainly because of the undue predominance of the latter over the former. Amidst this general crisis in the field of the English literature, appeared William Butler Yeats who could not extend his hearty welcome to the tyrannical rule

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over literature. It was to him for a double reasoning. His own upbringing was in a direct opposition to his unchallenged acceptance and his own ideal about art and poetry was antagonistic to the English literary tradition. In his early childhood, he was brought up amidst the unspoilt landscape and the unsophisticated peasantry of Ireland. The machine-civilization which thrives well upon the destruction of the human spirit had not, as yet, ravaged their natural and simple life. The Irish peasantry had not, as yet, learnt the deceptive quality of humanity. The gentle and genial impressions that were stamped upon the tablet of his mind by the sincere, passionate, natural and spontaneous peasant life, he could, by no means, abandon with the gradual growth of his age. Again, it is very important to remember that Yeats had formulated, by himself, a set of principles about art and poetry, which he fervently desired to translate into his practical achievements. This is to say, he longed for a very satisfying balance between his theory and his practice. But the background of the contemporary English literature was not at all in favour of the fruition of his cherished desire; because it was for literature an age of crisis or rather a period of decadence. Even so, the English literary tradition, which, as I have already mentioned, had been a final result of the incongruity between the practical realisation and the theoretical proclamation, was not congenial to the immediate realisation of his abstract theorisation. Temperamentally and circumstantially as well, he had to abandon the English literary tradition and look beyond England and found in France what he needed in mind.

This was a very happy coincidence between William Butler Yeats and the French Symbolists like Mallarme, Baudelaire and Valery. This was a sort of natural sympathy between the ideal and the ideal that the Irish and the French poets should meet together. This is a kind of grand lesson for mankind that in the field of ideals, there could hardly stand either narrow provincialism or keen nationalism. This may be possible for the imaginative sympathy and the idealistic unity between them who were closely connected for their theories or ideas about art and poetry. About poetry, Yeats had a definite theory of his own. It was a part of larger experience, which a poet is privileged to realise, by means of his communication with the spiritual world that lies beyond the world of physical sensations; it was a kind of higher truth of the invisible revealed to the poet; the poet is an intermediary between the seen and the unseen and poetry is the record of what is revealed to the poet through his communion with the spiritual, the metaphysical and the invisible. Perhaps, this has been, nowhere, so better expressed than here, in the following statement, made by Yeats himself:

"All art has the purpose of those symbolic talismans which mediaeval magicians made ... complex colours and forms, and bade their pa... ponder over daily and guard with holy secrecy; ... it entangles, in complex colours and forms, a ... of the Divine essence."

This notion, formulated by Yeats, regarding ... theory of poetry, has been closest in affinity ... that of Mallarme, who was similarly concerned ... a special aesthetic experience, almost identical ... the mystic communion of a saint with God, and ... sought, again, to convey, through the language of ... poetry, that supernatural experience beyond the p... cal world. Similar is the notion of Baudelaire, ... indicated in his sonnet, 'Correspondences':

"La Nature est un temple on de vivants piliers
Laissent parfois Sortir de confuses paroles;
L'homme y passe a travers des forets de symbole
Qui l' observent avec des regards familiers.

"Comme de longs echos qui de loin se confonden
Dans une tenebreuse et profounde unite
Vaste comme la unit et comme la clarte
Les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se responden

Briefly, it may well be concluded that all apocalyptic poems and mystical literature are ... more deeply interfused with a sense of the spir... beyond the jurisdiction of the material and wit... this mystic apprehension, they become absol... hopeless and utterly meaningless.

A symbolist poet is a pendulum between ... selection and the rejection. All subjects, how... attractive or popular they might be, may not be ... a royal invitation by the symbolists. The realistic ... scientific notion of art is in complete hostility with ... symbolist imagination, because this very view of ... is a definite denial to the contemplative ideal w... which is the very central truth of the symb... mysticism. William Butler Yeats has very deliber... advanced a list of the forbidden themes to the ... of symbolism:

"A return to the way of our fathers, a cas... out of descriptions of nature for the sake of na... of the moral law for the sake of the moral la... casting-out of all anecdotes and of that broa... over scientific opinion that so often extingu... the central flame in Tennyson and of that v... mence that would make us do or not do cer... things."

This very idea about the forbidden themes ... also been inculcated, with a fuller emphasis by ... Valery:

"L'historic, la science, ni la morale, ne gag... point a etre exposus le langage de l'ame. La f... didactique, le poeme historique on l' epo... quioique illustrees et consacrees far les plus gr...

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poetes, combinent etrangement les donnees de la connaissance discursive on empirique, avec les creations de l'etre intime et les puissances de l'emotion."

Yeats and Valery have, both in their arguments, made a terrible warning to the omnivorous capacity of those poets who think anything or everything to be the worthy subject of their creative imagination. But Yeats had been more generous and liberal in limiting the range of his subjects. He admits anything having the poetic possibility may be recommended as the poetic materials and even the politics which the French Symbolist like Mallarme had abhorred with all of his vehemence may not be omitted from the field of the real poetry, provided the poet knows his responsibility fully well.

William Butler Yeats has made a distinction of his symbols into the emotional and the intellectual. By means of the emotional symbol, he has meant to suggest an indefinite power of intensity which can exalt, enthuse, inspire and transpire, and instantaneously creates an atmosphere of tranced aloofness. Perhaps, nowhere so briefly, clearly and pregnantly has he expressed the very exact nature of his emotional symbol as here in his own statement:

"All sounds, all colours, all forms, either because of their pre-ordained energies, or because of their long associations, evoke indefinable and yet precise emotions, or as I prefer to think, call down among us certain disembodied spiritual powers, whose foot-steps over our hearts we call emotions and when sound and colour and form are in a musical relation, a beautiful relation to one another, they become, as it were, one sound, one colour, one form, and evoke an emotion that is made out of their distinct evocations and yet is one emotion."

This emotional symbol of Yeats has, at least, one great advantage over the French symbolist like Mallarme in particular, who was exclusively concerned with his aesthetic experience, pure joy and ideal beauty beyond the physical world. Perhaps, the greatest weakness of Mallarme is the undue advantage of his obscurity. His metaphysical apprehensions or intuitions are essentially mysterious, personal, private and confidential. The very technique of communicating them to the readers has also tended to make them all the more obscure and unintelligible. He had made no attempt to analyse, or explain the mysteries of his thought-contents by referring them to the common, matter-of-fact and the physical world. The final result has made him an unfortunate victim to obscurity more than required of every poetic achievement, because of the fact that obscurity is the inevitable and undeniable condition of all art and poetry. But Yeats has been fortunately excused of this sense of over-obscurity of his emotional symbols, because he has brought them closer to the ordinary, limited the use of symbols exclusively to the expression of the emotions and isolated the emotions as the special field for the symbols.

"I will arise and go now and go to Innisfree,
And a small cabin build there, of clay and wattles made
Nine bean-rows will I have there, a hive for the honey-bee
And live alone in the bee-loud glade."
—*The Lake Isle of Innisfree.*

Perhaps, nowhere so well has been expressed the emotional intensity of home-sickness as here in this particular poem. The language has been surcharged with the emotional evocation and intensity of feeling. In spite of its geographical ambiguities, the Lake Isle of Innisfree has been the emotional symbol of ideal land for the poet to escape into it for the enjoyment of the better and the purer life.

The symbol of Yeats becomes all the more emotional especially when he writes about the Rose in particular and in his factory the Rose produces an effect which is, in the main, emotional in intensity when the Rose stands for the symbol of the spiritual love and the ideal beauty:

"Far-off, most secret, and inviolate Rose,
Enfold me in my hour of hours; where those
Who sought thee in the Holy Sepulchre,
Or in the wine-vat, dwell beyond the stir
And tumult of defeated dreams."
—*The Secret Rose*

An oppressive consciousness to the frets and fevers of modern life and a consequent fervent longing to escape from them by retiring into a primitive life away from the machine-civilization has been very frequently struck by the poets of today. Mathew Arnold has struck this note of weariness in his poem, "The Scholar Gipsy" and suggested happiness in a simpler and more primitive life:

"But fly over paths, over feverish contact fly!
* * * *
Thy hopes grow timorous and unfixed thy powers,
And thy clear aims be cross and shifting made
And then thy glad perennial youth would fade
Fade and grow old at last, and die like ours."

Likewise, William Butler Yeats suggests that the human child would escape the ferment of the woes and miseries of the mortals:

"Come away, O human child!
To the waters and the wild
With a faery, band in band
For the world's more full of weeping than you can understand."
—*The Stolen Child.*

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The fairyland, unhaunted by the fretting of the present, is an emotional symbol for the ideal land of bliss and happiness and beatitude.

There had been a conscious revolt for underrating the emotional symbols of Yeats who sought to create an atmosphere of escape-art in his earlier days when he used to live alone in his "Ivory Tower" where the echoes of the busy world would pass with gentle and delicate involutions. The hostile critics are of opinion that a deliberate respect for the emotional exuberance necessarily involves an unreasonable allowance to the sentimental nonsense divorced from the active life and its clamorous facts. In the language of Compton Rickett who has observed, "Mr. Yeats is essentially a dreamer and his dreams seem wrought out of

"The dreams the drowsy gods
Breathe on the burnished mirror of the world
And then smooth out with loving hands and sigh."

The critical attitude, thus made against Yeats, tends to betray definitely enough, a lack of penetration and depth of understanding. It is, really, too shallow and too hollow. Art is not an escape from life, rather it is an escape into life, higher, better, nobler and wiser. An artist is a creature, not only of higher truth and greater reality, but also of his own environmental consciousness which, sometimes, proves itself terribly against him and makes him restless and comfortless. He fervently longs for an emotional and imaginative flight into a more comfortable world to live alone, talk alone and carve alone his verses. This sense of aloneness approximates largely the tranced aloofness to be artistically identified with a proneness to the aristocratic habit of living of an artist, out of his irresponsible imagination to the crowd around. Art is an instinctive shell through which the artist must flow out his inspirational intensity and seek out his aesthetic affirmation.

For a decent life, a normal man requires, not only the art of science, but also the art of living, and the best experience of life is enjoyed only when both of them meet together. Hence, the importance of the escape art for the larger humanity in thought. Man is not an animal to remain satisfied with his physical gratifications; but he is gifted with a soul which requires for his appeasement something that cannot be adequately defined. This eternal craving of human soul for something indefinite, remote, unattainable, wistful and nostalgic has very well been expressed by Keats:

"Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,
She stood in tears amid the alien corn;
The same that oft-times hath
Charmed magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery land forlorn."

—*To A Nightingale*

Auden is highly appreciative:

"There must always be two kinds of escape art, for man needs escape as he needs and deep sleep; and a parable art, that art shall teach man to unlearn hatred and to love. High-browism, well, another term, which with escapism, Ivory Tower and unsocial art. artist like every other kind of high-brow is conscious, that is to say, he is all the time every one is some of the time, a man who is rather than passive to his experience."

Macneice adds to the Audenesque appreciation:

"Yeats' early poems which many would as typical escape-poetry, were very much erated with real life than the beery puerilities Messrs. Chesterton and Belloc."

About the intellectual symbols, Yeats has remarked:

"There are intellectual symbols, symbols evoke ideas alone or ideas mingled with emo . . . If I say, 'white' or 'purple' in an or line of poetry; they evoke emotions so excl that I cannot say why they move me; but bring them into the same sentence with obvious intellectual symbols as a cross or a of thorns, I think of purity or sovere Furthermore, innumerable meanings, which are to 'white' or to 'purple' by bonds of subtle gestions, alike in the emotions and in the in move visibly through my mind and move visibly beyond the threshold of sleep, casting and shadows of an indefinable wisdom on wh seemed before, it may be, but sterility and violence."

Mallarme could not contribute to this idea intellectual symbols for which Yeats had a regard. Mallarme confused the possible distinc between music and poetry, he believed the effect of music could be easily achieved poetry. It was a belief, not only with him, but with the French symbolists in general. To the was a glorious task to achieve in poetry what a musician, say Wagner, could achieve out of musical notes. This desire to attain the musical tions in the poetic creations was confined, not only France, but also it went beyond to Germany England. While glorifying music and its possi in adequate measure, Verlaine writes out:

"De la musique encore et tonjowis
Que ton vers soit la chose envolee
Qu'on sent qui fuit, d'une ame en allee
Vers d'antres cieux a' d'antres amours.

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"Que ton vers soit la bonne aventure
Eparse au vent crispe due matin
Qui va fleurant la menthe et le thym
Et tout le reste est litterature."

And while attempting to conclude that there is very little distinction between music and poetry, Mallarme says:

"Quir lindiscuttable rayon—comm les traits deront et dechirent un meandre de melodies: On la Musique rejoint le Vers pour former, dequis Wagner, la Poesie."

But both Mallarme and Verlaine are wrong. The endeavours to bring to poetry what is exclusively the right of music is an utter impossibility. However melodious in purity and musical in sonority, poetry may be, it can never hope to usurp the honours of a musician. Poetry is a congregation of words, words are the jewels in poetry and the poet is a jeweller. Just as a jeweller hammers out his spades for the purpose of ornamenting his jewels, so also the poet twists his words and impregnates them with ideas. Words are limited in meaning and that words cannot be divorced from their associative meaning is an unalterable truth. Mallarme failed to understand this important truth which Yeats understood well enough. Therefore, his theory about the intellectual symbols, or the symbols of ideas, carries depth and validity and proves itself more encouraging and more advantageous over the French symbolists in general and Mallarme in particular.

About the influences working upon the marked change of Yeats from the emotional to the intellectual symbolic style, Mr. Henn has concluded:

"The beginning of the change in style, is usually ascribed to the period 1910-1912; his phrase 'years afterwards,' is deliberately vague. It should be linked to what he called the 'Body of Fate,' physical circumstance, such as, the friendship with Synge, the political embroilments of 1909-1914, the reading of metaphysical poetry, the love and bitterness from his affair with Mand Gonne, as much as to any deliberate assumption of a new role; although in view of his highly conscious artistry this aspect cannot be overlooked. But statements, such as, these are of interest in considering his conception of style."

There is no shade of doubt that Mr. Henn has emphasised, within this narrow compass, all the important factors, responsible for the development of the later manner or style which led Yeats to his intellectual symbolic representation of thought and conception. Yet Mr. Henn has made a very grand omission which none can ignore while evaluating the importance of the latest style of Yeats. Really it is very unfortunate of Mr. Henn that nowhere has he touched upon the Indian influence, the importance of which Yeats himself has frankly acknowledged and which may be regarded, "in considering his conception of style," not less important than any of the factors, which Mr. Henn has mentioned. I propose here to discuss this much-neglected yet very powerful aspect which contributed largely to the development of his intellectual symbolism.

In one of his letters to Rabindranath Tagore, Yeats wrote to his great friend, in 1931, from the new tower which has, now, been the only symbol of his intellectual solitude:

"Since we met, I have married. I have now two children, a boy and a girl and feel more knitted into life; and life, when I think of it, as separated from all that is not itself, from all that is complicated and mechanical, takes to my imagination an Asiatic form. That form I found first in your books and afterwards in certain Chinese poetry and Japanese prose writers. What an excitement it was this first reading of your poems, which seemed to come out of the fields and the rivers, and have their changelessness."

"High-sorrowing songs, a tranced aloofness and a bitter mysticism ruffled into inwardness by trafficking events had led Yeats to a new door of imagination." Yeats had come down from the "Ivory Tower" and climbed up the "Winding Stair" and learnt the art of facing the world. The phrase "knitted into life," used by Yeats in his letter to Tagore and the influence which Yeats got from Tagore's poems led Yeats to the new door of intellectual relevance and gave him the impact of how to interweave life with the very texture of art and hence his very significant declaration:

"Now I shall make my soul
Compelling it to study
In a learned school
Till the wreck of body
Slow decay of blood
Testy delirium
Or dull decrepitude."
—*The Tower.*

and he began to load his imagination with facts and therefore:

"I declare this tower is my symbol; I declare
This winding, gyring, spiring treadmill of a
stair is my ancestral stair
That Goldsmith and the Dean, Berkeley and
Burke have travelled there."
—*Blood and the Moon.*

The tower which has now been the intellectual symbol with Yeats has been used for as many purposes as he could manage:

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"I summon to the winding ancient stair
Set all your mind upon the steep ascent
Upon the broken crumbling battlement
Upon the breathless starlit air
Upon the Star that marks the hidden pole."
—*A Dialogue of Self and Soul.*

The most characteristic feature of his intellectual style has, perhaps, nowhere, been so well expressed as here:

"Before I am old
I shall have written him one
Poem may be as cold
As passionate as the dawn."
—*The Fisherman.*

Perhaps, the best example of his latest style:

"Although I can see him still
The freckled man who goes
To a grey place on a hill
In Grey Connemara clothes
At dawn to cast his flies
It's long since I began
To call up to the eyes
This wise and simple man."
—*The Fisherman.*

The earlier Yeats might have embroidered "the fisherman" with Gaelic legends and thus might have described him as a mystic figure. But the later Yeats has discarded all of those extra foliages and described "the fisherman" as he is, because Yeats is, now, "knitted into life."

"Poetry is made with the poet's quarrel with himself," says Yeats and there could be no better illustration of the practical application of this theory than Yeats who has himself been an excellent "quarrel" between the soul and the self, betwen the heart and the mind, between the poet and the philosopher. In this battle, he has temporarily submitted to the altar of the philosopher in him. With Yeats, philosophy has not meant merely a hard and abstract system of theories or principles, rather it was a kind of profound meditative reflectiveness over the universe. To this direction of his philosophic inclination, Yeats was, doubtlessly, influenced by the Buddhistic system of the Indian philosophy, which gives much stress upon the annihilation of the body and the flesh and the attainment of *nirvana* through the purer contemplation of the exact relation between the earth and the individual. The greater realisation of the absolute nothingness of the physical world which is no better than a mere appearance or an illusion or a mirage leads man to the spiritual comprehension of the Oneness of the Supreme Reality beyond Time and Space. Yeats believed that this Ultimate Eternal Reality be attained through the intellectual effort and his farewell to Muse:

"It seems that I must bid the Muse go back
Choose Plato and Plotinus for a friend,
Until imagination, ear and eye,
Can be content with argument and deal
With abstract things."

and, therefore,

"A starlit or a moonlit dome disdains
All that man is
All mere complexities
The fury and the mire of human veins."
—*Byzantium.*

and, again,

"Though leaves are many, the root is one
Through all the lying days of my youth,
I swayed my leaves and flowers in the sun
Now I may wither into the truth."

But the eternal poet in Yeats triumphs over philosopher in him and therefore, there is no wi of the truth:

"Never had I more
Excited, passionate and fantastical,
In imagination, nor an ear and eye,
That more expected the impossible."
—*The Tower*

and the poet in him becomes pleased enough in the new tower of his imagination:

"I am content to live it all again,
When such as I cast out all remorse,
So great a sweetness flows into the breast
We must laugh and we must sing,
We are blest by everything.
Everything we look upon is blest."
—*A Dialogue of Self and So*

The poet in Yeats finally accepts the world is and attains to "an astringent joy and hardin means of his power to transcend the world of limitations. This supreme power of art brings nearest to the Shakespearean air of circum which enables an artist to enjoy the intensity unique experience of rare moment.

". . . From this romantic dreaming one could have foretold that Yeats would into a strong personality. He seemed to himself of individual characteristics and sunk himself in scenes of fairy life.

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melancholy which pervaded this and the next volume, *The Countess Cathleen* (1893), seemed more like the reflection of some universal Celtic despair than the personal feelings of a young poet. At this period, Yeats looked like a good pupil of William Morris, a poet of escape, the singer of music, 'in the deep heart's core,' but not in any way typical of new movements and new ideals. He might well have stayed in this manner and repeated the success which he won with 'The Lake Isle of Innisfree,' if he had not come to London and heard the call of new ideas in the air."

In spite of many truths which Mr. Bowra has ounded in this particular passage, and which must ecessarily be sounded as regards Yeats, he has very nfortunately committed three great errors for which, e can never be excused.

"From this romantic dreaming verse, no one could ave foretold that Yeats would develop into a strong ersonality." But morning shows the day as childhood nows the man. It would be wrong to suppose that eats in his full maturity was compensated for the ss of legendary dreams by realism, or that his Celtic wilight days were untouched by the thirst for nowledge. The poetry of Yeats never admitted this nonism or the watertight compartment between his arlier and later developments.

"He might well have stayed in this manner." But he poets can never arrive, unless a greater circumtance is imposed upon them from above. It would ppear to us that Mr. Bowra is one of those theorists who want to find out the terminal points in art and oetry. But otherwise is the practice and different is he experience.

"If he had not come to London and heard the all of the new ideas in the air." But merely influence s unproductive; it requires for its virility the fertlity f the soil; however powerful or favourable the exteral influence may be, a land divorced from fertility annot yield crops; influence may appear helpful to he outward development of only what has already een dormant or it may be helpful to the germ, lready in existence, to grow into a flourishing tree. is, therefore, far better to say that the germs of "a rong personality" had already been in the mind of eats, it was just germinating in his "romantic dream- verse," and "the call of new ideas in the air" was st a favourable climate for the fuller development the "strong personality," dormant in him.

In this part of my discussion, I would propose to ove that one could have foretold, "Yeats would evelop into a strong personality" even "from his romantic dreaming verse"; Yeats might not "well have stayed in this manner" and "the call of the new ideas in the air" could not have received any response from Yeats, had there not already been in existence the germs of "the strong personality" in his earlier verse.

Yeats who dreamt, "a Druid dream of the end of days," lived till the last and saw

"Under the boughs of love and hate
In all poor foolish things that live for a day
Eternal beauty wandering on her way."
—*The Rose.*

Charming us in many of his latest songs like,

"Seek out reality, leave things that seem"
—*Vacillation.*

"The aesthetic mysticism" which is characteristically important of his later period, as clearly indicated by his "Supernatural Poems" in "A Full Moon in March" has much earlier been suggested in his earlier verse:

"My rhymes more than their rhyming tell
Of things discovered in the deep
Where only body's laid asleep."
—*To Ireland in The Coming Times.*

"The spiritual identification" which we much admire in his later period as revealed by "Words For Music Perhaps" has already found its parallelism in his earlier poem:

"I have been many things
A green drop in the surge, a gleam of light
Upon a sword, a fire-tree on a hill
And old slave grinding at a heavy quern
A king sitting upon a chair of gold
And all these things were wonderful and great."
—*Fergus and the Druid.*

Therefore, the argument—"From this romantic dreaming, no one could have foretold that Yeats would develop into a strong personality"—carries no weight or validity. In our conclusion, the later development of Yeats is no more or no less than the natural and inevitable prolongation of the earlier germination. Hence, the significance of the argument of Macnaece:

"Mr. Yeats is the best example of how a poet ought to develop if he goes on writing till he is old. I am not one of those who have nothing to say for his earlier poems and everything to say for his later poems. He is a fine case of identity in difference."

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THE ANCIENT INDIAN ART TRADITION

By Prof. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.,
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The development and progress of Art is a very accurate index of the evolution and culture of a society. A study of Ancient Indian art tradition is useful as it suggests to what glorious heights the culture of Ancient India had risen. It is a tradition worthy of a great country, of a great people, holding still greater promises for the future.

Art in Ancient India was resplendent and replete with life. Life, in all its aspects, and in all its glory, was the main object of Art. Art is life. It is not a blind copy of life, but a sensible appreciation of it. Emerson, the American sage, once wrote:

> "There is, in every nation, a style which never becomes obsolete."[1]

In India, this characteristic style was to manifest India's wonderful religiosity and divinity. Art has been the hand-maid of religion. Its main endeavour has been to familiarise on earth the best gifts of religion. If everyday life was mundane, the life depicted in art aspired to be something higher and nobler than this. It does not mean that art was not true to life. It simply means that although the mundane everyday life was depicted, it was not depicted as just ordinary common-place life, but as something uncommon. Ordinary everyday life was portrayed in an extraordinary manner with religious motifs, ideals, and symbols. Thus Art idealised life and gave it a new dignity and divinity, for life to the Ancient Indians was divine and sacred. All people were 'the children of the immortal' *Amritasya Putrah.*[2] The object of Art was to elevate, never degrade mankind. One might say with Wordsworth that it shed 'A Light that never was on Sea or Land.' The famous French critic, Buffon, says: "Le style c'est l'homme" or "The style is the man." Here we may say 'The style is the nation,' for, in most cases we do not know the individual artists, we only know the school to which a particular art belongs. It is interesting to note that this feature of our past art tradition to create something more than ordinary everyday life finds support with the famous contemporary European critic Romain Rolland, who writes: "C'est le role de l'artiste de creer le Soleil, lorsqu'il n'y en a pas."[3] That is to say, 'It is the role of the artist to create the sun (star), when it is not there.'

That the Ancient Indian art tradition was fully mature and had a long period of historical growth becomes clear by a study of its technique. It is also clear that this art was extremely well disc... There was no immaturity about it. Thus Va... lays down the rule:

> *"Rupaveda pramanani bhava lavanya yo... shadrisham varnika vanga iti chitram sadang...*

The six canons stressed: 1. knowledge of ... ance, 2. correct perception, measure and str... 3. action of feeling on forms, 4. adding grace to ... artistic representation, 5. similitude, and 6. ... technique in handling the brush and colours. A... to deal with the various *mudras* and the famou... *rasas*: *Sringara* (Love), *Hasya* (Humour), ... (Sympathy), *Vira* (Heroic), *Rudra* (Furious), ... *naka* (Terrifying), *Vibhatsa* (Disgusting), ... (Wonderful), and *Santa* (Peaceful). Thus the... artistic discipline at every stage. Art chose ... disciplined in its own peculiar way. The artist w... disciplined. He must be a *Yogi, Brahma*, the s... artist, who created the Universe was the s... *Yogi*. All work of art and superior creation mus... ceed from the highest discipline of the mind, ... Jeannine Auboyer gives expression to it by s...

> *Intermediaire entre l'humanite et la di... l'artiste etait une sorte de pretre . . .*[4]

That is to say, 'Intervening between Hu... and Divinity the Artist was a sort of Priest.' He was the high-priest of Art.

Another important feature of this wonderf... tradition was its profound unity. It stood for ... it encouraged unity, and it was rooted in uni... familiar art motif was to depict the union of *P...* and *Prakriti*, which being the source of all lif... presented the great 'unity' of life itself. No... this. The union of the Greek and Hindu art ... tions in Gandhara, of the Scythian and Hindu ... traditions in Mathura, of the Northern and So... art traditions in the Andhradesha, and of the ... of Jain, Buddhist, and Hindu art traditions in ... Ellora, Badami, Barhut, Sanchi, and many ot... stances form a unique feature of artistic unity. G... expression to this wonderful unity in Indian as ... Oriental Art, the celebrated French historian ... critic Jeannine Auboyer writes:

> "En Occident la culture greco-latine a ... a considerer le domaine de l'art comme la ... de plusieurs arts soigneusement compartim... . . . En Extreme-Orient au contraire, les di... branches de l'art sont solidaires les unes des ... et ne sont intelligibles que l'une par l'autre. ... en quelque sorte, un art total. L'unite profon...

1. *The Basic Writing of America's Sage*: By Lindeman. Chapter on Art and Criticism, p. 117.
2. *Svetasvataropanishad*, II, 5.
3. Romain Rolland: *Jean Christophe—Las Foire Sur la Place.*
4. Jeannine Auboyer: *Les Arts de l'Ext... orient*, pp. 6-7.

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l'art extreme-Oriental reside dans son etroite connexion avec l'univers."[5]

That is, 'In the West the Graeco-Latin culture is habituated to consider the domain of Art as the reunion of several arts carefully compartmentalised. . . . In the Far East, on the contrary, the different branches of Art are conjointly liable the one to the others, and are not intelligible other than the one with reference to the others. It is in some sort, a total Art. The profound unity of the Far Eastern Art resides in its intimate connection with the Universe.'

Although discipline was a peculiar feature of this Art, it had a considerable amount of creative freedom, and daring originality. Thus, with great insight, Mr. Henri Martin writes:

"L'originalite, la variete, le mysticisme sont les trois caracteres generaux de l'art Indien."[6]

That is, 'Originality, variety, and mysticism are the three general characteristics of Indian Art.'

Indeed, without liberty and progress there can be no Art. The famous Beethoven used to say:

"La liberte et le progres sont le but dans l'art, comme dans la vie tout entiere."[7] Or, 'Liberty and progress form the goal in Art as in entire life.'

It shows the release of the human spirit in a thousand creations of art. This freedom expressed in the 'daring romanticism' of Ajanta art, which Miss Christiana. J. Harringham called 'amazing and unique,' produced an art for which there is no parallel in world history. It is 'throbbing with vitality and action,' pulsating with life. This freedom combined with the language of symbolism, and in the service of religion and philosophy created wonders. This freedom in its own joy of creation, sometimes so far forgot itself as to verge on madness even. "Great Art is as irrational as great music. It is mad with its own loveliness."[8] Henry Martin writes:

"Quant a la sculpture ornementale, elle semble animee d'une sorte de frenesie."[9] That is, 'As to ornamental sculpture it seems to be animated with a sort of frenzy (madness).'

Art had complete freedom. But no licence of any sort. Freedom was used with philosophic detachment. "The fly that touches honey cannot use its wings."[10] So the artists who in Khajuraho, Bhubaneshwar and other places depicted life in all its aspects and with astounding frankness, were themselves not commonplace mediocres, but high-priests of art. Their object was, in all probability, to sublimate what is commonplace, ignoble, and even vulgar in life.

Thus the study of the Ancient Indian Art tradition is both inspiring and instructive. This wonderful art tradition with its great unity, and its sublimated aesthetic sense, has inspired the artists and students of art in this country from time immemorial, and will do so for all time to come.

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5. *Ibid*, p. 5.
6. Henry Martin: *L'art Indien et L'art Chinois*, p. 5.
7. Quoted in—Romain Rolland: *Vie de Beethoven.*
8. George Jean Nathan: *House of Satan.*
9. Henry Martin: *L'art Indien et L'art Chinois*, p. 5.
10. *St. John of the Cross.* Quoted in Aldous Huxley: *Perennial Philosophy*, p. 294.

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STEFAN ZWEIG AND EMIL LUDWIG
A Study in Contrast

By Dr. V. S. NARAVANE

On the twenty-third of February the world of letters commemorates one of its gloomiest anniversaries. It was on this day, fifteen years ago, that Stefan Zweig and his wife departed from life of their own free will.

Why did Zweig choose the path of Chatterton and Ernst Toller, of Mayakovsky and Virginia Woolf? To his readers, millions of them in thirty languages, he had come to represent all that is positive and affirmative. In his personal life he was certainly no misanthrope. Perhaps, no other writer had such an enviable set of friends as Zweig had. Rilke and Hoffmansthal, Freud and Adler, Verhaeren and Andre Gide, Richard Strauss and Toscanini, Romain Rolland and Maxim Gorky, Henry Barbusse and Upton Sinclair—such are the names that recur again and again in his autobiography. And from all these distinguished friends he received not merely the praise that flatters but also the love that satisfies.

Nor did he work under duress, driven by want. He wrote because he enjoyed writing. If he had suffered under Fascism, others had suffered much more. At any rate he had escaped the ghetto, the concentration camp, the bailif's court. Why, then, did this doyen among humanists embrace the negative solution?

This is no ordinary mystery, just as Zweig himself was no ordinary individual. The psychology of suicide is as ambiguous as the metaphysic of existence itself. Rash, indeed, would be the critic who claims to unravel the precise sources of Zweig's despair from a study of his works. Nevertheless, if one delves underneath the verve and animation, even the exuberance of his writings, one does feel that there is something 'not right,' some imbalance somewhere, an undertone of doubt that can be far more shattering than downright agony.

To understand this doubt in its completeness, one must look at Zweig primarily as a biographer. Without detracting from the immense power of his novels and stories, it will be conceded that his fame will endure longest as a biographer. The only other biographer of our age whose works have given pleasure to so large a number of readers, is Emil Ludwig, perhaps, closely followed by Andre Maurois. But, whereas all the biographies written by Zweig are also partially autobiographies, there is very little of Ludwig himself in his works. Zweig's pessimism—perhaps, it would be more accurate to call it sadness—is reflected in his choice of themes no less than his treatment of the subjects chosen. On the contrary, the twenty volumes of Ludwig tell us very little about his own world-view, or even his basic attitudes.

The contrast between Stefan Zweig and Emil Ludwig is, in fact, one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of modern literature.

Limitations of a 'Portraitist'

In the early thirties Emil Ludwig's fame was at its highest. Nor would it be fair to deny either his range or his flair as a narrator. Goethe and Bismarck, Napoleon and Jesus, Stein and William the Second, Voltaire and Rembrandt—there seemed to be no limit to his interests. And if the biographer's task is to make his subject live, to retain the drama and conjure up the atmosphere of a vanished age, Emil Ludwig's worldwide popularity was well-deserved.

Moreover, he treated his heroes with abundant sympathy, and this came as a welcome relief from the aloofness of the 'objective' biographer. Ludwig demanded, and rightly, a measure of reverence without which no historical personage can attain stature; and the reader, in his gratitude for the excellent fare offered, mustered the reverence asked for.

But, when we have said all this, we have, perhaps, exhausted Ludwig's strong points. He can be interesting, even gripping at times, but one rarely returns to his books. One feels that only the surface layers of a personality have been uncovered. The stage is elaborate, the settings lavish, but the inner drama does not register. We have a strange foreboding, after reading the first few chapters, that the essentials are being kept back from us. Take the study of Goethe: it is, undoubtedly, fascinating to be told why Lili was supplanted by Charlotte in the poet's affections; but surely it would be more satisfying to be told why the Mephisto of the later "Faust" is so different. Likewise, we are intrigued to find Napoleon, while still a student at Brienne, noting down details about the island of St. Helena in his diary. The irony of history, revealed in such episodes, haunts us like something out of Sophocles. And yet the six words uttered by Hegel—"I saw the Absolute on horseback"—tell us more about the meaning of the Napoleonic drama than the four hundred pages of Ludwig's book.

The fact is—and here the contrast with Zweig is most clearly seen—that Ludwig is content with being a portraitist. Nor does he conceal his aim. Again and again he tells us that he is attempting a profile. For when he draws the full face, however, it is flat like a photograph taken with a blazing sun behind the camera. The shadows have been eliminated, and the details show in all their disconcerting sharpness. The picture lacks modelling and is, therefore, incomplete. Stefan Zweig, on the contrary, never leaves out the third dimension, even though the focussing may not be so sharp. He is, we feel, not a portraitist at all, but a sculptor of rare insight. And let us remember that the medium in which he sculpts is more resilient than

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marble, more plastic than clay, more obedient than ebony—for he is a sculptor in words!

Some Favourite Devices

But let us return to Ludwig for a little while. Let us see something of his technique, his methods. In his introduction to *Genius and Character,* Ludwig openly proclaims himself a disciple of Plutarch's, and quotes with relish the latter's words: "I record, not history, but human destiny." No clearer analysis could have been made of Ludwig's own deficiencies. He is haunted by the concept of destiny; and since many of his subjects were essentially the products of historical forces, his impatience with the facts of history lands the writer into dangerous stratagems. For the idea of destiny is like a packing-case on which the words "Glass—with care" have been printed in bold letters. Ludwig ignores the warning and treats this brittle commodity with recklessness. For the sake of the drama that is associated with the 'sense of destiny,' he is prepared to set his facts to forced labour.

One of his favourite devices is the use of the present tense. To speak of a historical figure in terms of 'there he sits,' 'now he thinks of his childhood,' and so on, creates an illusion of reality, at least of contemporaneity. Ludwig's *Napoleon* opens with the sentence: "A young woman is sitting in a tent, wrapped in a shawl." His *Goethe* opens thus: "In a fancy-shop at Leipzig stands a sixteen-year-old student, choosing among powder-puffs and ribbons." The study of Balzac begins with these pen-pictures:

"The garret lies in the silence of the night; the oil-lamp is burning on the broad table; behind the green shade a man with an enormous head is bent over his papers."

In hands, less skilful than Ludwig's, a device like this would be transparently puerile. The veil of Time can be drawn only by a creative act of imagination, not by changing tenses.

Another stratagem is the use of contrasts. Here again Ludwig endorses the Plutarchian practice of contrasting a Roman with a Greek, and comments:

"By matching a Roman with a Greek, Plutarch can make evaluations totally devoid of prejudice."

He forgets that to be 'totally devoid of prejudice' may sometimes be the result of a total absence of any philosophy of life.

Incidentally, others too seem to have followed Ludwig's advice. John Cournos's biographical studies are collected in a volume entitled *A Modern Plutarch.* Here Anatole France has been 'matched' with Mark Twain, Gauguin with Thoreau, George Sand with George Eliot. The results are ludicrous in the extreme. Janko Lavrin uses somewhat the same method in his study of the French and Russian novelists, with better success, be it conceded. Now, granting that the method may help bring out sharply certain features of character, its repeated use can only lead to forced and far-fetched conclusions, as witness Ludwig's own "matching" of Goethe with Schiller.

By transcending these devices and brushing aside the outworn Plutarchian approach, Stefan Zweig surpasses Emil Ludwig in every essential department of the biographer's art. This does not mean that the latter was not successful in his own way. Perhaps, his greatness lay just in this—that he *could* use these devices without slipping into banality. But Zweig's greatness lay in having dispensed with them.

The Significance of Zweig's Themes

And now, perhaps, we are better equipped to take a closer look at Stefan Zweig's work as a biographer. Just because he is interested in the deeper conflicts that converge upon the lives of exceptional individuals, just because his approach is psychological rather than descriptive, Zweig has no need either to dramatise or to search for anecdotes. With supreme confidence he steers clear of the two extremes represented by the scientific biographer at one end and the historical novelist at the other. Unlike the former, he is not obsessed with facts for their own sake, facts which are no better than statistics, facts which bear no intrinsic relationship with the individual's psychological development. Unlike the latter, he takes no liberties, he is painstakingly accurate. And unlike both of them he condenses his material, reduces it to the very minimum. Prolixity he avoids like poison. "Today I am supremely happy," he once wrote to a friend, "for I have just cut down a paragraph."

The choice of his themes is anything but accidental. He is not drawn towards a character simply through a passing whim, or through a chance encounter in the corridors of history. His characters are the media of his own self-expression. To understand his pervasive melancholy one must note with utmost clarity the significance of his subjects. If we try and call up the central figures of Zweig's biographical works, what a gloomy procession will emerge! None of these can be described as a fundamentally care-free individual. In every case there is greatness, or at least distinctiveness; but there is also something that oppresses, something that weighs down. Whom do we find in the world of Stefan Zweig? We find Balzac, a veritable Prometheus chained to his desk, with the vulture of usury plucking his liver out; Verlaine, ending his days in a mental clinic; Nietzsche, burning himself out in the flame of his own intellectual energy; Stendhal, born a century too soon, disdainfully rebuffed; Fouche, history's most conscientious turncoat, developing betrayal into a fine art, ending his last days brooding over his own countless treacheries; Marie Antoinette and Marie of Scotland, tragedies of parasitic royalty and dynastic jealousy; Castellio, greatest of free thinkers, hounded to his destruction and burnt alive by Calvin; Dostoievsky, prince among epileptics,

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victim of his own spiritual earthquakes; and above all, Erasmus.

It is in his *Erasmus* that we find the art of Stefan Zweig brought to bear, with amazing penetration, on a subject that had a truly personal appeal for him. It will be no exaggeration to say that this book tells us, in some respects, even more about Zweig than his autobiography, *The World of Yesterday*. The affinities between the great fifteenth-century rationalist and his twentieth-century biographer are patent. Like Zweig himself, Erasmus lived in an age of great progress and great misery, of science and unreason, of knowledge and superstition, of kindness and cruelty; an age of soaring hope and black despair; a baffling, self-contradictory age. Again like Zweig, Erasmus was a conscious cosmopolitan, a humanist, a pacifist in an epoch of perpetual warfare, a man who refused to align himself with dogmatists of any camp, who refused to accept that fanaticism of one sort can best be nullified by putting in its place fanaticism of some other species. "To burn a man because he does not agree with you," said Erasmus, "does not gain you an adherent. It only kills a man!"

Like Stefan Zweig, again Erasmus was not a hero; nor was he a martyr or a leader. His actual influence was negligible. His voice did not prevail. Like Socrates before him and Spinoza after him, he was vanquished and, what is more, he knew it.

> "History, however, has no patience with the vanquished. She is partial to men of passion, to the immoderate, to the adventurers. No wonder then, that on the immense canvas of Reformation Europe Erasmus occupies a back place."

We do not see him bound to the martyr's stake, his face is not disfigured by passion; he is armed with no sword; he mounts no pulpits and stirs no multitudes. "And so history pities this quiet servitor of humanities, and passes him by with her nose in the air."

Such was the tragedy of Erasmus, and also of Stefan Zweig. History pitied the one, and there is every indication that she will soon pity the other. Unlike his predecessor, however, Zweig refused to wait for pity. He dreaded it much more than sorrow, even failure. "Beware of pity," he had warned his friend, and, rather than face it, took a decision which, though it cannot be condoned—can at least be partially understood.

———:O:———

GURU NANAK
(1469—1539)

By Prof. BALWANT SINGH, M.A.

Guru Nanak's was India's hoary, time-hallowed gospel of God-realisation and self-perfection, through the Yoga of *Simran, Japa* or *Nam,* as Guru Nanak loves to call it. It is a technique and a way of life for self-realisation and self-divinisation, amid the flood of physical activity. Not the renunciation of the world but renunciation of desires, passions and attachments, that is, living the life of the spirit on earth as householders, is the essence of his gospel. The recognition of Brahma or God as one's Self and the Self of the universe and of all beings, finds constant expression in his poetic compositions which are set to sweet, musical melodies or *rags,* which remind one of Shelley's famous line, so that singing we soar and soaring we sing. His compositions are interlarded with the great Upanishadic truths and the discerning reader pities those who call him unlettered. How could those who are innocent of the Upanishadic or ancient Indian spiritual lore gauge the vastness and profundity of his knowledge of the eternal spiritual truths? His compositions show his mastery of the Hindu spiritual lore and of Islam. Not unoften his references to Jainism and Buddhism are revealing and startling. He was a great poet, well-versed in music and possessed of a rich store of scholarship. Undoubtedly he was one of the most learned men of his times. A genius as he was musically sang in popular language what was formerly the property of a few gifted persons in the secluded of the hermitage and the cloister. The Sikhs have failed to interpret him properly and poor Macauliffe's translation of his compositions is dull and drab, literal and too prosaic.

Guru Nanak's familiarity with the Upanishadic truths would be evident from the following extract from the Taittiriya Upanishad and Guru Nanak's adaptation thereof in his own poetic words:

> "From terror of Him the wind blows,
> From terror of Him the Sun rises,
> From terror of Him the fire, Indra and death
> Perform their respective duties."
>
> (*Taittiriya Upanishad*)

Now mark Guru Nanak's words in *Asa di Var,* one of his well-known compositions:

> "Winds do blow in awe of Him,
> In awe of Him do rivers flow,
> In awe of Him doth fire blaze,
> In awe of Him the Earth abides,
> In awe of Him doth Indra work,
> In awe of Him Death's Angel works,
> In awe of Him are Sun and Moon,

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In awe of Him do Heavens stand,
Function all in His awesome Will,
God alone is free of fear,
God alone doth ever abide,
Formless, Fearless, Peerless He."

It is not possible to reproduce through a translation Guru Nanak's ambrosial sweetness or his superb poetic art.

Mere mechanical *Simran* was not Guru Nanak's ideal. Moral life must be the foundation of spiritual life. The following is my English version of the concluding portion of his unique, artistic composition of *Japji* and will illustrate this point:

"Be thou chaste in thought and deed,
Bear all that comes from God,
Let Reason be thy light of life,
And spiritual lore they constant guide,
Fear of God and life austere,
Ever keep and hold them dear;
Let love of God and Love of Man
Be thy nectar sweet of life.
Live in God and love Him ever,
By His grace thou will be saved."

In homely words, Guru Nanak preached his gospel:

"Nam japo, wand chhako, kirt karo, aye gae di sewa karo, langar chalao, sat sangat karo, kirtan karo."

—"Ever love and remember God, share what you have with others, earn your living by the sweat of your brow, serve those about you, feed the poor, associate with good, devout people and sing God's praises."

By instituting congregational worship and community-kitchens, he sought to banish casteism and untouchability. By choosing his life-comrades, one a Hindu Jat and the other a Muslim, he preached by example and precept Hindu-Muslim unity and brotherhood.

Not ritual and ceremonial, nor philosophical or metaphysical hair-splitting but the change and purity of heart and constant communion with God were the essence and core of his gospel. Frequently he uses the mystic words *Nam* (Communion with God within) *Unh* (Sinking of the mind within Self, so that thought-waves would cease), *Sehaj* (Constant blissful wareness and shock-proof peace and poise of mind) nd Raj Yoga (Self-divinisation while living the life a householder). These were not new things. The dian sages were aware of them. Like the author of e Gita, Guru Nanak stressed *desireless action* in a irit of dedication.

Of God's attributes such as the following Guru nak sings in colours and paints them in song:

He is life of all life,
Light of all light,
Beauty of all beauty,
Music of all music;
He is Love and Truth,
Knowledge and Bliss,
He is Thought behind all thought,
One in all and all in One.

The idea of One in all and all in One runs like a thread through all his compositions. On this central idea he builds his great edifice of Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man, which in the fullness of time is sure to lead to a synthesis of all religions, so that Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man would be a common link to unite men of all creeds and climes. The United Nations Organisation gives promise of the fulfilment of the Poet's dream of the Federation of the World and Parliament of Man. The idea of Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man would develop into a universal religion of humanity. Humanity is moving to this consummation, this "far-off Divine event." Buddha's, Christ's, Nanak's dream would then be realised.

According to Guru Nanak sincere, ardent *Simran* or *Nam* is the golden key to God-realisation, so that those who live, move and have their being in God, could as householders, shed all infatuation or attachment to worldly objects and transcending the influence of the pairs of opposites, grow desireless *karam yogis* and thus rise above the feeling of pleasure or pain. This is deliverance, liberation or *mukti* in life, which ardent seekers after God could attain here and now, without waiting for the illusory hereafter.

Guru Nanak insists on Self-surrender to God and Self-surrender means full freedom from all care and worry. For elucidation I would quote Mahatma Gandhi's illuminating words:

> "A child has never cared for anything. It knows instinctively that it is being cared for by its parents. How much more true should it be with us grown-up people? Never imagine the worst: God is a God of mercy and if we must imagine, it is best to imagine the best. An ideal votary of God never imagines anything. He takes note of things as they happen and reacts to them, as if propelled by the great mechanic, even as a piece of machine in good order responds automatically to the call of the mechanist. A votary of God consciously becomes like a machine in the hands of the Master Mechanic."

This is the essence of Self-surrender, which forms an essential ingredient of Guru Nanak's gospel.

The following stories from Guru Nanak's life rendered into English by me, would throw some more light on Guru Nanak's ideology and way of life:

1

GURU NANAK'S SENSE OF THE DRAMATIC

As the Master left the home,
A comic sight he did present,
A coffin round his neck he wore
And a bony garland,

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On his brow a saffron mark,
On his feet a shoe and sandal,
Leathern shoe and wooden sandal,
And the garment green and white,
Semi-white and semi-green,
On the head a Qalandar's cap.
Symbols of a mystic mind!
Recking not of taunts and gibes,
Spurning praise and blame alike,
Of this stuff are heroes made.

At Haridwar, the sacred place,
Bathed by the glorious Ganga,
Shaping hands to make a cup
They flung the pearly, limpid water
In the east and up on high,
Oblations to the gods and fathers,
To reach the Hades and the Heaven.
Behold, the Master turning West,
Working with his might and main,
Throwing Water to the West,
Never ceasing, never resting,
And the face was full of fun!

It was indeed, a rare sight,
That turned the gaze of those who saw,
"What are you at," surprised they said,
"What are *you* at," rejoined the Master.
"Oblations do we offer all,
To the gods and those deceased,
In the distant land of Hades."
"I do *water* but the fields,
The farm I left at Kartapore."
"How could and would the water reach,
Thy distant farm and fields afar?"
"As the water flung by you
Would reach the land of Hades afar."
And the eyes were opened wide,
As the Master sang of God,
The God in Man and all it means.
The lamp was lit and ligh was great.

2

"Glory to Him Whose Glory We are"

There came a host from far and near,
To see a wonderous, beauteous sight,
Nanak bowed at Lehna's feet,
With folded hands and bended head,
And sweetly said to Lehna thus,
"Lehna, thou art Angad now,
A limb of limb and part of me,
Hold aloft the torch I held,
And preach abroad the Name of God;
To be at one with Soul Divine
Is the end and aim of life."
And as the Master laid his head
At the feet of loved Lehna,
Lehna's heart was filled with anguish.
"Holy Nanak bowing low
At the feet of lowly Angad!"
This the torment of his soul.
The Master saw the anguished heart;
In accents low and loving said,
"I bowed not at the feet of Angad,
I bowed to Him who dwells in thee,
Who dwells in man and bird and beast,
And is Life and Light of all."

3

Guru Nanak and the Jasmine Flower

Multan, a town of saintly fame,
Full of saints, reputed saints,
Form of saints, without the soul,
Full of Self and Selfishness,
As the Guru near'd the town,
Fear and flurry shook them all,
"He might, he might, eclipse us all."
A cup of milk was sent to him,
To show, the town was full to brim,
With sweet, good souls, *he* need not come.
He saw the sign and softly dropped
A little, tiny floweret
Of Spotless, white jasmine,
To show to them who sent the milk,
That he'd dwell like jasmine,
To cause no pain, to give delight,
To do no harm, to live to serve.
Meek and humble, sweet and pure,
Thus to live, and thus to be,
This indeed, is Nanak's creed,
This indeed, the soul of it.

4

At One-ment with God
(*As indicated by the Guru*)

In the blessed state of Nam,
When the self is lost to us,
We cease to think, we do not think,
No thought of pleasure, pain or grief,
Hopes and fears cease to be;
Silence deep, no sense of self,
The self is merged in greater Self,
Like a drop in shoreless sea;
The little self is lost to view,
And is merged in boundless Bliss,
We rise above self-consciousness,
A state of super-consciousness,
No feeling then of 'I'amness,'
Nor of Heaven, nor of Earth
Nor of any thinking thought,
Oneness only with the One,
Wedlock of the Soul and God.
He alone doth know the bliss
Who hath tasted nectar sweet
Of Nam, the blessed Nam, indeed,
Of which the Master sang so oft
The sacred apex of his creed.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HISTORY OF THE CANDELLAS OF JEJAKA-BHUKTI: *By Nemai Sadhan Bose, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London). Published by K. L. Mukhopadhyaya. Calcutta. 1956. Pp. 213 and one map. Price Rs. 10.*

It is a welcome sign of the times that the intensive study of the dynastic histories of Ancient India which was started many years ago by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and other scholars is keeping pace with the recent trends towards preparation of full-scale histories on the subject. In the scholarly and well-documented work under notice, the author has attempted with commendable judgment and thoroughness to trace the history of a dynasty which played no mean part on the stage of northern Indian history during the interval between the death of Harsha and the conquest of the country by the Muslim Turks. The work consists of eight chapters of which the first five deal successively with the origin and early history of the Chandellas, their rise to power, the attainment of their zenith, their temporary decline and revival and their final collapse, while the following chapter describes their system of administration. The seventh chapter describes the state of society and religion, as well as the art and architecture in the kingdom under their rule, while the concluding chapter attempts an estimate of their historical significance. Aptly enough a map of the Chandella kingdom along with the neighbouring powers is given at the beginning of the work, while three appendices, a genealogical table, a select bibliography and a complete list of inscriptions with an index bring it to a close. Dr. A. L. Basham of the School of Oriental Studies (London), contributes an appreciative Foreword.

Without detracting from the undoubted merits of this work, we may make a few remarks. In cautiously accepting R. V. Russell's hypothesis of descent of the Chandellas from the Hinduised Bhars, the author has not cared to consider the general criticism (G. S. Ghurye: *Castes and Races of India*, pp. 113-14) that the theory of the foreign and aboriginal origin of the Rajputs is not supported by the data of physical anthropology. The author's account of the administration as well as the state of society and religion under the Chandellas would have gained in weight by comparison with the parallel pictures of the conditions prevailing in the contemporary States of Northern India. In his account of the Chandella administration, the author has ignored the interpretations of the fiscal terms *bhagabhogakara* and *hiranya* suggested by the present writer in his work *Hindu Revenue System*. The author's attempt to explain away the references to degraded Jaina and Buddhist monks in Krishnamisra's *Prabodha-chandrodaya* drama does not carry conviction. His failure to add a few illustrations of the typical specimens of Chandella architecture and sculpture deprives his account of much of its concreteness. The complete absence of diacritical marks is regrettable.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SELECTIONS FROM GANDHI: *By Nirmal Kumar Bose. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. xxiii + 311. Price Rs. 2.*

Mahatma Gandhi writes in his *Foreword* (Amki, Noakhali, 30.1.47): "The selections made by the professor show the thoroughness with which he had gone into his subject." Even to a casual reader of the book, this utterance of Gandhiji will appear apt and appropriate. The Gandhian literature is vast and varied. To make selections from this huge literature is no doubt a Herculean task. Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose took upon himself this task of selection in 1934. Since then the literature was added to in various aspects. Prof. Bose has brought the selections down to 1942 with some casual additions from Gandhiji's later writings. In his Preface, Prof. Bose has tried to unfold and explain briefly the spirit of Gandhian literature. He writes:

"Gandhiji has never written merely for the pleasure of writing. Thought and writing have always been tools with him for more efficient action. They have been used either to clear a knotty problem in his own mind or in that of his co-workers. His writings, therefore, do not exactly give a correct representation of what he actually *is*, but what he always tries to be It is a record of ideals and aspirations, which have confronted him from time to time, and also how he has been able to meet them more or less successfully in the course of life's experiments. The reader should approach this book of selection with that reservation in mind. Then he will be able to gather whatever help he can in the pursuit of his own ideal."

The book has been divided in eighteen chapters, besides the Introduction and the Index, namely, I. God, II. Discipline for the Realization of Truth, III. Fundamental Beliefs and Ideas, IV. Gospel of Work, V. Industrial Organization: Old and New, VI. The Distribution of Wealth, VII. A Chapter on Class War, VIII. The Congress in Relation to the Classes and the Masses, IX. Political Self-government, X. India's Freedom: Ways and Means, XI. Non-violence, XII. Duty in the Midst of World Wars, XIII. Satyagraha, XIV. The Life of the Satyagrahi, XV Religion and Morals, XVI. Women's Problems, XVII. On Education and XVIII. Miscellaneous.

Mahatma Gandhi is known to the moderns as a first-rank patriot who led freedom movement for more than two decades. But he was a first-class thinker, too.

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There was no sphere of our national life which did not attract his attention. He was an idealist to boot. He placed an idealism before the nation, unique in character. Nay, his ideal of Non-violence has come to stay. Even, peoples, other than Indians, are now trying to act up to the spirit of non-violence. How far their common endeavours will be successful in avoiding the Third World War, let us wait and see. This book should be a constant companion for every Indian, and also for others who wish well of mankind. We commend this book to our readers for repeated perusal.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE PHILOSOPHY OF JNANADEVA: *By B. P. Bahirat, M.A. Published by the Pandharpur Research Society, Pandharpur (India). Price Rs. 6.*

The book under review is an attempt at exposition of the main tenets of the philosophical system of Jnanadeva, the eminent Maharastrian saint. He has a just claim for being recognised as a good philosopher and an eminent poet. His *Jnaneshwari*, a commentary on the Bhagawadgita, needs to be understood by the serious students of Indian philosophy. His masterly work on philosophy is *Amritanubhava* and it contains an elaboration of his metaphysical position. His treatise is written in Marathi and as such inaccessible to those who do not know this rich language of the South. It is a pity that the metaphysical position of this great thinker has remained unknown to us for such a long time. May be, it is due to the acts of omission of two of our eminent chroniclers of the history of Indian philosophy, *viz.*, Dr. Dasgupta and Dr. Radhakrishnan. Jnanadeva lived in the thirteenth century and it was he who first wrote an original metaphysical treatise in Marathi.

Jnanadeva's philosophy presents a consistent world view *vis-a-vis* the Absolute, the ground of all existence and reality. He is a Vedantist and his way of thinking differs from Samkara in that he recognised *maya* as a real cosmic Force. His theory of *chidvilas* is certainly a departure from Shamkara and he advocates for a path of 'loving devotion and selfless activism.' The Absolute's power is the power of love. Love is identified with godhead wherefrom everything flows spontaneously. To realise this Fountainhead of divine love one must take to the path of *bhakti* or supreme devotion. Therein lies salvation for mankind. Thus Jnanadeva wanted to improve upon the concept of the Absolute as held by the Samkarites and the Shaivaites of Kashmir. Absolute was not only knowledge and power, He was something more. He was Love.

The author deserves a word of praise for presenting to the English-knowing people the life and philosophy of this little known master of the thirteenth century. The importance of such a book cannot be over-emphasised. We would only suggest to the author a more careful scrutiny of his evaluations and a more detailed ratiocination before any conclusion is actually arrived at. Many of his conclusions seemed to be abrupt and drawn post-haste. Mere dogmatic assertions do not carry much weight in a philosophical treatise. Samkara's position should have been more carefully scrutinised and the considered opinions of Prof. P. T. Raju and Dr. Pendse should have been rejected less summarily. The style of the author is halting and leaves room for improvement. We congratulate the publishers for their neat printing and nice get-up.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

INTRODUCTION TO THE BHAGAV GITA: *By D. S. Sarma, M.A. Published by t national Book House, Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, Mah Gandhi Road, Bombay-1. Pp. 69. Price Rs. 2-4,*

The learned author of the booklet under re is a distinguished professor now in retirement well-known writer of nine excellent books on H religion and culture. Some of his books are w read and warmly appreciated throughout India by reading public. The present book now in second revised edition was first published in book-form 1940 under the title *Krishna and His Songs*. In same year it appeared in the form of several ar in the *Aryan Path* of Bombay.

The booklet, divided into eight short cha discusses clearly the God of the Gita, K Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, Jnana Yoga, Swadharma and interesting subjects. When Arjun was perplexed his duty in the battle-field of Kurukshetra, Sri Kri pointed out to him clearly the doctrine of Swadh which is undoubtedly the Gospel of the Gita. Acc ing to this popular scripture the natural aptitudes endowments of a man cannot be ignored in any sc of spiritual discipline. They are to be neither suppr nor indulged but wisely controlled and proc directed. If that is done dispassionately man adva steadily in the scale of evolution and finally an salvation.

Prof. Sarma's writing is wonderfully elegant impressive. The title of the booklet is literally cor and meaningful. Hence, this booklet deserves w publicity and careful perusal by the primary stude of the Gita. To the reader of this interesting in duction, the Gita will certainly appear in a new and new meaning.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANAND

MARXISM: *By Dr. K. P. Mukerji, M.A., B D.Phil. Published by the Associated Newspapers Ceylon, Ltd., Colombo. Pp. 74. Price Re. 1-8.*

In these few pages Dr. Mukerji has examined theories and effects of the Marxian philosophy modern mind and society. Marxism is the commended and worst condemned philosophy economics in the present-day world, and any discus of the subject is welcome to general readers who to know Marxism in its true perspective. At beginning the author discusses the philosop aspect of the Marxian theories and comes to conclusion that while Hegelianism is consistent itself, Marxism does not stand "logical scrutiny as such it is not tenable and acceptable as a theory explaining dialectics as a materialistic p sophy unlike that of Hegel's. According to the aut Marx is a scientist and his failure comes from his as a philosopher—revealer of the ultimate Truth Reality. As a scientist Marx was a dealer in pa truths, as all scientists are.

Judging from the socio-historical aspect, the au opines that Marx's explanation of social evolution the interpretation of history is also defective. Be Marxian theories have become more or less dogm in the hands of his disciples unthought of by M or Engels. In the words of the author, "If mechan materialism is an illusion, dialectical materialism contradiction in terms." "Marx explained everyth except himself and the martyr."

The author finally discusses the politico-econo aspect of Marxism. When the ideal of "from e

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according to ability and to each according to needs, is attained the State will become superfluous and will just wither away." This is the highest phase of Communism. Here also Marx's theories are vulnerable and as such are not acceptable. At some points, particularly in regard to "withering of the State" Marx's opinion agrees with that of Tolstoy, Kropotkin or even Gandhi in spite of the fact that their other differences are as wide as ever.

Yet Marx is a strong force in the world, stronger than any we had in the past. It is not for the contribution Marxian theories have made to existing knowledge of philosophy, history or economics and other allied subjects but for the deep sympathy Marx has shown to human problems of the down-trodden and the neglected together with the idealism he preached for the common man and woman irrespective of national and economic differences that divided people in the existing society, that Marxism has come to stay. With all its modifications and varied interpretations as made by Lenin and Stalin a new society and a new civilization are being created in the Soviet countries by conscious efforts of man. This is a phenomenon which has its reactions on the rest of the civilized world, which in its turn is getting transformed in spite of its conflicts with the Communistic ideals of the society. Thus Marx's contributions are of greatest importance to the modern thinkers of social and political sciences. Marx's theories have the force of a religion and as such it is having tremendous influence in our times. About the lasting contribution of Marx, the author mentions the following: (*a*) recognition of the necessity of improving the secular lot of the common people, (*b*) the emphasis on the idea of unearned increment and need of a better distribution of national dividend, (*c*) idea of Stateless society and an international outlook, and (*d*) positive indication about man's ability to make conscious history.

The book in a small compass deals with the various aspects of Marxism and although not a sympathetic or biassed study of the subject, is an admirable criticism and analysis of Marxism which the students of Marxian philosophy and general readers interested in the subject will find illuminating, interesting and thought-provoking.

A. B. DATTA

BENGALI

MAMAR DESH: *By Amar Kumar Datta. To be had of Barendra Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price 12 annas.*

Hunting desperately for an entertaining one-act comedy that could be easily staged by college-students, we at last came upon one *Mamar Desh* (My Uncle's Land), on the pages of the *Prabasi*, Magh, 1360 B.S. The innocent comic note of the play greatly delighted us and our students successfully presented it before an appreciative audience. We had many enquiries since then about the play and now we are gratified to note that it has come out in the form of a neat booklet. A decent comedy of this type is so rare in Bengali that it cannot fail to attract the notice of interested readers and observers. The play is composed of very amusing situations caused by the printer's devil. The characters are vivid with all their individual traits and mannerism. Short and balanced, witty and restrained, it deserves recognition as a piece of good light literature.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

REED KI HADDI: *Compiled by Vishnu Prabhakar. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 147. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of eight one-act plays by some of the leading present-day playwrights in Hindi—Dr. Ramakumar Verma, Shri Udayshankar Bhatt, Shri Upendranath "Ashk", Seth Govind Das, Shri Harikrishna Premi, Shri Satyendra Sharat, Shri Jagadishchanda Mathur and the compiler, who has also contributed an informative preface pertaining to the history of one-act-play-writing in Hindi. The themes covered by the playwrights are mostly social but there are also historical as well as political ones, the silvery thread which runs through all, being, however, the intensely human note. The plays are all A-1 and stageworthy, so fluenty fine (or finely fluent?) is their diction, so vivid their *milieu* and so quick-witted and concretely cognate is their dialogue. All the playwrights have, indeed, touched great heights and, thus made a distinct and valuable contribution to modern Hindi literature, with the result that the Hindi one-act play has today come to stay.

SHRI GITA CHAUPAI: *By Dhannalal J. Agrawal. Available from the author, Sanskrit Gnanashala, Nasik. Pp. 151. Price Re. 1-4 and glazed paper Re. 1-8.*

This is a very commendable translation into Hindi *Chaupai* (quatrains) of the *Bhagavada-Gita*, ideally suited for individual as well as congregational recitation.

GANDHIJI KI SANKHSHIPT ATMAKATHA: *Abridged by Mathuradas Trikamji. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-9. Pp. 260. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a Hindi translation by Shri Kashinath Trivedi of an abridgment of Gandhiji's autobiography, made originally in Gujarati by the late Shri Mathuradas Trikamji. It is intended primarily for students and youths who are sure to find the book handy, easily readable and inspiring.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SAGVINI GAZALO: *By G. M. Sagvi. Printed at the Excel Printers, Bombay. 1951. Cloth bound. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 100. Price Rs. 2.*

Fifty-four *gazals*, in the style of the *gazal* writers of the present days are printed in this small book. They bear promise of development and are potentially of value, showing that the writer has ideas which are progressing in the right direction, *e.g.*, No. 13. Who knows?

SULAKSHANI NARI (Well-behaved Woman): *By Pirojshah Palanji Damri. Printed at the Bhavnagar Samachar Press, Bhavnagar. 1951. Paper cover. Pp. 88. Price not mentioned.*

Mr. Damri is a student of Gujarati literature though a Parsi and is fond of collecting. and publishing noble thoughts culled from it. Before this he has published a book called *Golden Advice and A Tray of Flowers*. In the book under notice he has collected from the poetical works of the well-known Kavi Dalpatram Dahyabhai (K.D.D.) and a few other pieces as to how a woman should behave in order to become a virtuous and a well-mannered woman.

K. M. J.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Some Aspects of Economic Growth in Underdeveloped Countries: By Prof. J. L. Dholakia. Published by Prof. P. G. Mavalankar, Hony. Director, Harold Laski Institute of Political Science, Mavalankar's Haveli, Bhadra, Ahmedabad-1. Pp. 87. Price Re. 1.

We, The People of India: By Prof. K. N. Vaswani, author of *Glimpses of Ancient Glory*. Bharat Sevak Selections, No. 5. Pp. 64. Price not mentioned.

Some Problems of National Planning: By Raghubir Giri. Published by Priti Rani, Gokulpeth, Nagpur-1. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-8.

A Model Administrator: By Ranji Shahani. Published by Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay-1. A brief sketch of Shri Morarji R. Desai, the man and his achievements. Pp. 32. Price Re. 1.

Towards a Socialistic Order: By Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Second edition. 1956. Pp. 66. Price As. 8.

The Socialistic Pattern (In terms of the Congress Resolutions): Edited by Shriman Narayan. Second edition. October, 1956. Pp. 38. Price As. 6.

India and China: By Shriman Narayan. A comparative study. Pp. 27. Price As. 4.

Tunisia: By Miss Mukul Mukherjee. Pp. 23. Price As. 4.

Personal Behaviour: By Sri Prakasa. Pp. 19. Price As. 3.

One Week with Vinoba: By Shriman Narayan. Illustrated. Pp. 58. Price As. 8.

All the six pamphlets mentioned above are published by the All-India Congress Committee (Publications Department), 7, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

Our Second Five-Year Plan: Pp. 72. Price As.
Foreign Aid for the Plan: Illustrated. Pp.
Price As. 8.
Iron and Steel: Illustrated. Pp. 16. Price As.
The above three pamphlets are published by Publications Division, Ministry of Information Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secre Delhi-8.

Public Libraries for Asia: The Delhi Sc Unesco Public Library Manuals Series No. 7. lished in 1956 by the Unesco, 19 Avenue Paris-16e. Illustrated. Pp. 165. Price $1.50, 400fr.

Contributions to this book bring out the problems peculiar to the public library movement and propose practical solutions. Public library s for 20 Asian countries are also given.

A Guide to Bibliographic Tools for Resea Foreign Affairs: Published by the Informatio Publications Office, The Library of Congress, W ton-25, D.C. 1956. Pp. 145. Price $1.10.

This bibliography is compiled by Hel Conover to serve as a guide for initial steps rence work relating to international studies of affairs of the world. It contains bibliog manuals, indexes, surveys and other publicatio value to the American librarian or student preliminary research on the political and ec scene abroad.

Documents Related to the Implementation Geneva Agreements Concerning Vietnam: Pu by the Press and Information Department, of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Republic of V Hanoi.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Indian Culture in Indonesia

H. I. S. Kanwar writes in *The Aryan Path*:

One of the earliest references to Indonesia is found in the Ramayana, which mentions Suvarnadvipa, or the Isle of Gold (meaning wealth-producing land), and Javadvipa thus: "With all your efforts reach Yavadvipa, adorned with seven kingdoms, the land of gold and silver, rich with mines of gold."

The writings of Ptolemy, the ancient Alexandrian geographer and astronomer, reveal that there were Indian colonists and traders not only in Burma and Malaya but also in Indonesia and Indo-China. Ptolemy mentions that the island of Iabidiu (the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit name *Javadvipa,* modern Java) thus: Iabidiu, which means the isle of barley, is said to be of extraordinary fertility and produces gold in abundance."

In spite of the fact that the Hindu *shastras* were believed to forbid emigration, Indian traders ventured across the Bay of Bengal to ply their trade in gold, ivory, rhinoceros horn, sloes and camphor. Stories of the fabulous wealth of Indonesia soon spread in India, creating great interest. Indian scholars familiar with Sanskrit accompanied the traders to study the land in all its aspects. Then a strange thing happened; the inhabitants appreciated the doctrines of these scholars so much that by gradual stages they found themselves converted to Hinduism and Buddhism.

How did this happen? Some historians relate that Indonesia received wave after wave of immigrants from the mainland of Asia.

The first distinct wave occurred around 3,000 B.C., when the immigrants appear to have come from Yunan in South China and, spreading south, to have branched off into two streams, one moving to India along its eastern coast and the other through Burma and Malaya and finally to Indonesia and the Moluccas. The second distinct wave was about 300 B.C., when the adventurers came down the same route, this time fanning out as far as New Guinea, where to this day Indonesian culture flourishes. With the lapse of time, the culture of the two waves fused together into Indonesian civilization, which existed until the impact of Hindu civilization transformed it.

Similarly, during the first thousand years of this era, there were four or five waves of colonization by Indian adventurers all over the East. Though scattered, their colonies were "mainly on strategic points and on trade routes." Sailing down the west coast of Malaya, they reached Singhapura the "Lion City," Sumatra and Java.

That Indonesia was a highly civilized and flourishing state has been confirmed in both Indian and Chinese documents, which mention that Davavarman, king of Java, sent an ambassador to China in 132 A.D., and in return received a golden seal and a violet ribbon from the then Chinese Emperor. An earlier Chinese record, dated about 20 A.D., includes a description of Indonesia, referred to by the Chinese chronicler as "Je-tio." Another document, the *Niddesa,* dated about the late second century, mentions the places which a navigator might visit along the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, and, when dealing with Java and Sumatra, mentions places with strange designations such as "Sankupantha" (which could be climbed only with the aid of spikes), "Chhatrapantha" (where umbrellas were to be used as parachutes for descending) and "Sakunapantha" (to which birds served as guides).

The above facts are confirmed in the writings of that famous Chinese traveller, Fa-Hien, who visited Java in 414 A.D. and recorded that the inhabitants were either Brahmins or pagans, and that there were even a few Buddhists. In western Java are several Sanskrit inscriptions dating back to the third and fourth centuries. One refers to the Hindu king Purnavarman, ruler of the State of Tarumangara in western Java, comparing his foot-prints with those of Vishnu, and another to the digging of the Gomati and Chandrabhaga canals. There also exist in western Java ancient shrines dedicated to Brahmanical gods. The inscriptions are said to be in the script called the Pallava Grantha.

In the fourth century, when the Shrivijaya Empire came to exist, several Indian scholars visited Indonesia. A most notable visitor was Shrijnan Dipankar, who met there Acharya Chandra Kirti, the eminent Buddhist scholar, and declared Shrivijaya the headquarters of Buddhism in the East. Prince Gunavarman, another eminent Buddhist scholar and missionary, ventured from his native Kashmir in 420 A.D. to spread his gospel in Indonesia. His activities were mainly confined to Sumatra, owing to which Buddhism flourished there in a purer form. In 423 A.D., Gunavarman spent some time in Java *en route* to China. The teachings of these Indian scholars were an important influence in the emerging of Buddhism as the predominant faith in Indonesia by the sixth century, and gave rise to a more refined culture.

Right up to about 1400 A.D., for almost a thousand years, Buddhism and Brahmanism flourished side by side.

Hinduism and Buddhism acting as unifying forces, the power of Indonesia grew rapidly. With the conversion of all the princes, their petty squabbles disappeared. From this emerged the mighty Shrivijaya Empire which flourished for about seven hundred years. A great naval power based on trade and commerce, it reached its peak in the eleventh century, then holding sway over Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Malaya, the Philippines, part of Indo-China, Formosa, Ceylon and south-eastern India. It was a home of culture and learning, where Chinese scholars on their way to India stayed for considerable periods, collecting Buddhist manuscripts and studying Buddhist philosophy, and thus acquiring Buddhist knowledge prior to landing in India. The revenues of some villages in

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Bihar were devoted to the support of a Shrivijaya house in the Buddhist University of Nalanda.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, Java completely conquered the Sailendra Empire of Shrivijaya, later becoming the seat of the Hindu Empire of Majapahit, which had risen in east Java to spread over Indonesia. During the rise of the Majapahit, there were internal conflicts amongst the various potentates, the weaker ones being eliminated, which in a way aided the unification of Indonesia. There was rapid expansion of trade, commerce and naval power, so much so that many neighbouring lands, including Thailand, came under its sway. The Majapahit Empire had a highly centralized and efficient form of government, which evolved excellent systems of taxation, customs, tolls and revenue. There were colonial, commerce, public-welfare, health, interior and war departments, and a supreme court with two presiding judges and seven other judges. Trade was mainly with India and China and its colonies. This empire lasted nearly two hundred years, attaining its peak from 1355 to 1380. Soon after, decay set in following the famine of 1426, and the empire vanished in the same way as its predecessor, its doom being hurried on by the ever-growing force of Islam in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

When the Hindu colonists and Buddhist missionaries set foot in Indonesia to introduce Indian culture they found a flourishing Indonesian culture, and, when the two cultures met, their fusion resulted in a new culture comprising the best of both. As a consequence, the art of Indonesia is a mixture of Hindu-Buddhist and Hindu-Javanese arts which have been used to express the ideas deeply rooted in the native ancestor cult. It was but inevitable that, initially, art in Indonesia should be predominantly Indian in character, but later it gradually adapted itself to native ideals.

Several ancient monuments and inscriptions and traditions existing in Indonesia, especially in Java, are a living evidence of the influence of Indian culture. A Malay inscription, dated 684 A.D., of Mahayana Buddhist ruler of Shrivijaya named Jayanasa, speaks of the Vajrayana school of thought developed in Bengal in the mid-seventh century, whose first preacher was Saraha, once head of the Nalanda University. It is the earliest evidence of Mahayana Buddhism in Indonesia. Since Anangavajra, a son of Gopala, the founder of the Pala dynasty of Bengal, appears to have been a contemporary of the Sumatran Jayanasa, it is, indeed, amazing that the new doctrine should almost simultaneously become prominent at places far apart.

There is the interesting Janggal inscription in central Java, dated 760 A.D., recording the consecration of the Maharishi Agastya. From a later inscription in Javanese, dated 863 A.D., mentioning Agastya's descendants as having settled there, it appears that the Maharishi may have ventured across the Bay of Bengal in the early Indian colonization period.

At Kalasan, also in central Java, exists an inscription, dated 778 A.D., said to be in a North Indian script, recording the erection of a temple of the Mahayana goddess Tara. Since a similar script was in vogue in far-off Nalanda about the ninth century, there is evidence to show that this worship could have come only from the Palas of Bengal, a fact supported by another inscription in the same script at Kelurak, which refers to the Rajaguru's arrival from Gudidvipa (the old name for Bengal) to "p... with the holy dust of his feet" the Sailendra k... central Java. Noted archæologists, taking into c... deration inscriptions of the same period in Java ... Bengal, opine that the Sailendra king wedded ... daughter of the Bengal king Dharampala, named T... who was eventually influential in having the te... of Tara built at Kalasan. All this suggests that S... vijaya received Mahayana Buddhism from Beng...

The oldest monuments of Java are the H... temples in the Dieng Plateau, dating back to ... beginning of the eighth or even the late se... century. The Mahayana Buddha Temple of B... budur is a marvel not only of Indo-Javanese bu... of temple architecture. The entire life of Buddh... depicted in rare sculptures and reliefs for the be... of the worshippers, who were mostly illiterate. ... temple covers a whole hill carved into a *stupa*, ... walls adorned with exquisite bas-reliefs relating ... Mahayana legends, which are so planned that as ... moves from the lower to the upper storeys the... a feeling of rising to higher spiritual levels.

In the ninth century one finds the grand B... manical temple of Prambanan with its wonderful ... reliefs from the Ramayana legends, a tradition ca... down to the thirteenth century, as shown by ... Panataran group of temples in east Java represe... similar Ramayana scenes, though in the Java... shadow-figure (*wayang*) style. The Mahabh... stories, with the Krishna legends, also appeared ... sculptured figures, puppets and shadow-plays based ... the Javanese versions which inspire the Indones... even today, after their conversion to Islam. In ...

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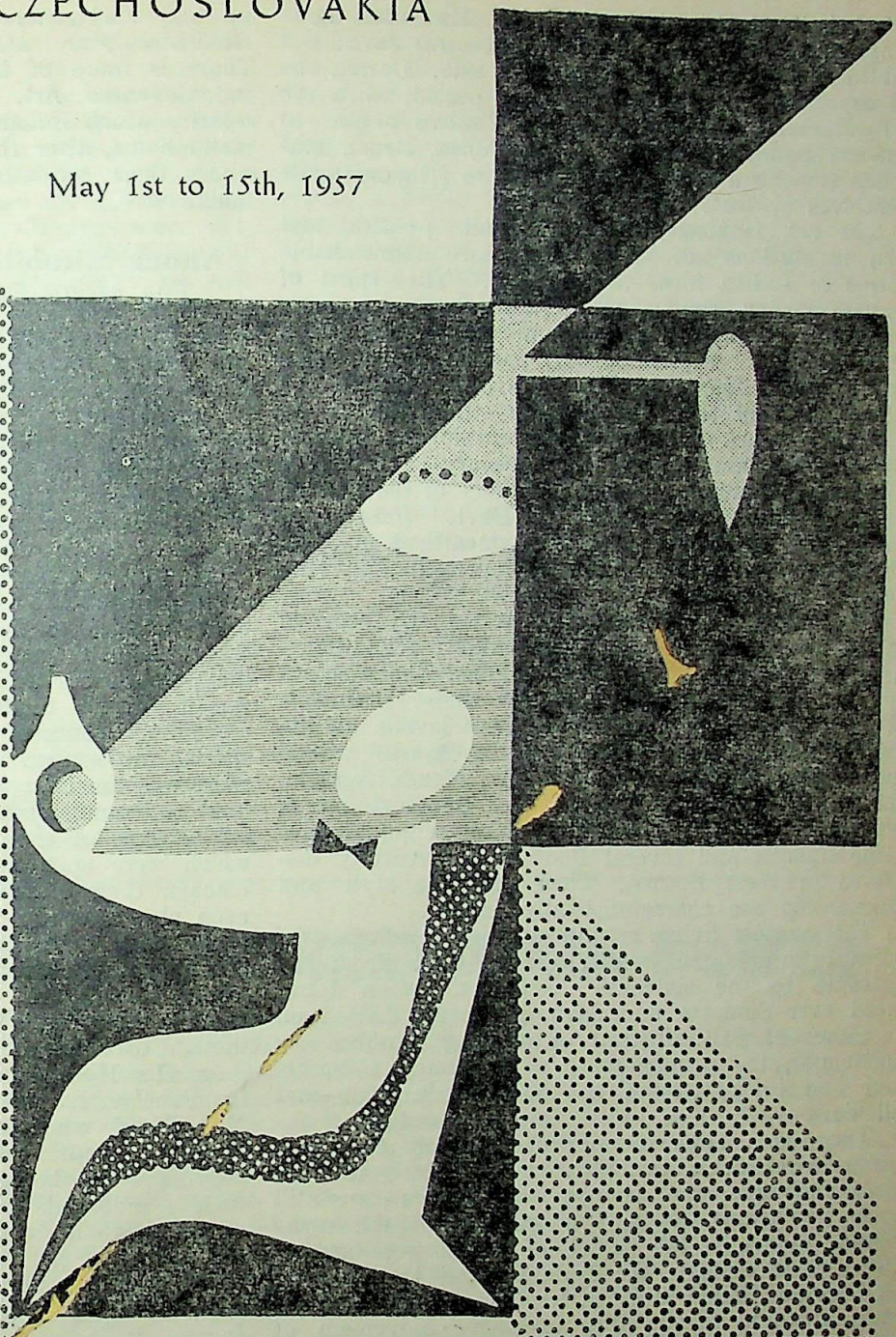

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second half of the ninth century, Hinduism again became the predominating faith in central Java; but Buddhism and it continued side by side. During the last centuries of the Hindu-Javanese period, when the mystical and magical ideas of the *Tantras* began to influence Buddhism as well as Hinduism, strong tendencies towards a syncretism of the two religions made themselves evident.

The art, language, literature and political and social institutions of Java bear an unmistakable impress of Indian ideas to this day. The spirit of Javanese poetry, drama, music and dancing is close to the Indian, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata having played a very important part in the development of these fine arts. The epics of the Hindus as well as many of their Puranas are still available in Javanese versions. Some of the scientific and medical texts of India are among the literary remains of ancient Java. Shiva was a popular deity of the ancient Javanese; as was also Shakti or Devi. Images of Ganesha and Kartikeya have been unearthed in Java. Vishnu with his carrier Garuda is represented in the sculptures found there.

The influence of Borneo is attested by several Sanskrit inscriptions of the fifth century, acknowledging gifts of gold and cows to Brahmins, who were an important element of the population there. Brahmanical rites and ceremonies found great favour at the court. Sandstone images unearthed in Borneo include those of Hindu gods—Shiva, Ganesha, Nandi, Agastya, Brahma and Mahakali. A few are of Buddhist figures. Mention may also be made of the seven gold figures of the Buddha and several Bodhisattvas recently discovered in West Borneo. Their exquisite style and workmanship are characteristically Indian.

The greatest living monument to the influence of Indian culture is the wonder isle of Bali. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, when Islam spread over Sumatra and Java, its march halted on the shores of Bali. Instead of erecting mosques to Mohammed, the people continued to build elaborate stone and brick temples to their Hindu gods—and still do.

There is a large number of shrines to Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma in Bali.

In Indonesia, the Indian immigrants are still known as "Orang Kaling," a survival of the name Kalinga, by which the people of Orissa were known. In the third century, the Kalingas and the Andhras of Orissa and Vengi laid the foundation of Indianized States in these islands. The expansive movement of Indian culture had its heyday in Java, the Hindu basis of whose culture has been a marvel of India's cultural colonization. It was a prince of Kalinga who inaugurated this movement by founding a Hindu State in Java in the first century. Later there came into existence another Hindu kingdom in central Java, which was called Ho-Ling or Kalinga, after the name of the original homeland of the colonists. The Sailendra dynasty, which became so famous in south-east Asia, is believed to have come originally from Orissa, which then was a stronghold of Buddhism despite the ruling dynasty being Brahmanical.

One of the greatest tributes to the influence of Indian culture and art in Indonesia is paid by Havell in his book *The Ideals of Indian Art*:

"Indian art in Java has a character of its own which distinguishes it from that of the continent from whence it came. There runs through both the same strain of deep serenity, but in the divine ideal of Java we lose the austere feeling which characterises Hindu sculpture of Elephanta and Mamallapuram. There is more of human contentment and joy in Indo-Javanese Art, an expression of that peace and security which Indian colonists enjoyed in their happy island home, after the centuries of storm and stress which their forefathers had experienced on the mainland."

Annus Mirabilis—The Year of Wonder

The Maha Bodhi writes editorially:

Sixty-five years have passed since Anagarika Dharmapala founded what was then known as the Budh-Gaya Maha Bodhi Society, thus inaugurating the great movement for the revival of Buddhism in the land of its birth. Searching the rolls of the Society's history, we find that almost every one of these five-and-sixty years is distinguished by some great achievement or other, some forward step by means of which we were brought a little nearer to our goal. But never, we feel, was any single year filled with events of far-reaching significance, with what promise to be enduring solid achievement, than that which has just passed over our heads; never has the pace of our advance been so rapid; never before was it possible to do so much in so short a time.

Three events of 1956 stand out as being of special importance and significance. First, of course, there was the inauguration, in May, of the celebrations held to commemorate the 2500th Anniversary of the Parinirvana of the Lord Buddha. These celebrations, which were sponsored by the Government of India, reached their climax in New Delhi last month, but even now have by no means exhausted their momentum. They will, in fact, continue until next year. Second, on October 14th the great Scheduled Caste leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, embraced Buddhism at Nagpur along with half a million followers. Third, though to bless all that had been accomplished during the year, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and His Holiness the Panchen Lama arrived at the end of November in New Delhi, whence, after participating in the 2500th Buddha Jayanti celebrations, they have gone on a pilgrimage to the holy places. These events, together with a multitude of hardly less important associated events, have undoubtedly made a deep impression on the minds of at least the thinking section of the Indian public. Buddhism, they now realize, has become a factor to be reckoned with in Indian life. Indeed, it is by no means devoid even of political significance. There are people in India who feel uncomfortable in the presence of such facts. Some of them have attempted to stem the rising tide of Buddhism. But their efforts have met with no success. Doubtless the historians of the future will aver that the year 1956 marks the real emergence of Buddhism as a spiritual, cultural and social force in India. If that be so, this year may indeed be described as the Year of Wonders."

Nepal—Impressions and Reflections of a Visitor

Bishop Alexander M. Theophilus writes in *National Christian Council Review*:

Nepal is the only country in the world at present time which is ruled by a Hindu ruler of absolute authority. It has been the avowed intent

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of those in authority in the country to keep it as a State in which the earlier religions will not be contaminated' by the inroads of foreign religions. The new penal code is known to stipulate that a Nepali citizen who embraces a foreign religion is liable to be punished by imprisonment. In spite of the fact that Nepal was almost cut off from the rest of the world by the Himalaya mountains, about two centuries ago the Roman Catholic Church went into Nepal and started work in Patan near Kathmandu. But they were expelled from the state on being suspected of taking part in politics. Ever since that time no one has been permitted to propagate any other religion besides Hinduism and Buddhism which are regarded as native to Nepal. One of the famous temples in Kathmandu called Pasupati temple is reputed to have been founded by Sri Sankaracharya from India many centuries ago. Gautama Buddha, it will be recalled, was born in Nepal. Buddhism is having a revival in Nepal and the neighbouring countries.

At the present time Nepal is steadily coming into contact with the rest of the world. She is now a member of the U.N. and as a result of this, member-nations of the U.N. are getting admitted into Nepal for development purposes and technical aid. Nepal is very badly in need of development on Economic, Educational and Health lines especially. The U.S.O.M. has been working in Nepal since 1951 helping with Agriculture, Teachers' training and other development programmes. The Indian Army has been invited to help in training the Nepalese Army. People from India are allowed to pursue business and trade within Nepal. Many Nepalese come to India for education in the Universities. The Colleges in Nepal are all affiliated to the University of Patna in India.

Till recently communication with Nepal from India has been across the Himalaya mountains. Even now the easiest route from Kathmandu to certain places in Nepal lies through parts of North India. Communications to many places within Nepal are yet to be developed. But in recent years there are plane services to Kathmandu from Patna and a few other places. A road also has been constructed across the mountains which are now negotiated by jeeps and trucks.

The need for reaching Nepal with the Gospel was felt by Christians and Missions in India for many years past. The avowed opposition to the preaching of the Gospel had to be faced. There were many missionaries working on the borders of Nepal waiting prayerfully for an opportunity to reach Nepal with the Gospel. As a result of their work some of those of Nepali origin, living in places like Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Raxaul, on the border of India, have accepted Christ and they also have been praying for an opportunity to take the Gospel to Nepal. Though of Nepalese origin and speaking the Nepali language, many of them are Indians by citizenship. When it came to be known that Nepal would welcome missions of help along development lines, those concerned had more hope. Plans were made to send a Medical Mission to Nepal.

—

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Swami Vivekananda to Modern Youths

In the course of an editorial article *The Vedanta Kesari* writes :

The meeting of Vivekananda with Sri Ramakrishna in 1880 A.D. is considered as a meeting of the modern with the ancient, of the West with the East, of energism with contemplation, of humanitarianism with spirituality. Narendranath Datta, as Vivekananda was called, born in an aristocratic family of Calcutta in 1863, was robust and turbulent as a boy, with a sharp memory and a keen power of observation. He was brought up in a religious and cultural environment. As a budding youth, he became the representative of modern youths having the intellectual conflict born of the clash of the two opposing ideals of the East and the West but he became a seeker after Truth with a strong moral character, mainly because of the Brahmo influence. The meeting with Sri Ramakrishna changed the whole course of his life. He renounced the worldly life, travelled throughout India and with the encouragement of a few Madras youths went to America and had the phenomenal success in 1893 in the Parliament of Religions of the West and raised the status of his country by placing it in the role of the teacher. His success caused a great emotional upheavel and roused the dormant qualities of all his countrymen. He passed away too early at the age of 39 in 1902 and within five years of his passing that energy burst forth in the form of volcanic eruptions of the Revolutionary Movement to free the country from foreign yoke under Aurobindo and Tilak. The Indian National Congress also was vitalised. From that time onwards hundreds of youths received inspiration from the clarion call of this 'patriot-saint,' and there followed the Renaissance of life and letters in almost all the provinces of India.

Vivekananda's love for the youth is unbounded. To him youth was a stage full of promise and possibilities. He wanted a band of fiery youngmen sacrificing their lives for the regeneration of the country. The harmonious development of the hand, head and heart is necessary. He wanted youngmen with muscles of iron and nerves of steel. To encourage the boys to pay close attention in acquiring more physical fitness, he said that they could understand the Gita better by playing football. The idea is, with better health and consequently with improved faculty of thinking, life-giving messages of the Gita could be assimilated better. Is there any use of all the training unless there is the nervous association of all the energising ideas? Our education is successful only when the ideas we know from our books and from our elders enter our very veins and impel us to contemplate on them and finally induce us to action. Our routine is much overcrowded with theoretical information, undigested and unconnected with life. The age-old tradition of India is to combine study with contemplation, work with meditation. The modern education is off its balance because of the lack of this calming and soothing influence. The occidental educationists and their prototypes in India must learn this great lesson from the educationists of ancient India, the *rishis*. Swami Vivekananda wanted for this purpose to regenerate the ancient *gurukula* system with the *brahmacharya* ideal of austerity, piety and continence for the students. In fact, the conception of the four stages of life (*asramas*) is a grand gift our forefathers gave to the moderners. As a student one is to prepare oneself for the future life. Youth is a stage of preparement sanctioned by *dharma* which is equivalent more or less to the modern conception of ideal civic duties. The third stage is to retire from the family and to be more conscious of the outside world and the ultimate values of life, which Bankimchandra, the composer of *vandemataram,* interprets as philanthropic and social activities to suit modern conditions. In the fourth stage one is to retire from all worldly activities and enjoy the well-earned rest devoted wholly to the contemplation of God. Life spent with constant awareness of the higher values will save us from frustration which is inevitable if we are too much self-centred. The secular West is not yet able to find a similar substitute for this. Swamiji wanted us first to be thoroughly acquainted with our ancient culture and then to march towards the grand future which he saw in his vision, is sure to come. In fact, the dominating note in his life is a love for India and her cultural heritage. Hundreds of youths visit nowadays the foreign countries who might be the cultural ambassadors of their country. But alas! few of them know about themselves and their fathers. World pays scant recognition to the weak defeatists with inferiority complex. Most often, we forget this little truth.

—

GANDHI MARG

GANDHI MARG is the organ of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. The First Number is being brought out in English and in Hindi on January 30, 1957. It is meant to be an Open Forum for Gandhian students all over the world. The first Number contains articles from leading Western writers like Horace Alexander, Reginald Reynolds, Arthur Morgan, Roy Walker and Wilfred Wellock, besides contributions from eminent Indians like Kakasaheb Kelelkar, Governors Pattabhi Sitaramayya, R. R. Diwakar, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and others. Rates of subscription are given below :

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

America and Asia

Bhabes Chandra Chaudhuri thus comments on American and Asian relations in *Unity*, January-February, 1956:

The most remarkable trend of the post-war world is the rapid liquidation of colonial rule. This set the entire colored world in ferment. Though correlated largely with periods of long travail of subjugation, this was, no doubt, hastened by the standard of revolt against "the white man's supremacy," that Japan raised, however unsuccessful she might have been and how great must be her sufferings in consequence of her final defeat. And the most historic event in the United States-Asian relations, in the estimation of experts, seems to be the unequivocal declaration of Independence of the Philippines by America, on July 4, 1946,—which rang the bell, so to say, for a strategic retreat of colonialism to cover and for keeping safe as far as possible and as long as feasible the lifeline and mainstay of capitalism: trade monopoly and political hegemony. The American tradition of opposition to absolutism and imperialism has nowhere found a more concrete proof than what the above event performed in creating strong bonds of sympathy between the Asians and colonial people. Fewer people, indeed, have suffered more from outlawry of both customs and overlords than the Asians. So, when the United States threw in her lot against the dismemberment of China by the European Monarchies; assured the Filipinos that the American meant real Independence to them because inlependence is their real breath; raised their voice against abuses of the relics of colonial regimes in Asia or freely disavowed her extraterritorial designs in China or made the liberation of Korea an object of World War II, surely they won the warmest greetings of a firm handshake of the Asians.

But against this happy background of a closer democratic bond between these two continents—old and new—there looms large the deepening spook of communism that threatens verily to make clean sweep, as it were, of all those weapons which had formerly kept the Asians in shackles—the instruments of feudal hegemony, monopoly, vested interests, and the like—and contrive to harness Asia's will only to observe imperial rule!

This, then, constitutes the very core of the Asian problems at the moment; but as recent history shows, the United States, has by far, in different areas—be Formosa, the Philippines or Korea, Japan, Korea, solely and well. There is no Indo-China—met it effectface the end of World War II, the United States has made mammoth investments in the above countries on problems in production and administration otherwise viously jeopardized by lack of sound morale and vency. In Korea, for instance, the United States has de sacrifices beyond calculation, viz., "150,000 erican casualties, 25 American lives, in addition 15 billion American dollars in defense of the indendence of the Republic of Korea." (*World Progress*, nuary, 1954). In Formosa, her aid to the National vernment of China has been no less spectacular in maintaining the *status quo* of an independent Asian country, by providing free Chinese aspirations to which they can rally to express through deed and words their devotion to national freedom and the ancient glories of the hallowed land of "Chunk Kuo"; while in Indo-China, as is commonly known without her moral and economic support and intelligent leadership it would not have been altogether easy for the French and the associated states to cry "*Pax*" with General Li Mi's Army in Viet Nam! "The U.S. Aid" to Indo-China, to quote *World Progress*, October, 1953, "came to $800,000,000"—a fact which definitely confirms the notion, commonly held, that America not only adores "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" but lifts up her "Lamp" as well, to those otherwise marooned in the far-away tempest-tost Asian shores. No doubt, in some quarters in Asia foreign aid is viewed with suspicion. The Asians have had in the past some "hard-hearted dealings" with their own capitalists and with those from the outside. They prize their national traditions, as do others, too highly to be swept away from their moorings by a foreign culture, under the spell of what the leftists might call "Dollar Invasion!"

But, however much either looks upon the other with uneasy feelings, Asia cannot conscientiously throw away her new transpacific "cousin" by resorting altogether to the alternative of her economic development planning under the mailed-fist of the totalitarian spook, in the present political phase of the Eastern hemisphere.

The United States, it is noted, "allotted $2,158,877,000 for economic assistance to friendly nations during the fiscal year 1954, which ended June 30, 1955. If such act on the part of the proverbial Uncle Sam is interpreted as being akin to Judas' tears by the multi-voiced Communist Gestapo, it cannot but rouse deep-seated resentment against the Iron Curtain ways of looking at things "with open eyes but minds blind!"

But the free Asians now do realize to the core that the only method to stop the Communist rot, which thrives well on misrule, ignorance, and poverty, is the certain infallible remedy of ending colonial rule wherever it is—Asia, Africa, or America. And nowhere does one find better support of the above fact than in the decision, on May 17, 1954, of the U.S. Supreme Court, declaring "that segregation in public schools is a violation of the Constitution"—thus glorifying America's position in pressing for the thorough ending of colonialism, which stood so long as a blot on world culture. Looking again beneath the surface of the Indo-American *entente cordiale*, one must also notice how both these countries have long been working, heads and hands together, to hasten the end of colonialism.

While the war was still going on, it was emphatically made known that Western democracy was not fighting the totalitarian Axis-powers only to make the world safe for "colonial empires!" And the world was full of glee and rejoicings when the British decided to quit from India, Burma, etc., and agreed with Lord Samuel that nothing so much became Britain in India as the manner of its going! Then the Netherlands followed this historic example, relinquish-

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ing its rule for good and all over Indonesia, and gradually we find how on July 20, 1954, India and the Vatican announced the end of Portuguese rule over Roman Catholic Congregations in India. On October 13, 1954, the Joint Declarations by France and India wiped out French-Indian Settlements by merger in India, in the last sweep of this epoch.

India, therefore, as one can understand—just to avoid the grave strains created by Britain's hasty departure and just to recoup the shattered economy of this sub-continent and provide a livelihood for about 350 million souls of her own homeland,—piously believes in the policy of the Aid Program by democratic means—as contrasted with the ruthless totalitarian methods of the Iron Curtain.

It is again the fear of what an Asian war would do to shatter her under-industrialized economy, and thus make for the Communists' chances of success, that underlies the guiding motive of free India's policy at this critical juncture, *viz.*, in unequivocal pursuit of the concept of a "secular democratic state," which she pledged to undertake in her constitution on January 26, 1950. For war, in India's opinion, would totally destroy the life of her baby democracy, which she is avowed to nurture, to bring up amid the ruins of a two-century-old British Empire. Like India, the United States, too, is worried about the deadly effect of nuclear weapons invented by their scientists and is afraid of another war—which, if it comes true, might bring about global annihilation. Thus it seems that there is perfect unanimity of agreement existing in the basic concept of Indo-American democratic alliance, *viz.*, on the future of colonialism, the indispensability for routing Communism, the need by way of expedient adequacy for wholesale economic development by democratic ways and means, and the wish to root out the seed of war as it "strikes root in mind"—without staking the alternative of a "Surrender risk" to an alien invader.

So, when India in April, 1951, launched her Five Year Plan of economic development, as an attack upon her age-old poverty, to attain the goals of a democratic nation, *viz.*, raising the living standards of her people, the Western Democracy, too, as a champion of free world causes, felt no hesitation whatsoever in offering her the warmth of a cordial handshake under what may be called the Joint Indo-American Programs. Under these planned ventures she received United States aid of about $189 million for the first three years. And, as *The New York Times* observed in a June, 1954, report, after concluding a survey of the effect of the Technical Co-operation in 79 countries, "the survey shows the miracles that can be achieved in helping people help themselves." By this aid, so the report says:

"India's food production has increased by 5 million tons; power generation by 315,000 kilowatts; 3 ships have been built; 90 locomotives manufactured; coal raised up to 4 million tons; steel 1 million tons; cloth output to 4.7 million yards; hundreds of miles of new roads and dozens of schools have been erected. Agricultural, medical and social services have been extended to 46,000 villages—the scourges of malaria and yaws have been eradicated."

Besides the above, India has acquired phenomenal success so far under the so-called Community Projects, the Bhakra and Damodar Valley Corporation Dams—which can be rightly spoken of as the jewel of the Five-Year Plan. For the Damodar Valley is India's mineral "mine," so to say, which when developed will add enormously to her multi-purpose industrial ta[sk] of achievements. The Bhakra will be the se[cond] largest dam in the world, irrigating about 3 mi[llion] acres and will generate 3 million kilowatt hours electricity; "It will be built in fewer than 22 [years] and will be the work of 7,500 laborers." These, matured, no doubt will usher in an era of unhea[rd] plenty and well-being—and speak in their loud e[lo]ence about India's own enterprises and potentia[lities] brought to acme only under the wholesome influ[ence] of Western Democracy!

Here in India are vast relics of history and which glorified its ancient capital, New Delhi, as dynasty cried farewell to its Raj after shuffling mortal coil in the process of time. Here the M[ughals] have gone into dust after two and a half centuries rule, but their Taj Mahal built in twenty-two by twenty-two thousand workers still lives and fies their achievement as a marvel of architec[ture] Here also came the British and, as usual, left shores in historic succession, leaving great monu[ments] in Delhi and elsewhere to proclaim what m[ay be] called "England's Work in India!"

But, if India can build up her home on the d[e]cratic principle of her Five-Year Plan and [the] projects mentioned before, it will be what m[ay be] called a real D-Day for the achievement of the U[nited] States-Asian understanding and good will, in epoch, in the Eastern Hemisphere. The target "U.S. Work in India" is the Indian farmer. U[nless] he will grow more food and improve his lot; b[ecause] become the source of wealth and strength by tht 350-million-strong nation grows stronger and prosperous. This is the secret of democracy: it the human soul; makes him more useful, whole[some] clearer in mind, and free from want and fear America anywhere, then, touches Asia in close brace, it is in the crowning glory of individual fr[eedom] in the person—be he a peasant or a prince—by of her casteless democracy.

This tradition was long ago foreshadowed by s[hel]ley in the following lines:

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A People's Rule

The Eighty-fifth Congress of the United States of America opens on January 3. The session will open with a prayer in accordance with a custom traced back to July 4, 1776, when the representatives of the 13 American Colonies signed the Declaration of Independence. The members of that historic body had a high concern for the just deserts they believed due to every man, and the concept "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" has become a living basis for brotherhood and freedom.

The members of today's Congress are no less concerned with that concept. They are the direct representatives of the people in the branch of government which makes the laws and supplies the means of enforcing them. In this capacity it is thus to their own interest as well as to that of their constituents and the nation itself to regard with a cool eye any threat to the freedoms so hard won in the 1700's and so carefully guarded since.

The Congress of the United States consists of two bodies—the Senate and the House of Representatives. As established by the Constitution, the make-up of the two bodies is designed to provide for full and fair representation of the people of each of the 48 States. This purpose is achieved by a system which assures adequate representation for each State as a whole and, in populous states, for local areas as well.

The Senate is made up of 96 members, two from each State of the Republic. A Senate term runs for six years. Neither the geographic size of a State nor the size of its population affects its number of Senators.

In the House of Representatives, on the other hand, the States are represented according to their

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populations. The House of Representatives has 435 members who are apportioned among the 48 States on the basis of their populations as recorded by the official Census enumeration. A Representative's term is for two years.

To be eligible for a Senate seat, a candidate must be at least 30 years old, must have been a citizen of the United States for at least nine years and must actually live in the State he wishes to represent.

Members of the House of Representatives must be at least 25 years old and must have been citizens for seven years.

The Senate's six-year term is sufficiently long to give Senators time to acquire broad experience in their work and to devote themselves single-mindedly for several years to public affairs without being obliged to campaign for re-election until near the end of their terms. These factors contribute to the basic stability and continuity of the nation's senior law-making body, as planned by the authors of the Constitution.

Continuity of the Senate's membership is further insured by the system under which Senators are elected and hold office. The terms of one-third of the members regularly expire every two years. Thus, in any biennial election year, the seats of only 32 Senators serving six-year terms are at stake. However, when vacancies occur through death or disability the governor of the State whose seat in the Senate is vacant fills it by appointment until the State's legislature directs an election be held.

Because the Senate is a continuing body and approximately two-thirds of its members at any given time have served at least two years and many members much more, precedents and traditions become increasingly important over the years as a guide to its deliberations.

The election of Representatives to the other House of Congress follows a different pattern. Representatives are elected to serve for two years. At the end of two years, each member who desires to be re-elected must submit his record to the voters of his district and abide by their vote as to whether he shall continue in office.

The two-year term for Representatives was instituted by the Constitution to give the voters a frequent opportunity to express decisive approval or disapproval of their most numerous and direct Congressional representatives. When the Constitution was being written it was a popular saying that "where annual elections end, tyranny begins."

Today, as in the past, the arrangement by which each Representative must come before the voters at two-year intervals acts powerfully in shaping national policies and guarantees that the will of the people will remain the only basic power behind the government.—*American Reporter*, January 2, 1957.

Development of Women Education in Egypt

Fifty years ago the question of women edu was raised in Egypt. In the last quarter of th century with the efforts of some foreign agencies schools for girls were opened in Cairo and Alex In the year 1873, government also contribute girls education and by the year 1900 several pr schools for girls came in picture. A teachers' tra college was opened where the teachers for the pr schools for girls were trained. Most of the g richer families were being educated at home by F governesses. The education of the upper cla purely dominated by the French element.

The revival of learning took an everlasting The provincial councils, in the year 1910, took active part in women education. The number o students in central and provincial institutions rea a fairly high level. By the year 1920 the numb primary schools for girls was four.

The aim of education by this time due to po situations was to develop mental faculties, s tic sense and to make better citizens. The dev ment of personality was shocked in this way. Egyptian revolution for independence in the year brought a rapid advance of education in general of girls in particular. This revolution brough Egypt cultural, social, educational and econo developments and womenfolk was much influ with it. For the first time in Egyptian history pr and elementary education was made free and pulsory both for boys and girls in the year 1923.

In the year 1920-21 for the first time a secondary school was opened. The aims of the were to prepare girls for cultural education, science and domestic affairs. The girls were allow qualify themselves for the university examina Both boys and girls were taught the same sub Co-education was not objected by the public, intellectual development of women students w no had studied medicine, science and arts i universities was given fair chance and equali profession.

Since 1923 women started to play an importa in social reforms. They had openly come in the and realized the importance of education and keen enough to remove all the obstacles.

In the year 1925, a women's college was o which provided feminine culture and general ledge.—*Culture of Egypt*, June, 1956.

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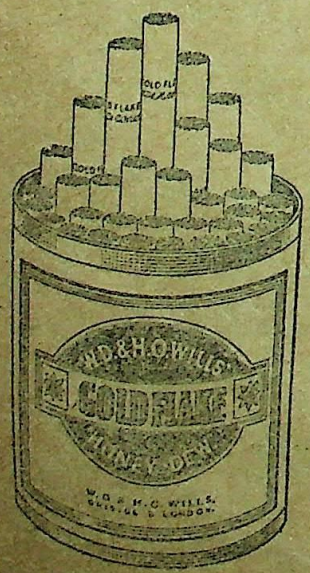

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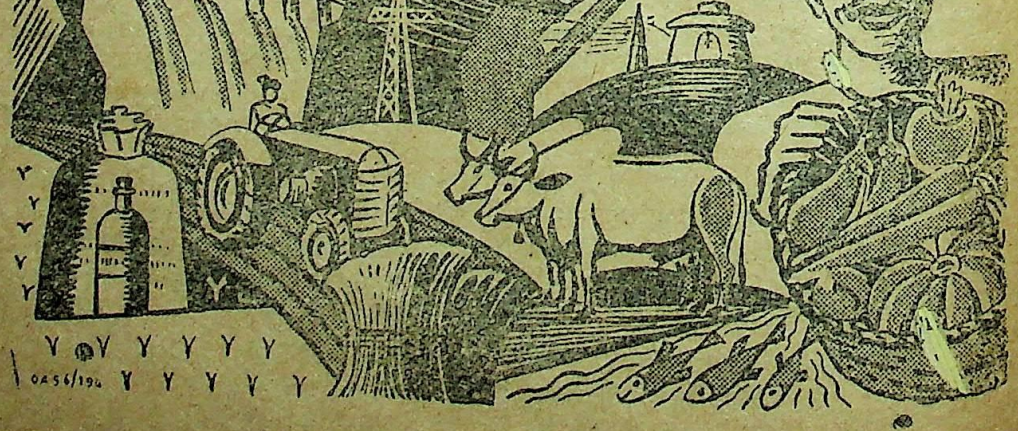

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CI. No. 5 WHOLE No. 6

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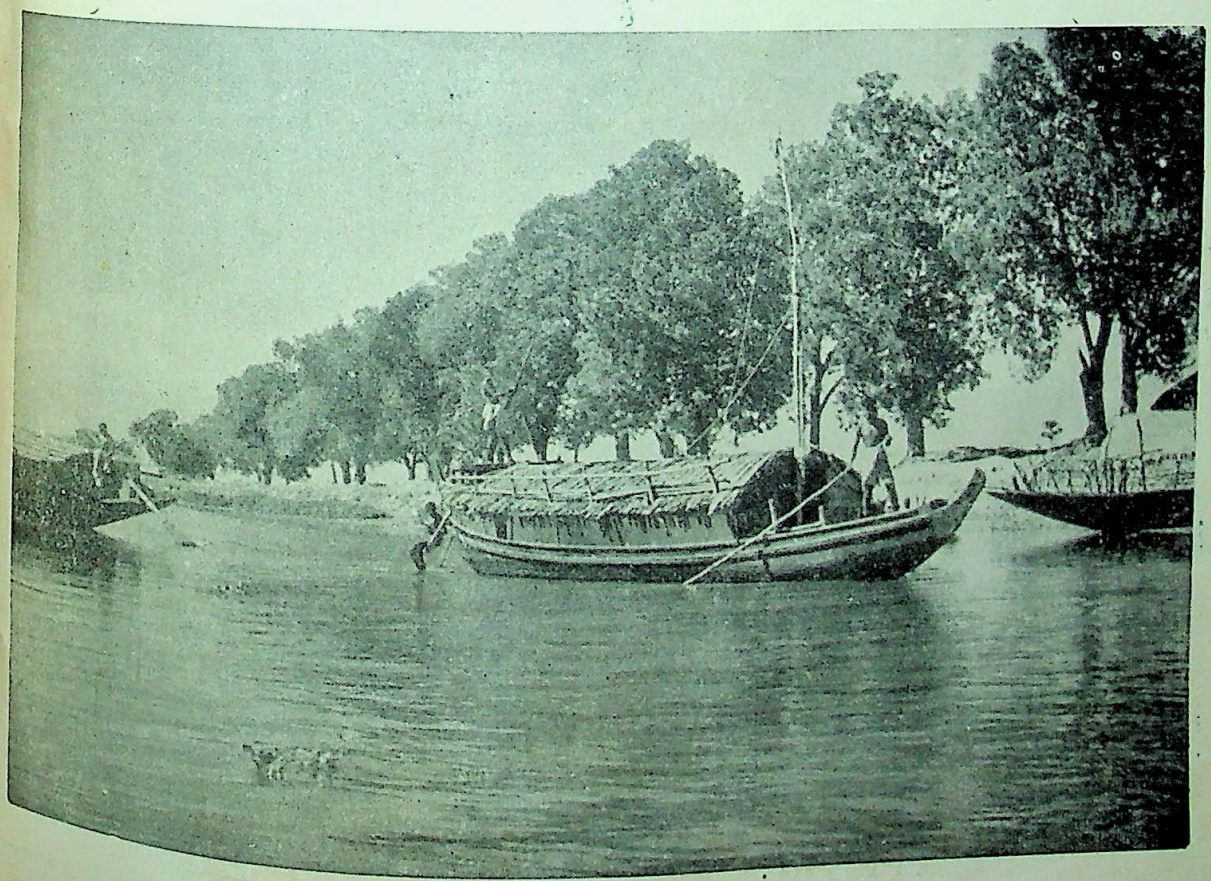

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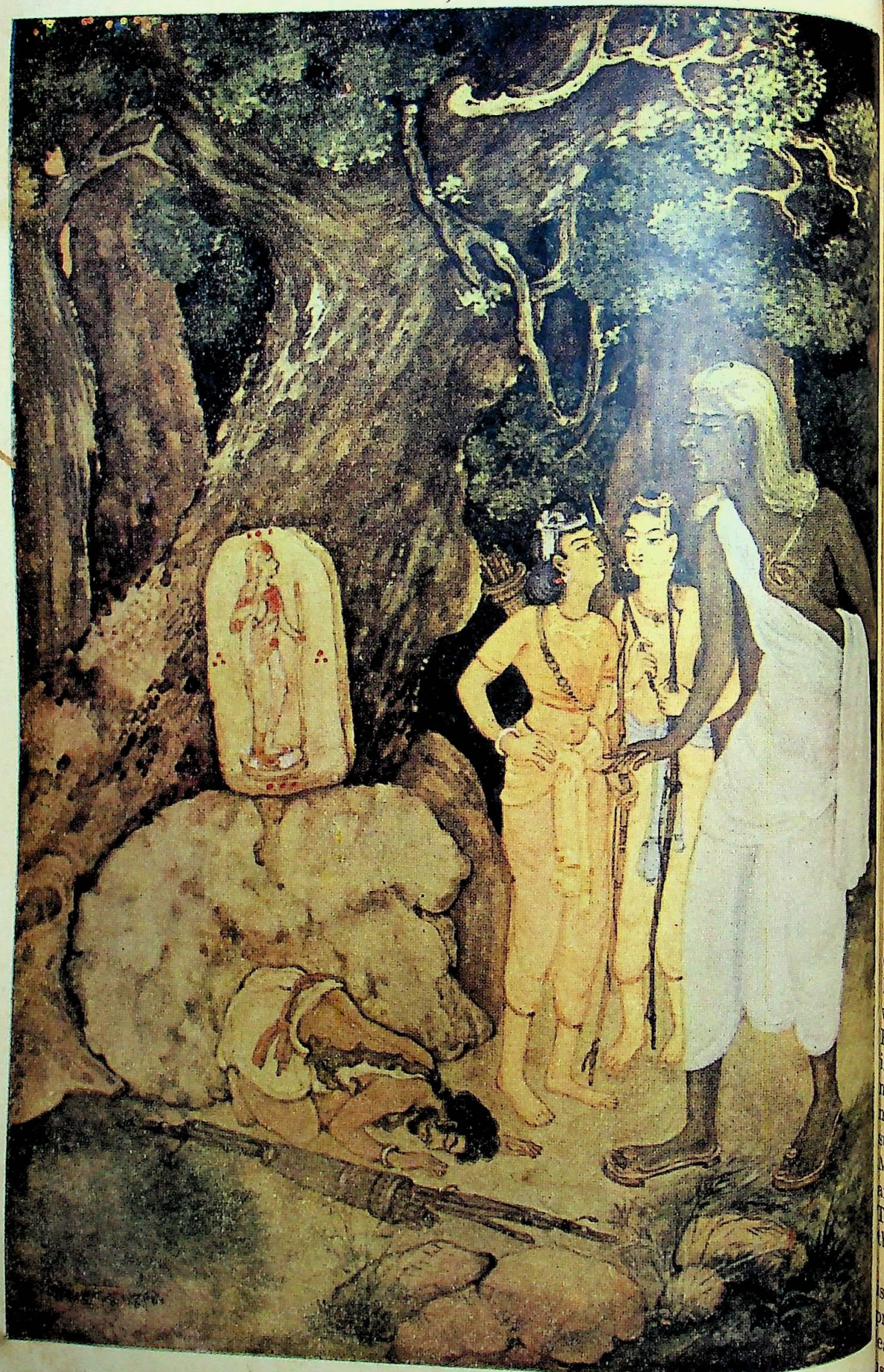

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THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH 1957

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NOTES

The Elections

The Elections are on, all over India, and at the time of writing only a few results have been announced, most being uncontested wins. But some disturbing factors are noticeable, both in West Bengal and in some other States, where we have reliable sources of information.

In West Bengal, there has been a very large influx of anti-Congress—indeed anti-Indian—propagandists from across the border. They are well supplied with money and some of them are powerful mob-orators. Virulent propaganda is being carried on by them in Calcutta and in those districts where there are large bodies of Muslims. The Kashmir Case, with all the false statements manufactured by Pakistan regarding the persecution of Muslims, is the main plank, together with bitter communal diatribes against the present Government, drawing a comparison between what the status of Muslims in Bengal was under the Muslim League Government, prior to partition and what it is today in this part of Bengal. The so-called leftist groups are in concert with them in many constituencies.

In parts of Uttar Pradesh, where casteism is rampant, advantage is being taken of this propensity by most of the Gram Panchayet leaders. An incompetent ministry—some would use a stronger term—has placed most unworthy and corrupt men in power everywhere, and the resultant reactions are now visibly in operation. Even those worthy Congressmen and officials who were profitably associated with the notorious Man Singh, are now openly declaring that they would exact vengeance, for the death of that dacoit and scourge, on the few goodmen who are standing for election.

In other States, too, these underground currents are adding to the strength of subversive and dissident factions. Above all stands the choice of unworthy, and in many cases notorious, candidates chosen by the Congress Chiefs, to stand for election. All these add up to a sum-total of uncertainty in or indifference to the election.

Indeed, the choice of candidates by the Congress for the present election has been a great disillusionment for those who had hoped that at least some better elements would be introduced and some of the most noxious ones would be purged. What has happened is that the standard has been still lowered and all the noble sentiments expressed at the Congress meetings has proved to be so much piffle.

Some of the old guard, consisting in the main of those who fought regardless of cost for the cause for decades and were discarded by our tin-gods who prefer time-servers, are in the campaign again, trying to turn the tide. For, if corruption is rife in the Congress, it is pestilence in most of the opposition ranks. And that is the only hope in many States.

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Kashmir and the Elections

Referring to the oft-repeated propaganda that Kashmir was a national issue and should, therefore, not be made an election issue, the *Vigil*, February 23, writes editorially: "Kashmir is a national question all right but that does not mean it cannot or should not be an election issue, also. Indeed, it should be more so if there are reasons to think that the Government has mismanaged the affair. It is a mistaken notion of the national interest to think that any criticism of the Government's policy and actions in regard to Kashmir is inopportune now when India is under so much pressure from outside."

The magazine goes on to add that in its view the conduct of the Government of India's policy on Kashmir had been greatly defective and as such became a legitimate issue in the elections. "For instance," the *Vigil* writes, "Kashmir has been dealt with by the present Government in a right and wise manner. For instance, we are now taking the stand that Pakistan must first purge its aggression, that is, withdraw its forces from that part of Kashmir which is under its occupation, before the plebiscite issue or any other point can be discussed. Why did not our Government take this straightforward stand from the beginning? Why did it not continue to press the original aggression charge with energy? Why did it practically allow the charge go by default by letting the cease-fire line freeze into a *de facto* partition line and by entering into all kinds of talks and agreements regarding the holding of a plebiscite before getting full satisfaction on its complaint of aggression? Why, even after these talks and agreements, when it was clear that Pakistan had no intention of withdrawing its forces from "Azad Kashmir," did not our Government notify the Security Council that India regarded the plebiscite resolutions as lapsed on account of Pakistan's failure to carry out its agreed obligations? Instead, the position now is that India finds itself actually charged with having gone back on its word."

"Heaven knows the Security Council is very far from being the place where to look for impartial judgments on moral issues. But that a charge of bad faith could at all be brought against this country by the original wrong-doer with a certain plausibility that has undoubtedly affected opinion in several parts of the world is a serious enough matter for which the Government owes an explanation to the people. It must be remembered that the balance-sheet of business or for that matter of any business is relattd to the partition of this sub-continent is not yet closed and filed. The running account must be safeguarded, at least on India's side against any false entry or even the appearance of one."

Big Business and Indian Politics

The dangers of the direct intrusion of Big Business in the country's political life were heavily underlined by His Lordship Mr. Justice P. B. Mukharji of Calcutta High Court on February 28 while disposing of an application by the Indian Iron and Steel Company Ltd., seeking confirmation by the court of a proposed alteration of the Company's Memorandum of Association to allow it to divert funds for political purposes.

His Lordship granted the company's application on certain condition initially for a period of six years only after which this new clause in the Memorandum of Association would lapse unless further extended by the court. Under the condition the company should ensure the fullest possible publicity of such contribution being made and the company was to show in its annual balance-sheets and Profit and Loss accounts every single contribution directly or indirectly made to any particular political party by name, the amount thereof and the date of contribution.

The *Statesman* reports: "*Prima facie*, his Lordship said, the amendment sought (by the Indian Iron and Steel Company Ltd., in its Memorandum of Association) was striking. To the cynic it appeared to be a plea of the company to have legal sanction to bribe the Government of the day, to induce policies that would help the company in business. A company's policy should be determined by its shareholders who subscribed to its capital. Such policy should stand on its own merits and on the convictions and conscience of the shareholders. To induce the Government of the day by contributing money, to the political funds of political parties was to adopt the most sinister principle fraught with grave dangers to commercial as well as public standards of administration. Persuasion by contribution of money

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lowered the standard of administration even in a Welfare State of democracy. To convert convictions and conscience by money was to prevent both democracy and administration."

His Lordship remarked that the joint stock companies were not formed to serve as adjuncts to political parties and possible source of revenue to these parties. The companies were statutory bodies working for different commercial purposes. It would induce most unhealthy competition between the different business companies by introducing a race as to who could pay more to the political funds of political parties. It would harm the interests of good business and national political life alike. It would mark the entry of the voice of the big business into politics and into the political life of the country. Individual citizens, despite their formal equality, would in reality be gravely handicapped in their voices because the length of their contribution could never hope to equal the length of the contribution of big companies.

His Lordship Mr. Justice Mukharji further added that as an effort became visible on the part of the industrial concerns to divert commercial funds to political purposes it was essential, in the interest of both commercial and public standards, to have legislative enactments prohibiting such diversion to keep the springs of democracy and administration reasonably pure and unsullied and before it was too late to control the dangers and mischief inherent in the situation.

In this connection it may be recalled that such an alteration of the Company's Memorandum was earlier obtained by the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Ltd., from the Bombay High Court.

Control over Public Expenditure

With the constantly expanding scope of State participation in the various branches of national economy and production, control over public expenditure has assumed paramount importance. How to combine economy of expenditure with the maximum public welfare has exercised the minds of public-spirited statesmen in all countries. It is also a burning question in India. An article in the Annual Number of the *Economic Weekly* published from Bombay throws an interesting light on some of the related issues.

The article notes some universally-accepted principles of public expenditure which would bear reiteration in the present context of reckless spending and wastage of valuable national resources in unworthy pursuits in India. These principles are:

"(*i*) Every public officer is expected to exercise the same vigilance in respect of expenditure incurred from public monies as a person of ordinary prudence would exercise in respect of expenditure of his own money.

"(*ii*) The expenditure should not be *prima facie* more than the occasion demands.

"(*iii*) No authority should exercise its powers of sanctioning expenditure to pass an order which would be directly or indirectly to its own advantage.

"(*iv*) Public monies should not be utilised for the benefit of a particular person or a section of the community unless—(a) the amount of expenditure involved is insignificant; or (b) a claim for the amount could be enforced in a court of law; or (c) the expenditure is in pursuance of a recognised policy or custom."

When these principles are remembered it does not become difficult to lay down a sound policy for public expenditure; the control of expenditure must be entrusted to an authority independent of the executive department. Human nature being what it is it would be idle to expect an executive officer, whose interest lies in expanding his authority as far as practically feasible, to care much for economy. In fact, he does not. And therein lies the need for a policy of controlling public expenditure.

Various objections are raised against external financial control of the executive department: the most familiar being the charge that an authority independent of the executive department cannot, most often being a non-technical man, realize the needs of the department. While this contention is partly valid it is helpful to recall, as the article does, what a Permanent Secretary of the United Kingdom Treasury said in this connection. While the Finance Officer could not know the technical details of a project, "by dint of practice in weighing up facts and testing evidence and judging men, it is his business to form a layman's judgment on whether the case presented for more expenditure, however admirable it may appear from a particular point of view, is out

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of scale with what can be allowed on a common-sense judgment of the things when other commitments are taken into account," the U. K. Secretary said.

Who should be entrusted with this work of financial control? The writer refers to the observations of the Haldane Committee in U.K. which said that "the supervision of each item of public expenditure by some authority not directly concerned in the expenditure itself can most naturally and effectively be exercised by the Department which is responsible for raising the revenue required." And since it is the lay people sitting in the Parliament who help raising governmental funds, the writer of the article notes, the Parliament's "financial conscience must sit in judgment on experts and that conscience is represented by the Finance Ministry as part of the Government."

The taxpayers' interests also demand that financial control should be exercised by an authority independent of the spending department. The Haldane Committee in their Report on the Machinery of Government in the United Kingdom observed that "on the whole, experience seems to show that the interests of the taxpayer cannot be left to the spending departments." These observations have particular validity in India "where in the first flush of freedom the departmental enthusiast is likely to get out of hand," the writer adds.

We strongly support this last remark quoted above. We find enormous sums being wasted by Government departments all round. If that had been passed by a company auditor, he would be in jail.

India's Balance of Payments

The Reserve Bank of India's recently published "Review" of India's balance of payments reveals that during the eight years from 1948 49 to 1955-56, India suffered from adverse trade balance on current account to the extent of Rs. 889.9 crores. These years have been divided into three economic periods on the basis of payments position. The first period from 1948-49 to 1951-52 was characterised by inflationary pressures and shortages; the second covering 1952-53 and 1953-54 was a period of mild recession in economic activity; and the third period covering 1954-55 and 1955-56 was marked by accelerated economic development home and boom conditions abroad.

During the war there was a large incr in money incomes of the people on accou government budget deficits and balance of ments surpluses. Much of these increased comes was held in terms of money near-money assets since imported g were not available and there was a var of controls on spending in the cou This resulted in inflationary conditions w were strengthened by substantial budget def of the Central and States Governments du the post-war years, the Korean war boom du 1950-51 and a high level of investment, pa cularly in stocks during 1951-52. The inflatio spiral was further aggravated by shortages raw cotton and raw jute following the parti of India. There was also an extreme short of food caused mainly by the failure of monso and also to some extent by the Partition. Th conditions were reflected in the high level imports during this period, particularly of r jute, raw cotton, food and machinery. Dur the two years, 1950-51 and 1951-52, there w a progressively rising level of imports larg owing to price increases and in 1951-52 impo attained the highest level (Rs. 962.9 crore during the whole of the post-war period.

Between 1948-49 to 1951-52, exports increas continuously reaching a record level in 1951-5 following the devaluation in September 1949 a the Korean war boom. The level of impo although higher than that of the exports, show large changes from year to year as a result o variety of factors such as shortages of food a raw materials like raw cotton and jute. Tra deficits totalling Rs. 610 crores occurred d ing this period; but India also receive assista in the form of invisibles, including official don tions, to the extent of Rs. 187.1 crores. T net current account deficits therefore amount to Rs. 422.9 crores. To this draft on foreign exchange reserves were added a sizea outflow of funds mainly as a result of migran transfers and certain extraordinary payments the United Kingdom and Pakisan at the time Independence and the Partition.

The two years—1952-53 and 1953-54 represented a period of mild recession in econo mic activity. With the end of the Korean w boom and the consequent slackening in the pa

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of economic activity abroad, there was a steady decline in India's exports as well as in their prices. In this period exports fell by 3.8 per cent in terms of value and by 7.4 per cent in terms of volume as compared with the earlier period. The decline was particularly marked in the case of exports of jute manufactures. The annual average level of exports during this period was Rs. 570 crores as against Rs. 593 crores during the previous period, and the the annual average index of volume of exports came down from 108 during the previous period to 100 during this period.

The mild recession in economic activity in the country was mainly on account of the disinflationary policies of the Government and the lower level of investment. This factor combined with higher output, both agricultural and industrial and a somewhat tighter import policy resulted in a fall in annual average imports of about 18 per cent in value and 25 per cent in volume as compared with that of the previous period. Imports declined from Rs. 963 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 633 crores in 1952-53 and to Rs. 592 crores in 1953-54. The decline in import occurred mostly in the case of raw cotton, raw jute and foodgrains. Most of the fall was accounted for by the reduction in the volume of import as well as to a fall in prices. The trade deficit in this period was very much smaller totalling only Rs. 83.2 crores and this was mainly on account of a steeper fall in imports as compared to exports. The receipts from net invisibles rose to Rs. 80.5 crores a year largely on account of increase in receipts from private donations and from miscellaneous private and government transactions.

The last period—1954-55 to 1955-56—has been characterised as the period of expanding economic activity. During this period the pace of development activities quickened and this was reflected in substantial amounts of government development expenditure and higher level of investment. Trade liberalisation at home and abroad further increased India's trade, both import and export. Imports increased faster than exports and as a result, the trade deficit rose progressively to Rs. 109.5 crores. The net receipts from invisibles remained more or less at the same level as the previous period. The period witnessed a reverse in the trend of declining exports the value of which rose at the end of the period by a little over Rs. 100 crores as against that of the preceding period. Vegetable oils, raw cotton and tea recorded large increases in exports. The tea export reached the record figure of Rs. 147.7 crores in 1954-55.

Imports increased in value and volume during the last period. In 1955-56, the imports reached a level of Rs. 750.6 crores and in terms of volume were larger than those at the end of the previous period by 20 per cent. The composition of imports underwent a change in this period. Food imports fell to only Rs. 17.5 crores in 1955-56 as against Rs. 72.4 crores in 1953-54 and Rs. 228.1 crores in 1951-52. The import of raw jute recorded a large fall. But imports of producers' goods like iron and steel manufactures, machinery, vehicles, etc, showed significant increases.

Capital Movements: The figures for capital movement for the entire eight-year period indicate a persistent flight of capital on private account. The total capital movement outward was Rs. 92 crores, and of this Rs. 28.5 crores were recorded in the first year. A large part of the outflow consists of migrants' transfers after independence and as such this does not constitute outflow of capital in the ordinary course of business. But this figure of capital outflow is stated to be an over-estimate because it takes account of only certain types of transactions and does not allow for foreign investments in the shape of goods and reinvestments of profits of foreign firms. The annual average of capital on private account during the last four years was of the order of Rs. 6.7 crores. On banking account there was a total inflow of capital of Rs. 21.7 crores during the period, 1948-49 to 1951-52. However, during 1949-50, the outflow of capital stood at Rs. 20.9 crores. During the first period, the changes in the position on short-term account showed a worsening of Rs. 860 crores. This reduction in the country's exchange reserves reflects the impact of heavy current deficits and the extraordinary transfers. In the first period, the total net receipts by way of loans in the official sector amounted to Rs. 125.4 crores. Of this amount, Rs. 121 crores (Rs. 90.6 crores of the U.S. Wheat Loan and Rs. 30.2 crores received from the IBRD) were utilised for financing the First Five-Year Plan. In the first period, the total official transactions resulted in a net

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outflow of Rs. 405.1 crores. This amount includes the payment of Rs. 213.7 crores to Pakistan on account of its share in the Reserve Bank and also purchase of pensions annuities for Rs. 224 crores.

In this period, in addition to the heavy withdrawal from her reserves, India had to borrow both from the U.S. Government (Rs. 58.6 crores) and the IMF (Rs. 23.9 crores). For the eight-year period as a whole, the current deficit excluding official donations stood at Rs. 387.4 crores. This deficit would rise to Rs. 471.9 crores if errors and omission are also added to this total. In addition, there was a private capital outflow for Rs. 92.1 crores. The total outgo on current account, errors and omission, private capital and official long-term transactions aggregated to Rs. 969 crores. As against this, the total receipts from official donations and official loans amounted to Rs. 223.4 crores. The net deficit requiring reimbursement from official assets and other sources thus aggregated to Rs. 745.6 crores. During this eight-year period, India's foreign exchange assets declined by Rs. 720.7 crores. There was, in addition, a net increase in foreign exchange liabilities of the country to the extent of Rs. 22 crores.

The regional pattern of India's balance of payments reveals that the share of the dollar area in India's total exports declined from 23.3 per cent in the first period to 18.9 per cent in the third period. India's imports from the dollar area declined even more sharply from 24.8 per cent during the first period to 16.9 per cent in the third period. This decline in imports from the dollar area improved India's foreign exchange reserves. India's imports from the OEEC countries increased from 11 per cent in the first period to 20 per cent in the third period and this was mainly on account of increased imports of capital goods. The share of exports, however, remained more or less constant at 10 per cent. India had trade deficits with the OEEC countries, her annual average in the third period being Rs. 80 crores.

Finances of Joint Stock Companies

An article appearing in the Reserve Bank Bulletin for January 1957 analyses the balance sheets and profit and loss accounts, generally during 1950-54 and particularly in 1954, of 751 public limited companies registered in India, each with a paid-up capital of not less than Rs. 5 lakhs, and together accounting for two-th of the total paid-up capital of all public lim companies registered in India except bank insurance and investment companies. Accord to the article, there was a sizeable ris corporate profits and capital formation d 1954, reflecting the distinct recovery in econ activity from the post-Korean recession.

Income and Expenditure: Income f sales of the 751 companies, which had decl from Rs. 1,087 crores in 1951 to Rs. 962 cr in 1953, rose to Rs. 1026 crores in 19 Correspondingly, manufacturing expenses w had fallen from Rs. 756 crores to Rs. 590 cr increased to Rs.636 crores. Salaries and w went up continuously from Rs. 154 crores 1950 to Rs. 198 crores in 1954. Mana agents' remuneration which had declined f Rs. 12.4 crores in 1951 to Rs. 10.4 crore 1953, recovered to Rs. 11.2 crores in 19

Profits and Dividends: Profits before (but after provision for depreciation), which fallen sharply from Rs. 85 crores in 195 Rs. 55 crores in 1952, recovered to Rs. 66 c in 1953 and Rs. 78 crores in 1954. A sim trend was evident in provision for taxation retained and distributed profits. Provision taxation accounted for slightly over two-fifth profits before tax and for dividends accou for slightly under two-thirds of profits after in 1954. The major portion of the increas profits after tax during 1954 was reta Profits before tax in 1954 was higher tha 1953 in the majority of the principal indus But they were lower in cotton textile, sugar, paper and shipping groups. Vege oil experienced losses. During the whole five year period 1950-54, profits amount Rs. 347 crores, which were disposed as u tax provision Rs. 142 crores, distributi shareholders Rs. 130 crores and retention in business Rs. 75 crores.

The average rate of dividend on ord shares, which had fallen from 8.2 per ce 1951 to 7.2 per cent in 1952, recovered t per cent in 1953 and 8.3 per cent in 195 majority of the principal industries show increase in the rate in 1954, the outst rise being in tea plantations. There w change in iron and steel industry. paper, jute, vegetable oil and shipping experienced a decline, which was, however

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to an increase in the paid-up capital, and not to a decline in the amount of dividend, in cement and paper industries.

The ratio of net profits (that is, retained and distributed profits) to net worth (that is, paid-up capital and free reserves), which had fallen sharply from 9.6 per cent in 1951 to 5.6 per cent in 1952, rose to 6.8 per cent in 1953 and 7.8 per cent in 1954. The movements in the ratio of gross profits to total capital employed and to gross sales were similar to those in the above two ratios. Profits of individual industries after tax as percentage of net worth reveal that in 1954 the tea industry earned the highest percentage of profit, being 30.6 per cent of the paid-up capital plus reserves (other than taxation and depreciation reserves) and balance of profit. Iron and steel industry comes next with 18.6 per cent, followed by other plantation industries with 13 per cent, Matches 10.2 per cent and Cement 10.1 per cent, Sugar 9.3 and Paper 8.3 per cent.

Gross Capital Formation : The total gross capital formation of the 751 companies more than doubled from Rs. 49 crores in 1953 to Rs. 102 crores in 1954. Gross fixed assets formation accounted for Rs. 64 crores in 1954 (as compared to Rs. 48 crores in 1953), inventory accumulation for Rs. 10 crores (as against a liquidation of Rs. 14 crores) and receivables for Rs. 17 crores (as compared to Rs. 4 crores). Plant and machinery constituted nearly three-fourths of gross fixed assets formation. Increases in investment and cash were responsible for Rs. 5-6 crores each. The rise in inventories in 1954 was due almost entirely to finished goods and work-in-progress, while the fall in 1953 was due mainly to raw materials. During the four-year period 1951-54 as a whole, the total gross capital formation amounted to Rs. 307 crores, of which fixed assets accounted for a little over 60 per cent and inventories for about 13 per cent.

As regards the sources of funds, the chief feature of 1954 was net borrowing from banks to the extent of Rs. 15 crores, as against net repayment of Rs. 7 crores in 1953, this being mainly due to the building up of inventories. Additions to free reserves in 1954 were also higher at Rs. 15 crores. Depreciation provision and taxation reserves also contributed a larger volume of funds at Rs. 28 crores and Rs. 8 crores, respectively, in 1954 as against Rs. 24 crores and Rs. 3 crores in 1953. New issues rose by Rs. 1 crores to Rs. 8.7 crores in 1954, a decline in ordinary and preference shares being more than offset by an increase in debentures.

The total of gross assets of the 751 companies as at the end of 1954 amounted to Rs. 1433 crores, as compared to Rs. 1136 crores at the end of 1950. Of this, over one-half comprise gross fixed assets (Rs. 743 crores) and over one-fifth inventories (Rs. 317 crores). Gross fixed assets rose by 34 per cent during the four-year period 1951-54, while inventories increased by 14 per cent. Plant and machinery accounted for three-fifths of gross fixed assets. Finished goods and work-in-progress formed one-half of inventories and raw materials about a quarter. Receivables constituted 11 per cent, and investments and cash 5 per cent each, of the total gross assets in 1954.

As regards gross liabilities, net worth constituted over two-fifths of the total and comprised paid-up capital of Rs. 380 crores and reserves of Rs. 207 crores. Borrowings formed less than one-fifth of the total gross liabilities and consisted mainly of bank loans (Rs. 101 crores), trade credit (Rs. 55 crores), debentures (Rs. 36 crores) and mortgages (Rs. 25 crores). Depreciation amounted to Rs. 354 crores and taxation reserves to Rs. 77 crores, as compared with Rs. 253 crores and Rs. 58 crores, respectively, at the end of 1950.

The USA and Africa

Africa is the third largest continent. Approximately 75 per cent of the land is either desert or grassy steppe with dense forest in equatorial region. There are about 4,000,000 white population, mainly in South Africa. Seven hundred languages are spoken. It is a continent as wide as the Atlantic, presenting almost every variety of climate and vegetation with vast potential resources. It is a rich continent where starvation is widespread and millions own no property beyond the rags on their backs. Africa has been the victim of exploitation by the old imperial Powers, like, Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and Spain. With the liberation of most of Asia, the importance of Africa as a source of profit, and cheap raw materials and as a strategic base has grown considerably. There is an endless succession of mineral deposits of almost every variety with copper, chrome, diamonds, gold, iron,

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manganese, tin, uranium, etc. Africa produces 98 per cent of the world diamonds, 80 per cent of the cobalt, 75 per cent of the sisal hemp, 70 per cent of the palm oil, 70 per cent of the cocoa and chocolate, 60 per cent of the gold, 35 per cent of the phosphates, 30 per cent of the chrome and manganese, 20 per cent of the copper and 15 per cent of the coffee. Africa naturally tempts the Imperialist Powers to its shores for exploitation.

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, the great American Negro scholar, says: "Having lost the chance to exploit Asia, the West today is turning to an El Dorado as great as the industrial revolution ever offered. And that is the new Africa of the 20th century . . . And because of exploitation of black labour on an increased and more profitable scale, all Africa today is aflame . . ." John Gunther in his *Inside Africa* declares: "Africa is our Last Frontier. Much of Asia has been lost; Africa remains. But Africa lies open like a vacuum, and is almost perfectly defenceless—the richest prize on earth." The U.S.A. intends to oust the West European Powers from Africa, and then to take their place, gaining undivited control of the vast African raw material sources.

In August 1956, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives published a report of the Bolton Mission which made a tour of 24 African countries situated south and east of the Sahara in the last quarter of 1955. The special study mission was headed by Congress woman Frances P. Bolton. The U.S.A. has no colonies in Africa. Then why this Bolton mission was sent to study the situation in that continent? But colonies need not always be visible ones; there can be "invisible" colonial empire which is subject to the economic exploitation of the colonial Power. The invisible colonial empire of the USA is perhaps the biggest today in the world. The Wall Street exploits the peoples and natural resources of almost all of Latin America, a large number of countries in the Far East, South East Asia and the Middle East. The American monopoly capital has extended its power over these territories. In the opinion of the Bolton Mission, the USA must play a leading part in the Africa of the future. "If we do not, others will," they point out. The Mission states: "The United States, in its position of leadership in the free world, cannot sidestep its responsibility in [illegible] unfoldment of Arica."

The report of the Mission states that Af[illegible] is of great importance to the free wo[illegible] especially perhaps to the United States. [illegible] apparently limitless raw materials, almost all them important to the USA, would seem to o[illegible] a useful exchange; for Africa is today becom[illegible] one of the greatest markets of the world not o[illegible] for all the "thousand and one gadgets we m[illegible] for the easing of life, but for heavy industry [illegible] well. Surely this economic potential is one [illegible] United States cannot afford to overlook." Fr[illegible] July 1, 1945 to December 31, 1955, the Un[illegible] States granted $71,500,000 in subsidies to Af[illegible] that is, only 0.15 per cent of the sum spen[illegible] the USA throughout the world during [illegible] period ($45,100 million). Since the Sec[illegible] World War, the USA has given African coun[illegible] loans amounting to $342.7 million or 2.12 [illegible] cent of the total foreign loans for [illegible] period ($16,140.5 million). The loans w[illegible] made available chiefly through the Export-Imp[illegible] Bank. Private American investments rose fr[illegible] $150 million at the end of the Second W[illegible] War to $664 million by the end of 1954. T[illegible] International Bank for Reconstruction a[illegible] Development gave African countries lo[illegible] totalling $259.7 millon from January 1, 1[illegible] to March 31, 1956, or 10.43 per cent of all loans to various governmental agencies. M[illegible] than half of all these loans went to the Un[illegible] of South Africa.

The Bolton Mission observes that the Un[illegible] States is particularly interested in seeing [illegible] the colonial question is solved peaceably bec[illegible] of its need for strategic military bases. All colonial Powers of Africa are tied in with North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the U[illegible] has most friendly relationships with all of th[illegible] In fact, through agreements signed with Metropolitan Powers which control the Afri[illegible] colonies, the United States has been gra[illegible] extensive bases all over Africa and spent l[illegible] sums of money in building landing fields, [illegible] and other types of strategic bases. No[illegible] among these bases are the jet fields in Mor[illegible] Lybia and Liberia, and also weather observa[illegible] stations in Eritrea. The Mission further s[illegible] the United States is greatly interested in fri[illegible] relations with the Metropolitan Powers in s[illegible] as their ports in Africa are concerned is

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event that the Suez Canal might be closed. Such ports are Dakar, Monrovia, Abidjan, Lagos, Port Gentil, Luanda, Walvis Bay, Cape Town, Durban, Lourenco, Marques, Beira, Dares Salaam, Mombasa, Mogdishu, Aden and Djbouti. These ports are important not only for refuelling and naval supply, but also as interceptor and repair stations for submarines.

The Bolton Mission states: "Should any nations in Africa have racial disorders, these might result in the loss of the use of these bases by the United States or other free Western forces. It is to the American interest that the people in the areas where these bases are located have a peaceful Government friendly to the United States and its interests." The United States interest in the settlement of the colonial problem stems also from the fact that strategic raw materials from Africa are vitally needed in the industrial machine. In fact, the raw materials from colonial Africa supply an important segment of the United States requirements. These raw materials are uranium, cobalt, and industrial diamonds from the Belgian Congo; manganese from the Gold Coast and French Morocco; copper from the Federation of Rhodesia; uranium, chrome, vanadium and asbestos from South Africa; and important food such as cocoa from Gold Coast and Nigeria; palm oil from all of West Africa; coffee from West and East Africa; and tea from Nyasaland. Other strategic commodities are imported from the rest of the colonial areas in Africa. In line with the ever-increasing United States requirement for these commodities, the United States had made large grants and loans for the increasing development of deposits of minerals and extraction of raw materials.

U.S. monopolies have already captured a considerable share of Africa's natural resources of manganese and chrome ores, vanadium, cobalt, copper, zinc, bauxites and diamonds. The biggest American companies controlled by the Rockefeller, Morgan, Mellon and other financial groups are taking part in the struggle for the control of raw material sources in Africa. The Bolton Mission points out that the USA has certain general goals in Africa, namely, an interest in the evolution of Africa in a manner not inimical to the democratic type of government; the exclusion of influences unfriendly to the U.S. way of life; the hope of having access to the raw materials of that continent, especially to safeguard the minimum strategic needs of the USA; to increase trade with all African countries and to exercise a moral leadership over Africa.

Independent Ghana (Gold Coast)

Gold Coast was the name given to the coast of Guinea in West Africa by pioneers of trade and adventure of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who found gold to be in common use amongst the local inhabitants. The country comprises three district parts: the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories, each with its own history and characteristics, and gradually brought under a single administration. Part of Togoland adjoining the Gold Coast which had been placed under British administration in 1922 would also, as a result of a popular verdict in a referendum in May, 1956, the results of which were endorsed by the United Nations, form part of the State which from the date of its independence on March 6, 1957, would be called Ghana after the ancient African empire of that name.

Ghana has an area of 91,843 square miles almost equal to that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and has a population of aboutt 4,620,000 of whom some 13,000 are non-Africans. The first recorded English trading voyage took place in 1553. It was not until the twentieth century that British rule was established throughout the present land and international boundaries defined.

Gold Coast is endowed with fertile lands and rich mineral deposits. Its chief product is cocoa described by Minister of Finance, Gbeblemah as the "life blood of this country." About 185,000 labourers are engaged on the production of cocoa. Gold Coast is the world's largest cocoa producer which constitute its chief export. Other agricultural products are palm oil and palm products, copra and coconut oil, coffee, grain and root crops. Timber and timber products occupy third place in Gold Coast's external trade.

The country is very rich in minerals so that mining is only next in importance to cocoa production in the country's national economy. The chief minerals are gold, diamonds, manganese and bauxite. Gold Coast was the leading gold producer in the U.K. dependencies and

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in recent years yielded about 70 per cent of British colonial production.

Industrialization is still at a very early stage.

The revenue of the country amounted to £80,568,000 in 1954-55 and expenditure to £79,860.

A Legislative Council was formed as early as 1850 but it was not until 1946 that the Africans had a majority. In 1949, an all-African committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice (now Sir Henley) Coussey to draft a Constitution for the country. The Constitution was introduced in 1954 and brought the people to the threshold of self-government. After some negotiation the British Government finally agreed in 1956 to grant Gold Coast full independence within the Commonwealth on March 6, 1957.

The independence of Gold Coast with that of Tunisia, Morocco and Sudan and the re-assertion of Egyptian sovereignty mark the beginning of a new era in Africa. The full significance of the emergence of a new Africa on the world arena would be apparent only after some time but there can be no doubt about its revolutionary potentialities. The emergence of a New Asia has completely upset the traditional pattern of international politics. In view of their vast natural resources which have remained largely unexplored and the strategic situation, the impact of the newly independent African States is bound to be of far-reaching importance.

As one of the peoples regaining independence after a long interval India cannot but welcome the re-emergence of the African peoples as independent nations. It is to be hoped that the new State of Ghana would have opportunity to develop her resources free from the crushing rivalries of the power-blocs.

Malaya's New Constitution

After great initial resistance the British Government agreed in the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Conference in January-February, 1956, to grant Malaya full self-government and independence within the Commonwealth by August, 1957. Following the Conference the British Government appointed a Five-man Malaya Constitution Commission in March, 1956. The members of the Commission were drawn from the different Co... wealth countries. The Commission was h... by Lord Reid (U.K.), a Lord of Appeal ... nary. The other members were Sir Ivor ... nings, British constitutional expert; Sir W... McKell, former Governor-General of Aust... Shri B. Malik, former Chief Justice o... Allahabad High Court, India; and Mr. J... Abdul Hamid of the West Pakistan ... Court.

The 60,000-word report of the Comm... was published in London in the third we... February, 1957. The Commission has re... mended that under the proposed consti... the Federation's Parliament should consist ... Yang-de-Pertuan Besar (Head of State) ... Senate, and a House of Representatives. ... Head of State would be elected for five ... from among the present Malayan princes. ... the House of Representatives (consisting o... members) would be wholly elected for a m... mum term of five years by single-me... constituencies on a territorial basis. The S... would consist of 33 members, 22 of whom w... be elected by the Legislative Assemblies o... States comprising the Federation and e... nominated by the Head of State.

Under the proposed constitution Ma... would be a Federation of the present pri... States of Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, ... Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor ... Trengganu, together with the settlement... Malacca and Penang, which would b... States immediately before Merdeka (Inde... dence) Day.

Elections under the new Constitution ... be held on January 1, 1959.

Indonesia in Travail

Since its inception, the Indonesian re... has almost constantly been plagued by ... necine strife and various other political ... economic troubles. The country's aspiration ... national unification remains unfulfilled pr... the decision on the future of New G... Meanwhile, various parts of the country ... differing political affiliations have put fo... mutually conflicting claims for federalism ... unitary State and so on. The situation ... been more complicated by the participati... the Army in politics. Since the end of 19... revolt is on in Sumatra. Policy differen...

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the attitude to the Sumatra revolt has led the three of the four parties in the Government to withdraw their support to the Central Government and to the resignation of Dr. Mohammed Hatta, the Vice-President. Dr. Sastroamidjojo's Government thus now remains more or less as a transitional government pending a political solution.

On February 21, President Sukarno of Indonesia put forward a new plan for ending the country's political evils. In a nationwide broadcast the President referred to the unsuitability of imported democracy of the West in Indonesia which had failed to represent the "true democracy in accordance with the ideals of the Indonesian people." The instability of Governments in Indonesia over the past eleven years he ascribed to the faults of such imported democracy. Every Government in the past which had tried to cope with the evils of society had to waste parts of its energy fighting the opposition. The time was now ripe for Indonesia to establish "a new governmental system, new in every respect," he said.

Outlining his plan before a gathering of party leaders and representatives of all sections of Indonesian community numbering over 900, the President called for the formation of a Cabinet representing all parties and a National Council. The Council, he said, would be composed of representatives of labourers, farmers, intellectuals, national enterprises, Protestants, Catholics, Muslims, scholars and women, the 1945 (revolutionary) generation, the provinces, Army, Navy and Air Force, the Attorney-General and senior Cabinet Ministers.

The Communists, who formed the fourth largest political party in Indonesia and who had so long been excluded from participation would also be able to join the Government under the new plan.

President Sukarno's plan has been unequivocally endorsed by the Communist Party. The ruling Nationalist Party has also announced its approval of the President's Plan. However, Mr. H. A. A. Achsien, parliamentary leader of the key Muslim Party, Nahdatul Ulema, which holds enough seats in Parliament to swing the balance of power in favour of the Masjumi, has disapproved of the President's new plan.

All-India Radio

The functioning of the All-India Radio has become a subject of public comment in the context of the controversy arising out of the election broadcasts. The opposition leaders wanted the Government to arrange for broadcast of party policies by the leaders of the different parties on the lines followed by the British Broadcasting Corporation. The Government refused but suggested instead the summary broadcasts of the election manifestos of the national parties over the Radio. The opposition naturally declined this proposal. The Government, thereupon, declared that election speeches would not at all be broadcast over the radio "excepting where they make reference to important non-party subjects, national or international." The saving clause clearly provided a subterfuge for Congress propaganda and referring to this the re-emergent *Vigil* writes that it provided an example "how a good rule can be made worthless or even fraudulent by the addition of an exception clause."

In an editorial article on February 16, the *Vigil* which has resumed weekly publication since the 26th January, writes: "The loophole provided by the exception clause here is only too obvious and through this loophole government leaders' election speeches are almost everyday finding an easy entry into A.-I.R.'s broadcasts. A Minister interpolates an administrative policy pronouncement into an election speech and it is broadcast by the A.-I.R. Every reference by the Prime Minister to the Government's attitude on any aspect of the Kashmir issue, for example, is presumed to come under the category of 'important non-party subjects—national and international'."

Who is to decide what is a non-party issue? the magazine asks and goes on to point out that even Kashmir could not be regarded as a non-party issue in view of the widely differing evaluation of the manner in which the Government had handled the subject. It also refers to the fact that during the recent Suez war when British soldiers had been actually fighting in the field the Opposition leader in Britain had demanded of the British Broadcasting Corporation equal facilities with the Prime Minister to criticize and oppose the Government. Considering that most of the influential newspapers and news agencies were in the service of the Congress

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for one reason or other the *Vigil* asks: "With all these advantages so overwhelmingly on its side, why must the ruling party want to corrupt A.-I.R.'s news broadcasts also for party ends?"

If the Government leaders had "something really very important and urgent to announce on any matter of general interest the device of issuing 'statements' is always there, though even that, barring very exceptional cases will be wrong during election time," the *Vigil* concludes.

Regional Languages and Government

While on the subject of radio broadcasts it is also well to recall how the Government is implementing its avowed policy of encouraging the growth of regional languages, how such a policy is given shape by the All-India Radio. As our knowledge of the workings of the other centres of the All-India Radio is limited the comments are largely based on the programmes broadcast from Calcutta.

At the outset it should be noted that the programme content of the broadcasts of the Radio has greatly improved in recent times and the authorities have shown examples of remarkable originality in one or two instances. But there has also been a simultaneous decline on other fronts. Many prominent artists are dissatisfied with the manner of working of the A.-I.R. But the most noticeable deterioration has taken place in the broadcasts in the regional language—in this case Bengali. The Calcutta station makes two broadcasts simultaneously. Formerly a listener could, turning himself to one or the other band, enjoy a continuous broadcast in Bengali while a simultaneous programme might also continue to be transmitted in some other language. Considering the importance of Calcutta it was only fair that non-Bengali listeners should also get some scope for entertainment over the radio. As a matter of fact sizable programmes in Hindi, Oriya, English were being broadcast by the radio regularly. Other Indian languages also found scope through the Calcutta Station from time to time. There was a well-considered balance in the linguistic content of the broadcasts and there was practically no complaint.

All this has, however, changed now—wholly at the cost of the regional language. If one now tunes his wireless receiving set in Calcutta for a Bengali programme—particularly at the evening time when only one has a scope for relaxation—he is likely to be appointetd as often as not. What the authorities have gained through this change it is more than we do seem to know. But evidence is unmistakable that a great majo of the listeners in this state has a feeling disgust for the radio. The radio authorities must be receiving scores of letters of comp as would appear from the frequency with they recur in the weekly replies to liste questions. The replies of the authoritie broadcast over the air are that the ch follow official policies at higher levels.

The public would naturally like to whose formulation the new policy is as w on what considerations it is based. They also equally like to know how the new p of restricting broadcasts in regional lang can be regarded as fitting in with offi avowed policies of encouraging regional guages. How is it that the linguistic mino in independent India cannot enjoy even facilities which were available to them an alien rule? Does it not call for a re-ex nation of the bases of the present policie

Socialism and the Second Plan

From Avadi to Indore—the Congress ney has chiefly reflected in the change o ideal from the "socialistic pattern of so to "socialism". A natural question is there how far the Second Five-Year Plan imi by the Congress leads the country to socia

Discussing the socialist potentialiti the Second Five-Year Plan in the *Eco Weekly* Annual Number, which also cont number of other articles on related issues, A. K. Das Gupta, the noted Indian econ writes that "the broad facts are there to that whatever the Plan may achieve—s achievements are not to be inconsist otherwise—it has very little of socialistic tent in it. This is not so much a comme on the Plan as a reminder of the fact that are conflicting values in a society which hard to reconcile."

Socialism implies public ownership o ductive resources and the liquidation of earners. Public good is substituted for p profit as the motive force and inequalit incomes is reduced. This can, however realised in stages and indeed the Second

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as a matter fact, heavily underlines this concept of a gradual realisation of socialism.

Now what does the Plan set out as its aim? No doubt the proportion of investment has been perceptibly altered in favour of the public sector from 50:50 in the First Plan to 62:38 in the Second. "Yet considering the fact that this proportion refers only to new investments and does not take account of the existing capital, the private sector is still to play a dominant role in the economy. Existing industries are not to be nationalised. On the other hand, considerable expansion is contemplated in the private sector even in respect of basic industries. Taking into account the fact that almost the entire investment in consumers' goods industries is left to the private sector, one would say that socialization of capital is still a far cry. If socialism is your goal, you do not proceed by permitting the private sector not only to persist but also to expand," Prof. Das Gupta writes.

Similarly the prospect of a reduction of the inequality of incomes is also likely to remain largely unrealized. "Even if the uncovered gap of Rs. 400 crores is left out to be ultimately filled in by additional taxes, the Plan proposes to finance 50 per cent of the public investment by loans and deficit, neither of which can be said to conform to the canons of socialism. Deficit finance, if it does anything, will raise prices and one should not expect that it will operate in favour of the relatively poor, unless adequate controls are exercised," the noted economist writes.

Israel and U.N. Sanctions

The following special from the *New York Times* of February 21, shows how dependent Israel is on U.S. financial aid:

"Washington, Feb. 20—A stroke of President Eisenhower's pen could bring virtual economic ruin to Israel.

"The President, to back up any United Nations sanctions recommendation, merely would have to direct the Treasury Department to bar all dollar payments to Israel. Such payments already are barred to Communist China and North Korea under the Trading with the Enemy Act.

Such an order would hurt virtually any country, but Israel probably most of all. The reason is that Israel relies for her economic survival on "extraordinary" dollar payments—payments made by the United States Government and private citizens outside of normal trade.

"Israel's foreign trade is gravely out of balance. In 1955, for example, imports were $326,000,000 and exports only $86,000,000. Many of the imports are vital not only to Israel's development but also to her economic life. They include, for example, most of her food and fuel.

"Israel covers the gap in these ways:

"United States Government aid—This includes farm surplus sales for Israeli currency, and came to $45,000,000 in the last United States fiscal year. When the invasion to Egypt began Israel was discussing straight economic aid of $25,000,000, farm surplus deals totalling $30,000,000, and an Export-Import Bank loan of $75,000,000. These are in suspension and Israel is to some extent already pinched.

"German Reparations—These come to about $70,000,000 a year. West Germany, not a member of the United Nations, has indicated these reparations will continue.

"Sale of bonds in the United States—These amounted to $51,000,000 last year. If President Eisenhower should order a bar on dollar payments to Israel these sales would stop.

"The United Jewish Appeal—This supplies between $60,000,000 and $100,000,000 a year. These remittances too would be stopped by such a Presidential order.

"Private capital investment—This runs between $10,000,000 and $25,000,000 a year, mostly from the United States.

"Tourism—This brings in about $5,000,000 a year. United States tourists already have been stopped.

"Under the Trading with the Enemy Act the President could impose almost any degree of economic sanctions he wanted. To the extent that foreign aid and tourism are in suspension, 'sanctions' already have been impposed at a potential cost of $130,000,000. A United Nations General Assembly recommendation merely calling for a halt on all foreign aid to Israel would continue this suspension in effect, assuming the United States complied.

"A United Nations call for total economic quarantine of Israel could lead, at least theoretically, to invocation of a complete payments ban, as with Communist China and North Korea. This would cut off more than $100,000 000 from the U. S. A. and Israel state bonds, plus whatever private capital investment was planned.

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"Finally, such a complete quarantine could involve a shut-off in trade. United States exports to Israel came to $90,200,000 in 1955 and imports from Israel to $17,100,000.

"The United Nations could, of course, start simply with 'diplomatic' sanctions, which would mean withdrawal of recognition and diplomatic missions. If it moved to economic sanctions, it could be vague or specific. And finally, it could recommend military sanctions, meaning armed force to push Israel behind her borders."

Key Factor in Middle East

The *New York Times* of February 17, gives the following summary of the situation in the Middle East Asia at that time:

"These are the essentials of the situation in the Middle East, 112 days after the invasion of Egypt.

"*Israel* remains in two areas overrun by her armies, demanding security guarantees as the price of withdrawal.

"The *U. N. Emergency Force* is deployed across the Sinai peninsula from Suez to the Israeli lines.

"*Egypt* again holds the canal and seems prepared to use that fact as a lever against Israel.

"The *U. S. and U. S. S. R.* are locked in a great struggle for leadership and influence in the Middle East—a struggle that crystalized with the collapse of Britain's position in the region and that hinges largely on what course the Arabs pursue.

"Into this intricate picture the U.S. last week moved with a caution that reflected the delicacy of its effort to assert influence in the Egypt-Israeli conflict without giving offense to the Arabs.

"At the same time Moscow mounted a counter offensive against the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East. It was plain that this broad struggle would be long and bitter—a mark of the reviving cold war.

"The Egeyptian-Israeli dispute centers on two tiny specks of land—the Gaza Strip and Sharm el Sheikh—occupied by Israel since the first days of the November attack on Egypt. Egypt and the U.N. General Assembly have repeatedly demanded Israel's unconditional withdrawal. Israel has demanded as a price for withdrawal, assurances that Egypt will refrain from (1) border raids based on Gaza; (2) a blockade, based on Sharm el Sheikh, of the Gulf of Aqaba connecting the Red Sea with the port of Elath.

"For the U.S., the dispute involves a dilemma. Egypt's case commands the sup... the nations Washington is most eager to ... the Arab-Asian bloc. But this country's ... allies—Britain and France—share with ... grievances against Egypt's Nasser Gover...

"For weeks, Washington has been try... stave off a direct test at the U.N. To th... the U.S. has negotiated ceaselessly behi... scenes. It has calld on Israel to withdra... on Egypt to give guarantees. It has ad... proposals leaving the key decision up to Sec... General Dag Hammarskjold. It has ... resolutions framed in what appeared ... deliberately ambiguous terms. One, passe... weeks ago, was so vague that the vote ... Egypt and Israel on the same side—abste...

Gromyko for Shepilov

The following editorial in the *New ... Times* of February 17, shows what a large ... tion of the U.S. press consider what this ... indicates:

"Under the Russian system, *Narkom...* (the Foreign Ministry) plays a largely te... role. Major policy decisions are made ... topmost leaders of the party, then relayed ... Foreign Minister. 'This appointment ... very little to me,' Maxim Litvinov, ... Russia's second Foreign Minister, once la... 'I know that Koba (Stalin) will be maki... the decisions. * * * * I don't even know ... line to take in conversations.'

"Nevertheless, switches at the head ... Foreign Ministery can symbolize policy ... Molotov's replacement of Litvinov in March, ... for example, opened the way to the revers... policy culminating in the Nazi-Soviet ... August of that year. Last Friday Moscow ... known another switch in the office of F... Minister by this announcement:

" 'The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Pre... has relieved Shepilov of the duties of U.S.... Foreign Minister in connection with other ... [It] has appointed Gromyko U.S.S.R. F... Minister.'

"The two men involved in the ... provided a striking contrast in pers... experience and outlook.

"*Dmitri Shepilov*, 51, handsome and

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going, is a propaganda expert, member of Khrushchev's party secretariat, and former editor of Pravda. His first public ventures in foreign affairs paved the way for the arms deal with Egypt in September, 1955, and for the Soviet-Yugoslav reconciliation in the spring of last year. He replaced Molotov as Foreign Minister last June.

"*Andrei Gromyko*, 48, dour and tight-lipped, is a career diplomat who worked his way up under Stalin and Molotov during the bitterest days of the cold war. Before returning to Moscow in 1953 as Deputy Foreign Minister, he had served as Ambassador to the U.S. and Britain and as chief Soviet delegate at the U.N. There he became known for often saying 'Nyet' and sometimes 'taking a walk'."

Military Aid to Pakistan

We give below the news report of Pandit Nehru's speech at Hyderabad on February 22 :

"Prime Minister Nehru today declared that United States military aid to Pakistan and Britain's continuing support of Pakistan on the two-nation theory could lead to a dangerous situation and bring conflict in its wake.

"Shri Nehru, who was addressing over two lakhs of people here at the Fateh Maidan said, 'We have to remain fully prepared to meet any challenge to our freedom or any efforts to revert the course of history. Our Army is quite strong. We have weapons too and these weapons will be used when the time comes to use them to defend ourselves. But more important than this is to develop unity of hearts and to bring about an emotional integration of the people.'

"The Prime Minister devoted a considerable part of his 100-minute speech to Britain's 'strange' attitude towards free India and the flow of military aid into 'irresponsible hands.'

"Shri Nehru said that the Kashmir question acquired a special importance in the context of this U.S. military aid to Pakistan and Britain's 'old attitude' to India's freedom.

"The Prime Minister asked the people to remain prepared to meet any danger that might arise and said, 'We can prepare ourselves fully by not getting perturbed and at the same time developing unity among the people of India.'

"Shri Nehru reiterated that India in no circumstances would allow foreign troops to step on her soil.

"He denounced military pacts and military aid and said that these had increased the danger of war.

"Shri Nehru said that 'leaders of Pakistan' had openly stated that the military aid, including atomic weapons, received from the U.S. would be used against India.

"'I do not understand,' Shri Nehru said, 'with what intention, these arms are being sent to Pakistan. Is it to maintain peace in Asia? I have not understood fully these new ways of keeping peace.'

"The Prime Minister said that the U.S. Government had assured India that the military aid being sent to Pakistan would not be against India. 'We do not doubt the genuineness of this assurance of the U.S. Government. We have respect for the United States which is a great country. We have friendship with them. But I want to ask, who is going to check whether the military aid sent to Pakistan is at any time used against India or not? Would this investigation be started after it was used?'

"Shri Nehru declared that wherever this method (of giving military aid) had been followed, conflict and war had come in its wake. 'War cannot be prevented by warlike means.'

"Shri Nehru said that Pakistan was an independent country and had a right to receive milltary aid from the U.S. 'What right have I to tell Pakistan what to do or what not to do? But I have certainly a right to say that the result of this will be, what dangers arise from such a step and what we have to do to meet any contingenry flowing from these dangers.'

"Shri Nehru said that this military aid to Pakistan had caused India anxiety and had forced her to divert funds for strengthening her armed forces. 'We did not like to do it but we were forced to do it. We are busy in building up our country and removing poverty from our midst. But this military aid to Paklstan has forced us to tighten our belts and stop some of our nation-building works to divert funds for buying armaments.'

"Britain, Shri Nehru said, had encouraged the propagation of the concept of the two-nation theory in India in pre-independence days. The British Government did it to weaken the nationalist movement and sow disunity. India ultimately accepted partition because 'we were tired of internecine conflict engineered by the British. I,

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however, want to make it quite clear that we accepted partition not on the basis of the two-nation theory but on the basis of a political settlement. The issue was decided mainly in the Legislatures of Punjab and Bengal in undivided India. This was done through voting. Whether it was done rightly or wrongly is a different matter. I do not go into it.'

"Shri Nehru said that the leaders of Pakistan took no part in the freedom movement of India. They were with the British and that was one reason why Britain was today so friendly and near to Pakistan. In this freedom movement, the people of Kashmir had close connections with the Indian freedom movement.

"'The people of Kashmir, the majority of whom are Muslims, had repudiated the two-nation theory all along. The Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir have many common bonds and they opposed this two-nation concept.'

"He said that it was very strange indeed that even after 10 years of India's freedom, Britain should still support this two-nation concept.

"Pakistan, Shri Nehru said, had always been a great supporter of the two-nation theory but what was odd was that this theory was sometimes also supported 'in subdued language by certain foreign countries, particularly Britain.'

"The Prime Minister said that it was really strange that Britain should try to adopt the old tactics of pre-independence days and support this two-nation theory and try to revive the old conflict. 'Were these last 10 years after freedom a dream that Britain should today again harp on the two-nation theory and place this old conflict before us, as if nothing had happened in all these years?' he asked.

"Shri Nehru added amidst cheers, 'We will never accept this two-nation theory whatever might be the consequences.'

"Shri Nehru said, 'I do not wish to say anything about the leaders of Pakistan. They are leaders of a big country. But I will say with all respect that when India, and Pakistan was also included in it then, was in the throes of the fredom movement, these leaders of Pakistan did not take part in this freedom movement. Not only this, these leaders to some extent opposed it. Our rulers at that time, the British, supported these leaders of Pakistan. This was done when our country was thirsting for freedom. It is, therefore, understandable that Britain has closer relations with Pakistan because of this association.'

"Shri Nehru said, 'This is understood but I thought that the world had changed little during all these years and it had started thinking in a new way on these questions. I was deeply pained to know that people in England, not all people but people generally should continue to think on these matters in the same old way as was the case before India's freedom.'

"'He added, 'It appears that India's going out of possession of Britain has caused a severe blow to their hearts.'

"The Prime Minister said amdist prolonged cheers that nobody could reverse the course of history. 'If, however, any effort is made to bring about a reversal of history, then storms will arise. So this Kashmir question is important. But more important than this are the things behind it.'

"The Prime Minister said. 'I do not mind that you or anyone in India should get perturbed over this matter. But I do want you to realise that it is a complicated matter and there are dangers inherent in it.'

"'Apart from this, we have to consider the flow of most modern weapons into Pakistan. Pakistani Army officers have openly stated that they have got atomic weapons also. They are not atom bombs but atomic artillery which can fire small atomic bombs. It is really very startling that these weapons are being sent to Pakistan.

"He said, 'With what intention are these weapons being sent to Pakistan? Are they being sent to ensure peace in Asia? I have not understood fully these new ways of keeping peace,' he said."

The Soviet Veto

We reproduce from the *New York Times* of February 19, a report on the Security Council moves on the Kashmir question, prior to the actual Soviet veto. It shows the actual position of the resolution:

"United Nations, N.Y., February 18— Security Council postponed a vote on the Kashmir problem today after it had been learned that the Soviet Union intended to veto a resolution sponsored by the United States and three other nations.

"The postponement, until 10-30 A.M. Wednesday, was made ostensibly because V. Krishna Menon, head of the Indian delega-

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was ill and unable to deliver what was said to be 'a very important statement.'

"The Soviet threat of a veto was not made directly, but was filtered down to the delegations concerned through talks in the corridors. On the Council floor, Arkady A. Sobolev, head of the Soviet delegation, said that the resolution sponsored by the United States, Britain, Australia and Cuba raised and artificial 'hullabaloo' and that his delegation would oppose it as it stood.

"The resolution asks that the Council President, Gunnar V. Jarring of Sweden, go to India and Pakistan to try to work out a solution of the Kashmir problem. Mr. Jarring's primary concern would be the demilitarization of the disputed mountainous state. The resolution suggests that he keep in mind a Pakistani proposal to send a United Nations force to replace Pakistani and Indian forces there.

Mr. Sobolev offered some amendments that would remove any mention of a United Nations force, as well as any reference to a plebiscite. The United Nations has been attempting to arrange a plebiscite for the last nine years. India contends there is no longer a need for such a vote.

"Although Mr. Sobolev's statement that he would 'oppose' the resolution indicated a veto, some delegations remained uncertain. The Soviet Union abstained January 23 when the Council adopted an earlier 'holding' resolution. However, word was passed around that the Russians meant just what they said.

"Indian circles here were upset over the development. It was reported that during the last few days they had been asking the Soviet delegation not to use the veto. The Russians were told that India had no intention of complying with the resolution anyway, it is understood.

"India's discontent is based on several reasons, among them the fact that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is campaigning for the Indian general elections, to be held in the first half of March. Communists in India are in opposition to Mr. Nehru's Congress party and it would be embarrassing for him to have them say the Soviet Union had pulled India's chestnuts out of the United Nations fire.

"What may be other reasons for India's feelings on the matter were indicated by Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Mr. Noon told the Council that Pakistan would welcome the resolution.

"Pakistan evidently holds no strong hopes for the resolution and recognizes that if India refused to co-operate it would be of little practical value. Mr. Noon said he would 'welcome' a Soviet veto, if only because it would show the American public 'who are Mr. Nehru's only friends.'"

Resolution on Kashmir

We append below the text of the last Security Council resolution:

"The following is the text of the second resolution submitted to the Security Council on Kashmir by Britain, United States, Cuba and Australia.

"The security council recalling its resolution of January 24, 1957, its previous resolutions and the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on the India-Pakistan Question:

"(1) requests the President of the Security Council, the representative of Sweden, to examine with the Governments of India and Pakistan any proposals which, in his opinion, are likely to contribute towards the settlement of the dispute, having regard to the previous resolutions of the Securiity Council and of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan to visit the sub-continent for this purpose; and to report to the Security Council not later than April 15, 1957.

"(2) invites the Government of India and Pakistan to co-operate with him in the preformance of these functions; and

"(3) requests the Secretary General and the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan to render such assistance as he may request."

Pakistani Methods

The following news-item illustrates the principles on which Pakistan relies in her attempt to prejudice the world against India. It also is a measures of American gullibility:

"The United Press of America expressing regret for the supply of news picture purported to show the exodus of Kashmir Muslims to Pakistan say that the picture in question was sent to Karachi Bureau of the UPA by the Directorate of Publications of the Pakistan

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Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. There was nothing in the accompanying caption and in the picture itself to indicate that the picture was anything but spot material. Thus the photograph was accepted in good faith and the unfortunate mistake was not a deliberate move on the part of the UPA to harm India's interest.

"Mr. John Hlavacek, Regional Manager of the U.P.A., issued the following statement in Delhi today:

"'The Indian press has carried in full the apology from the Washington Post on the news-picture supplied by the American United Press which purported to show the exodus of Kashmiri Muslims to Pakistan.

"'Although the American United Press accepts responsibility for the unfortunate mistake, the United Press of America feels that a full explanation is necessary to remove any impression that this was a deliberate move on the part of American United Press to harm India's interest.

"'The picture in question was sent to the Karachi Bureau of the United Press of America by the Directorate of Publications of the Pakistan Ministry for Kashmir Affairs. Although the Ministry for Kashmir Affairs now admits the pictures were taken in 1947, there was nothing in the original accompanying caption material and in the picture itself to indicate that the picture was anything but spot material, and it was included in the American United Press picture service as such.

"'It is the customary practice for United Press of America to receive photos from a number of sources, Government and otherwise. In this case also our Karachi Bureau accepted the photograph in good faith.

"'However, the United Press of America already has sent its sincere regrets to the Government of India for the unintentional damage caused by the publication of the picture. The United Press of America also wishes to express its regret to the Indian public.

"'The American United Press is an independent organization, not owned or controlled by any Government or the newspapers of any one country. The American United Press gives service with favour to clients all over the world on an equal basis.

"'Indian editors well know the role the United Press of America played in aiding the Indian independence movement by bringing to India an independent news report. The American United Press is proud of its record and deplores anything that reflects upon its integrity.'"

Cinema in Education

The *New York Times* of February 15 published the following account of how the cinema is being harnessed to actual school education. Our adult education and technical education sections may well take this pointer:

A complete course in high-school physics is being put on motion-picture film, in sound and color.

This is believed to be the first full-year course in this country to be made available on film. It is being financed by a $500,000 grant from the Ford Foundation Fund for the Advancement of Education.

The project is designed to help schools that lack science teachers. For some time school administrators have complained that they have been unable to get enough chemistry or physics teachers. Many schools do not offer physics because they cannot get instructors.

The course will consist of eighty-one hours of films, divided into 162 half-hour classes. The first half of the course has been completed; the rest will be ready by June 1.

More than 500,000 feet of color film will be used to photograph the course in a multiple-camera set-up in a Pittsburgh studio-classroom. The complete course will consist of more than 160,000 feet of film.

Controversy Over Contract

Recently there arose a fierce controversy in Calcutta Corporation over the granting of a contract for laying 72 ins. pipeline between Tallah and Palta designed to augment the supply of drinking water in the city of Calcutta. Estimated to cost Rs. 2.19 crores, this was the biggest development scheme undertaken by the Corporation in many years. The Water Supply Committee of the Corporation recommended the work of pipe-laying to be entrusted to a Bombay firm and the Corporation in a meeting on February 8 endorsed the recommendation of the committee by 34 votes to 32, the Mayor and the Deputy Mayor also voting in favour.

Before the proposal could thus be passed there was a prolonged debate in which members of the official Congress Party

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found themselves opposing their own Party within the Corporation.

The main critic of the measure was an official member, Shri S. K. Gupta, I.C.S., Chairman of the City Improvement Trust. As the points he made seemed very pertinent we reproduce them substantially below as reported in the *Statesman*, February 9, 1957:

"The day's severe criticism of the Water Supply Committee's proppsal," the report says, "came from Mr. Gupta when he spoke in support of his amendment. He agreed with the Committee that the Tallah-Palta main was a matter of such vital importance to rate-payers that nothing should be done to delay or defer it on frivolous grounds. At the same time, he added, if some legal formalities had been omitted or if the matter was doubtful, they could not simply shut their eyes to them and go ahead. Three such omissions had been pointed out by the Chief Accountant of the Corporation. These were that the financial provision for the estimated cost of the project was lacking; the size of the pipe having been increased from 60 ins. to 72 ins., Government sanction should be obtained for the deviation; and that since the estimate was likely to exceed the present calculations, further provision of funds and sanction of the Government for the increased expenditure was necessary.

"The first point had been met by the Finance Committee which had agreed to provide a loan of Rs. 1.5 crores in the next year's budget. As regards the second, the Chief Engineer did not consider the deviation as material. But as for the third the officer had promptly reduced the supervision charges from the usual 5 per cent to 1 per cent and the cost of land acquisition from Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 3 lakhs in order to keep the estimate within the sanctioned amount. Even assuming that very little land would have to be acquired, it had to be explained why the cost for it was assessed so high in the first instance. He suggested that immediate sanction of the Government should be asked for to the deviation of the approved specification and to the increase in the estimated cost, if any.

"One, said Mr. Gupta, who went through the proceedings of the Water Supply Committee, could never overlook the vacillation shown by it. In December, 1956, it decided in favour of Sur Iron and Steel by a majority of five to two irrespective of party affiliation. Within two days of this resolution an associate member filed a rescinding motion and on January 10, 1957, the Committee reversed its previous decision.

"That the dice was heavily loaded in favour of the Bombay firm, from the beginning," said Mr. Gupta, "is clear from the papers circulated, and one cannot help feeling that the officers of the Engineering Department and some members of the Standing Committee have been vying with one another in making the path easy for Structural Engineers and difficult for others.

"The tender was originally called on October 8, 1955, and the box was opened on February 14, 1956, before which no one is supposed to know who are the parties who have submitted tenders. Why then was it assumed in October, 1955, when the general conditions and specifications were finalized that the tenderer would be an outsider who would have to set up a factory at Palta and need a site free of charge? Why did the Deputy Chairman of the Water Supply Committee visit the factory of Structural Engineers in Bombay in December, 1954? The information was that the Engineering Adviser to the Corporation also visited the factory at the same time. Was it scientific curiosity or was contact already established with the firm in anticipation of this contract? Why were the M.S. plates received in November-December, 1956, immediately transferred to Palta? It could be done only on the assumption that the acceptance of the tender of Structural Engineers was a foregone conclusion, even though there were two other tenderers whose workshops were in Calcutta?

"In the discussions at the Committee stage, the 'extra consideration' given to Structural Engineers by some Councillors was in strange contrast with the summary dismissal of the cases of others.

"Explaining his reasons why the tender of Sur Iron and Steel should be preferred to that of Structural Engineers, Mr. Gupta said that it was to their interest to break the monopoly and encourage the growth of competition in this particular line of work. Secondly, the efficiency of Structural Engineers was not as great as was reported and the advantage which they

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had over the Calcutta firm on the ground of experience in pipe fabrication was now neutralized by the powerful combination of Kuljian Corporation and Sur Iron and Steel. Thirdly, that the so-called economy derived from the tender of Structural Engineers was a myth because the amendment to one of the clauses of the contract subsequently introduced made this economy perfectly illusory.

"Structural Engineers had experience of the first part of the work—fabrication of pipes—which accounted for less than half the cost of the project. They did not do much trench digging in Bombay. But in the case of the Tallah-Palta main the entire 14 miles would be underground. In the matter of cathodic protection of the pipeline they were as completely innocent as anybody. The proposed to entrust this work to another firm which existed on paper and had not done any such work before. The firm would, therefore, have to depend on a London firm."

Replying to the debate Shri J. L. Saha, Chairman of the Water Supply Committee, said that M|s. Structural Engineers were given the contract because they had actually carried out similar work and their rates were economical. He said that Shri S. K. Gupta had tried only to create a bias in the House so that these tenders were rejected or at least the contract went to M|s. Sur Iron and Steel. The Corporation by sanctioning the purchase of steel plates for the pipe line in advance had gained some economic advantage, and when these started arriving, he had asked the Commissioner to stack them in the Central Municipal Workshops at Tallah. It was a matter of regret that Shri Gupta saw "motives" behind everything the departments had done.

We find it rather surprising that the Chairman of the Improvement Trust of Calcutta should think that the fabrication of the pipes was a minor question compared to the laying, and that he should not be aware that the Kuljian Corporation was only a consultant and supervisory firm and not structural engineers.

Unity in India

Pandit Nehru seems to be well aware of the dissensions amongst our nationals, as the following news report of his speech at Jubbulpore on February 27 would indicate. But his judgment on the causitive factors is still far from reality:

"Prime Minister Nehru who stressed in speeches during his election tour of six States vital need of forging real unity in India ma personal reference at his election meeting late last night.

"Shri Nehru, who spoke with great fee and emotion, said: 'Forgive me for talking you about myself. I am capable of work perhaps have a little intelligence. It is not extraordinary. But for the last thirty or years I have come in touch with the people India and the people have given me affection and love, given me their confide So I became Prime Minister.

" 'But I am something more than the Pr Minister because I enjoy the affection of people of India. This affection is my stre and it is for this reason that I am more agile my age for I have no doubt that this vig comes from your love and affection.

" 'I have been in touch with the people India for thirty years before independence I too became a symbol of the unity of India

" 'There is nothing special in me but effect of my work before independence enab me to serve India better today. Perhaps I serve India a little more than others because this past association and comradeship with people of India.

" 'I do not know what might happen a wards when other people will be in my p who have not belonged to the Gandhi (epoch).

" 'They will not enjoy this advantage. I am anxious that in the next five or ten ye the country settles down firmly on the path progress and advancement, and that the advan enjoyed by my generation may be fully utili in the service of India.'

"Shri Nehru referred to the forces w created disunity in India and said: 'We h many problems, pilitical, social, and econo but the basic problem is whether are a nation or not? Our country is geographically. But are we one emotional Are we bound together with emotional ties not? There are unfortunately factors which enemies of our nationalism. They are com nalism and casteism and other things w separate our people. We have to fight ruthlessly to strengthen our nationhood.'"

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INDIA'S CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

By ARTHUR A. WICHMANN,

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Introduction

[The following paper by Professor Arthur A. Wichmann, Department of Economics, University of Wichita, Wichita, Kansas, was read at the luncheon session of the Fifth Annual Conference on Asian Affairs at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, held on October 12-13, 1956, under the chairmanship of the present writer. Professor Wichmann's careful analysis of the Second Five-Year Plan should be of special interest to readers in India. The paper sets forth the considered, scholarly judgment of a friend of India. The slightly pessimistic note in Mr. Wichmann's paper concerning India's ability to make good its blueprint of the Second Five-Year Plan is understandable when viewed objectively. But scholars do not make room for the intangible quality, the determination and dedication of a people. I am quite sure, just as India fulfilled her First Five-Year Plan magnificently, so will she be able to fulfil the Second Five-Year Plan. In addition to the will of the people of India, one may count upon another intangible asset, namely, the concern of the American people and the American Government to help India realize her blueprint within the framework of democratic processes. Hence I do not subscribe to Professor Wichmann's pessimistic note, but it seems to me that the readers in India should benefit from his objective analysis. —Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa.]

India's current economic problems are not unique to the sub-continent. All under-developed areas commonly share these problems. India is unique, however, with respect to the value system she has adopted as a frame-work within which her economic problems have been and are to be handled. As is commonly known, India's leaders have chosen to adhere to democratic ideas in their struggle for economic development. In China, on the other hand, totalitarian methods are being utilised in the quest for economic development. Throughout the rest of the world leaders and citizens of the under-developed countries are carefully observing both India and China and are eagerly awaiting quantitative data which may permit a comparative study of the rates and absolute levels of economic development achieved under the two different approaches to the problem. Interest in the relative levels of economic development and the speed with which these levels are attained is not confined, it should be noted, to the under-developed countries. The entire Western world is, or at least should be, vitally interested in the economic experiments currently being conducted in China and in India.

It seems reasonable to assume that if India's method is more successful than China's, other under-developed nations will prefer to follow the Indian blue-print in tackling the problems of economic development. A corollary would then seem to be a closer alliance of the under-developed regions with the Western Powers as well as an increasing tendency on the part of the under-developed areas to identify themselves with the aims of the Western world. The opposite seems likely, if not inevitable, should India's experiment fail and China's succeed. The significance of the latter for the West in the event of the complete degeneration of international relations should be obvious to all.

Nature and Determinants of Economic Development

Definitions

An appreciation of India's current economic problems necessitates some knowledge of the nature and determinants of economic development generally. Though it is a bit hazardous to suggest that economists, or other social scientists for that matter, can agree completely upon anything, it is highly probable that most economists would equate economic development with a persistent rise in per capita real income.[1] Certainly the Government of India Planning Commission has discussed economic development in terms which indicate unmistakably that it subscribes to the definition of economic development just presented.[2] Key factors in or determinants of economic development are population, natural resources, capital formation, and technology. Though other subsidiary factors may speed or retard the process of economic development, it is generally agreed that the primary

1. If military prowess be the goal of development, as it might well be for a totalitarian state, then "national" might be substituted for per capita in the definition given above.

See: C. Lowell Harriss, *The American Economy* (Homewood, Ill. Richard D. Irwin, 1953), pp. 1020-1022 for a discussion of this point.

2. Government of India Planning Commission, *Second Five-Year Plan* (New Delhi, 1956), Chapter II. See also, table on p. 73 of same publication. This reference is cited henceforth as *Second Five-Year Plan.*

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determinants of economic growth or development are the four factors just enumerated.[3]

Certain techniques and public policies available to highly developed countries in promoting economic growth are either not available at all to under-developed countries or can be used only so sparingly that meager returns if any can be expected from their use.

Role of Capital Formation

In a country with a growing population a persistent rise in per capita real income requires a rate of increase in the national product in excess of the rate of population growth. For the national product to rise not only must existing capital be replaced as it depreciates or is consumed but the supply of capital must be enlarged. That is to say, there must be net capital formation taking place at a rate sufficient to permit the physical product of the economy to grow more, relatively, than the population. For countries that are highly developed economically the net capital formation requirement is fairly easily met. For example, if full employment exists in the United States[4] but it is desired to step up the level of capital formation, tax rates may be raised[5] thus reducing levels of consumption. A reduced level of consumption will release resources for capital formation while at the same time the higher tax rates have provided the Federal Government with increased revenues which can be utilized for channelling the released resources into new investment.

Historically, the countries with a high level of economic development have not had to concern themselves with a deficient rate of capital formation during periods of full employment. Deficient investment outlays have plagued [illegible] though, when under-employment and depre[illegible] existed. If unemployment and depression per[illegible] the highly developed economy, it is quite [illegible] for the economist to prescribe the appro[illegible] public policy remedy. Per capita real in[illegible] can be raised by re-employing the currently employed workers, capital, and other productive services. Government can re[illegible] accomplish this directly by hiring the employed resources itself and directing [illegible] activity, or it can achieve the same re[illegible] indirectly by raising its level of expenditures goods and services. In either case employ[illegible] rises, output rises, per capita real income [illegible] and, with higher levels of income, savings increase thereby providing the resources nece[illegible] for net capital formation.

The Savings Dilemma

Conditions confronting an under-deve[illegible] economy attempting to raise per capita rea[illegible] come are such, however, that prescribing techniques and policies appropriate to the h[illegible] developed economy will either fail complete[illegible] will produce side effects which may be [illegible] unacceptable. This is particularly true if, [illegible] the case in India, the development progra[illegible] the government is welfare-oriented and pe[illegible] broad scope for freedom of consumer ch[illegible] Typically the per capita real income in u[illegible] developed countries is very low, so low, in [illegible] that increasing the current rate of savi[illegible] considered impossible. Indeed, in many [illegible] countries, saving is virtually nil. This s[illegible] not be surprising since per capita real incom[illegible] under-developed areas is frequently well [illegible] what is considered a minimum subsistence [illegible] Where this is true the dilemma posed is [illegible] intractable. Per capita incomes can be [illegible] only if net capital formation is stepped up [illegible] to do this resources now consumed must [illegible] released for capital formation. However [illegible] consumption is reduced—savings increased [illegible] less-than-subsistence level of living is made [illegible] lower.

Population, Technology and Natural Resources

Though most under-developed countries [illegible] a substantial amount of unemployment and [illegible]

3. Compare, for example, the following:
(1) W. Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth* (Homewood, Ill. Richard D. Irwin, 1955), pp. 5-12.
(2) *Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan,* Editors: Simon Kaynets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1955), Ch. 1.
(3) *Second Five-Year Plan,* pp. 6-7.

4. For a classification of countries by level of economic development see Eugene Staley: *The Future of Under-developed Countries,* (New York: Harper Bros., 1954), pp. 16-17.

5. One might argue that higher taxes will destroy private investments, thus, on balance, no net capital formation results. It is not necessary to take sides in such an argument, however, for the tax rates might be raised regressively and if so is unlikely that the high-taxes-destroy-investment-initiative group would utter a murmur of protest.

6. See: Wilfred Malenbaum, "India and [illegible] Development Contrasts," *Journal of Political Ec[illegible]* (February, 1956), pp. 1-24.

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employment, idle resources are confined almost entirely to labour. Though of course labour is essential to capital formation and to economic activity generally, labour alone cannot create capital. Other productive services already existing, capital in particular, must be used in conjunction with it. Yet, in most instances, in India and countries with a roughly comparable level of economic development, other productive services are not available since they are not unemployed. Stout hearts, great courage, and ingenious and fertile minds are required even to confront such a dilemma, to say nothing of solving it.

The combined impact of population growth and improved technology upon underdeveloped areas tends frequently to intensify rather than to mitigate the difficulties associated with attempts to achieve economic growth. The technology of death control is singularly acceptable throughout the world. Dissimilar societies and cultures accept and adopt the major technological advances in medical science and adapt rather readily to its requirements, it seems.[7] The technology of birth control, on the other hand, for cultural, religious, and other reasons is much less acceptable. As a result cases now abound of instances in which phenomenal reductions in death rates have been produced over relatively short periods of time while birth-rates have fallen only slightly and, in many instances, have not changed at all or have risen.[8]

When one adds to the above characteristics of underdeveloped areas the fact that most of the world's land area and known natural resources are in the hands of those countries possessing a high level of economic development, the magnitude of the tasks confronting India and similar nations is seen to be staggering and likely to leave one completely appalled.

7. See, for example, (1) *Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan*, op. cit., pp. 263-315 in particular; (2) Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), Chapter 6; (3) Frank W. Notestein, "Problems of Policy in Relation to Areas of Heavy Population Pressure," *Demographic Studies of Selected Areas of Rapid Growth*, (New York: Millbank Memorial Fund, 1944), pp. 138-158; (4) George Kuriyan, "India's Population Problem," *Focus*, (October, 1954), pp. 1-6.

8. Specific cases in point are provided by U.S. experiences in Puerto Rico and by the rapid population rise in Ceylon after 1946 when DDT was introduced for the control of malaria on the island.

India's Second Five-Year Plan

The discussion presented to this point has indicated the general nature of the problems currently facing India in its efforts to achieve the objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan formally launched on 2nd of May, 1956. Throughout the remainder of this paper attention will be focused upon some of the major economc goals of the Second Five-Year Plan, the specific problems associated with their attainment, and the probable successes or failures that may be expected.

Target Goals vs. Needs

Though the Plan contains many specific objectives or targets, it is not inappropriate to suggest that two major objectives tend to dominate. These objectives are (1) to raise the level of national income in real terms by 25 per cent, and (2) to provide employment for all new additions to the labor force during the five-year period.

In achieving these two major objectives some of the target goals set are the following:[9] (1) Food production is to be increased by 10 million tons per year, a 15 per cent improvement, (2) 21 million additional acres are to be irrigated, an increase of nearly one-third, (3) Iron ore output is to be increased nearly 200 per cent, bringing it to 12.5 million tons per year, (4) Steel production is to be boosted to 4.3 million tons per year which is an increase of 231 per cent, (5) In achieving the steel target coal production is to be increased 58 per cent, bringing it to 60 million tons per year, (6) Electrical generating capacity is to be doubled, bringing it to 6.9 million kw., (7) Production of fertilizer is to be more than tripled, raising it to 2.17 million tons per year, (8) Cotton production is to be increased by about one-third, (9) Jute production is to be upped 25 per cent. The village development program now reaching 80 million persons is to be expanded to embrace all of India's half-million or so villages—thus reaching some 325 million persons. The targets, in absolute terms, are impressive to say the least. Yet, viewed from the standpoint of India's needs, they are really very modest goals. For example, according to the Planning Commission, the 10-million ton increase in food production will

9. See *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 51-76 for a list of the specific target goals and a brief discussion of them.

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permit an increase in daily per capita caloric intake from 2,200 at present to 2,450 in 1960-61. Yet, as the text of the second Five-Year Plan indicates, the 2,450 daily per capita intake of calories must be weighed "against the minimum of 3000 calories recommended by nutrition experts.[10] Another measure of the modest nature of the goals may be obtained by translating the 18 per cent per capita real income increase provided by a 25 per cent increase in national income into U.S. dollars. Using 1952 prices in India as the base, the Indian per capita income in 1955-56 was $58.61.[11] Thus the 18 per cent increase set as the target goal for the Second Plan amounts to $10.55 per capita per year, not an extravagant increase it will surely be agreed.

Financing the Plan

Estimated Expenditures and Sources of Financing

Attainment of the target goals depends, among other things, upon the accuracy of the Planning Commission's estimates of expenditure requirements, and the ability of the public and private sectors of the Indian economy to finance these estimated expenditures. According to the Planning Commission's estimates, outlays or expenditures of the Central and State Governments over the period of the Second Five-Year Plan must be 48 billion rupees while the private sector of the economy is expected to make outlays in connection with the plan of 24 billion rupees.

The financing of the public outlays is to come from the following sources :

(1) Surplus from current revenues, 8 billion rupees
(2) Borrowings from the public, 12 billion rupees
(3) Other budgetary resources, 4 billion rupees
(4) External financing, 8 billion rupees
(5) Deficit financing, 12 billion rupees, and
(6) Unspecified domestic sources, referred to as the "Gap," 4 billion rupees.[12]

One can deduce from the Planning Commission's statements that the 24 billion-rupee outlay in the private sector is expected to come from the following sources :[13]

(1) 3 billion rupees from foreign sources
(2) 4 billion rupees from domestic commercial bank credit expansion
(3) 3 to 4 billion rupees which may be lent out of increased commercial bank time deposits, and
(4) the 13-14 billion-rupee balance must come from re-investment of earnings and the flotation of new security issues in the Indian Capital market.

Balance of Payments Problem

It will be observed that public outlays and private outlays combined depend upon obtaining 11 billion rupees from foreign sources. The 11 billion rupee figure is the estimated deficit in the Indian balances of payments for the period 1955-56 to 1960-61. It is proposed that 2 billion rupees of the deficit be met by utilizing existing foreign exchange holdings of the central bank by that amount. It seems unlikely that private foreign capital will flow to India during the next five years at a rate in excess of India's needs in connection with repayments of past loans and interest charges on loans extended to her by the International Bank, by the United States, and by the U.S.S.R. Thus 9 billion rupees of the balance of payments deficit must come from external public sources. From undisbursed I.B.R.D. loans already granted to India, from unexpended prior appropriations of aid from the United States, Norway, countries participating in the Colombo Plan, and from special credits extended by Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. to finance new steel plants, it appears that 2 billion of the 9 billion rupee deficit is already assured. If it is assumed that aid from the United States and Colombo Plan countries, as well as loans from the I.B.R.D., continue in the next five years at the same rate as the past five years and that the funds are utilized at the same rate, perhaps another 2 billion rupees of the deficit will be covered. Granted all the preceding sources of foreign funds become available, a deficit of 5 billion rupees must somehow still be financed. From what sources a foreign exchange bal-

10. *Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 260.
11. The calculations here are based upon Wilfred Malenbaum's estimates presented in his article. "India and China: Development Contrasts," op. cit., p. 5. See, also, *Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 73.
12. See, *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 72-92.
13. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 92-94 and chapter 19.
14. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 102-105, also *Eleventh Annual Report: 1955-1956* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Washington D.C. table on pp. 32-33.

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of this magnitude is to be forthcoming is not at all clear from the Planning Commission's analysis of the problem of the balance of payments deficit.

In appraising the likely success of financing the balance of payments deficit, a few observations seem relevant. First, to the extent reliance is placed upon private foreign sources, these may well prove unobtainble. Capitalism, whatever its vigor and vitality in its native enviroment, seems timid, extremely cautious, and singularly lacking in venturesomeness these days when placed in an alien environment. This is particularly true if the alien environment is controlled by a government dedicated to achieving the goal of a socialistic state. The distinction made by Nehru and the Congress party between things economic and things political is not a distinction made by Western capitalists. Socialism, for the capitalist, means nationalization and expropriation of property and as such is singularly repugnant. Such statements as "The public sector has to expand rapidly . . . it has to play the dominant role in shaping the entire pattern of investments in the economy, whether it makes the investments directly or whether these are made by the private sector. The private sector has to play its part within the framework of the comprehensive plan accepted by the community . . . . Private enterprise, free pricing, private management are all devices to further what are truly social ends; they can only be justified in terms of social results,"[15] are almost certain to repel private Western capital. Should this be the case, as seems most likely, the foreign exchange problem will be even more difficult to solve than previously indicated.

Second, it is possible that India's international policy of neutralism is motivated quite as much by economic as by political considerations. Though East and West agree on few issues, we find them both extending aid to India. If the U.S.S.R. agrees to finance a steel plant, this is countered by similar proposals from the West and *vice versa*. It may well be that neutralism, properly exploited, will find both East and West vying for India favour during the next five years and that in doing so, an apparent balance of payments deficit is converted into a surplus. For India's sake it may be hoped that this will be true. For the sake of the West it may also be hoped that it will be true, though one could wish that the aids were prompted by a somewhat more enlightened understansing of the stakes at issue in the Indian experiment.

15. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 22-23.

Savings-Investment Problem

If foreign resources are available to the extent of 11 billion rupees, 61 billion of the 72 billion rupees of planned outlay will have to come from domestic sources. If from the 61 billion rupees one subtracts 10 billion rupees of "current Developmental expenditure,"[16] net savings of 51 billion rupees will be required to finance domestically the planned outlays. Savings of this magnitude will require that 10.2 billion rupees be saved per year as compared with current (1955-56) net savings of about 6.5 billion rupees per year. For savings to reach an average of 11.2 billion rupees per year it will be necessary for them to grow at the rate of about 16½% per year. During the Fist Five-Year plan savings rose at an annual rate of 7.2% per year. By 1960-61 savings must reach a level of about 13.96 billion rupees per year if the target is to be achieved. The 7.45 billion rupee increase in savings in 1960-61 over the level in 1955-56 represents about 28% of the 26.8 billion rupee increase in national income planned for 1960-61 over the level attained in 1955-56. On the basis of the above calculations savings will amount to 1.88 billion rupees the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan and will represent 32% of the increase in national income occuring in that year.[17] Since the actual level of national income rose in India during the First Five-Year Plan by 18% and savings grew at an annual rate of 7.2%, it appears doubtful that with a 25% increase in national income, assuming it is achieved under the Second Five-Year Plan, will boost the growth rate to 16½%. It seems quite unlikely that increases in savings as a proportion of increases in national income can be stepped up to a level of 32%. Such a marginal rate of saving is un-

16. This is done by the Planning Commission in arriving at the net investment expenditure though the exact nature of "current developmental expenditure" is not too clear. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 56-57 and p. 82.

17. The calculations in this paragraph are based upon a compound rate of growth in savings of 16½ per cent per year and a similar rate of growth in national income of 4.53 per cent per year. Both rates are consistent with the target goals and are implicit in them.

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usual even for a highly developed economy in which high marginal rates of saving may be expected. Apart from the imposition of rather stringent controls, which may well be at odds with the welfare objectives of the plan, it is difficult to see how savings can be made adequate for the non-inflationary financing necessary to reach the target goals.

Deficit Financing

Even if funds from all sources relied upon by the Planning Commission are in fact obtained it will still be necessary for the Government to borrow heavily from the Reserve Bank of India. It will be recalled that the amount of such borrowing (deficit financing) is estimated at 12 billion rupees by the Planning Commission for public sector expenditures while expenditures in the private sector totalling 4 billon rupees are to be financed through an expansion of credit by commercial banks. Thus new money in the amount of 16 billion rupees is to be created during the five-year period 1955-56 to 1960-61. From this total of 16 billion rupees, 2 billion rupees should be subtracted because of the planned utilization of foreign exchange balances in that amount. This leaves a new addition to the money supply for the five years amounting to 14 billion rupees. Since the Indian money supply for the year 1955-56 totalled 21.8 billion rupees, the 14 billion rupee addition to it means an increase of 64.2% by 1960-61 or an average rate of growth in the money supply per year of 10.5% The inflationary potential of such an increase in the money supply should be readily apparent. When one adds to this the possible additional deficit spending which may be resorted to because of a failure to secure the expected amounts of revenues from other domestic sources the magnitude of the problem is seen to be quite formidable indeed.

Some increase in the money supply is of course clearly warranted if national income rises during the Plan period by 25% and prices are to be kept stable. Moreover, since Indians seem to prefer courrency to bank credit, if per capita income rises it is possible that some additional increase in the money supply may be appropriate to sate the penchant for cash balances (liquidity preference). It still seems unlikely, however, that a 64% increase in the money supply is needed for these purposes. The notion seems implicit in the Planning Commission's statements that deficit spending will be matched somehow by offsetting creation of capital through mobilization of idle resources.[18] Of course, if idle resources complementary to labour can be found in amounts sufficient to necessitate the scale of deficit spending planned, little criticsim can be launched on this score. There seems to be considerable disagreement, however, among Indian planners themselves concerning the availability of idle complementary resources.[19] In the absence of idle resources complementary to labour, deficit spending of the magnitude envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan will undoubtedly create inflationary pressures which will test the competence of the best minds that can be mobilized to meet the threat. The notion that deficit financing can make the same contribution to economic growth in an under-developed country that it can make in a highly developed economy suffering from depression is, at best, a risky one and may prove quite an obstacle to the attainment of India's economic goals in a manner consistent with its dedication to democratic ideals.[20]

Population and Population Policy

Confronted with the problem of what to suggest to aid India in achieving economic growth, the Western economist, especially the economist from the United States, is likely to conclude that since there are so many Indians and so few other Indian resources the obvious answer is population control. Justifiably, this answer tends to arouse the ire of an intelligent citizen of India for he knows that his country is doing much in this regard. In fact the Indian knows that his is the only country that has officially recognized the existence of a population problem and has a Governmentally sponsored population policy. The family planning programme under the Second Five-Year Plan is to be vastly expanded and may well reach the remotest areas through its mobile and other

18. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 83-87. See the discussion of deficit financing in *Second Five-Year Plan: The Framework*, Government of India (New Delhi: December, 1955), pp. 44-47; also the dissent by Prof. B. R. Shenoy in the same publication, pp. 162-169.

19. R. B. Shenoy, *Ibid.*

20. If allocations, priorities, rationing, regulation and other direct controls must be substituted in wholesale fashion, there may be those including Indian citizens, who will see little distinction between the Indian and the Chinese experience

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clinics.[21] The surprising thing is really not that India's population is growing by an annual increment of around 5 million persons but that, despite the marked improvement in economic conditions since partition and independence, the rate of growth has not surged markedly upward. So-called population explosions have tended to accompany the introduction of development projects in most under-developed areas. In India, however, the rate of increase in population growth has not risen appreciably, if at all. The fact that it has not is in large part a tribute to the success and farsightedness of India's leaders and the population policy inaugurated by them under the First Five-Year Plan. Despite the praise which is due India for her family planning program it is nevertheless true that much remains to be done and that India's population must be stabilized in the not-too-distant future.

Socialism vs. Democratic Ideals

One is also prompted to speculate at the philosophical level concerning the compatibility of a socialistic economic system, with a democratic state committed to those principles of liberalism commonly associated with democracy and to which India's constitution pledges her government. Especially is one inclined to contemplate this issue when he realizes the possible extent to which direct controls may be needed to insure attainment of the economic objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan. Countering the fears one might have concerning the compatibility of a socialistic economic system with a liberal democratic state, however, are the plans to extend the community development projects to all of India's half-million or so villages during the next five years. The program in this respect is almost exclusively welfare-oriented and designed to bring the benefits of economic development, modern medical science, education, and so forth to 325 million persons. Certainly, the objectives here are in the best liberal democratic tradition. It is possible that the Second Five-Year Plan should be judged a success even if most of its goals are not achieved so long as the aims of the Community Development Program and the National Extension Service are partially achieved. The size of the task being undertaken in improving living conditions in India's villages is herculean in its proportions.

21. *Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 553-554.

Summary and Conclusions

An effort has been made in this paper to examine the major economic goals of India's Second Five-Year Plan, to analyze the resources available to India in attempting to achieve these goals, and to determine the probability of success in attaining the goals in view of the apparent resources available. On the surface the goals seem fantastically large, yet, in terms of need they are in fact quite modest. The resources available for carrying out the plan appear to be singularly deficient in many respects and thus the probability of success is disappointingly low. In short, the conclusion is tinged with pessimism and gloom.

For those who are by nature optimistic it may be noted that similar appraisals of India's problems were made upon the eve of the First Five-Year Plan.[22] According to many, the likelihood of success was small. Yet the modest goal of an 11 per cent increase in real national income was exceeded and national income rose by 18 per cent.[23]

The forecaster of India's immediate future might well ponder the following words of Jawaharlal Nehru:

"What India is attempting today in regard to Planning is something unique in history. While countries of Western Europe had built up a magnificent industrial civilization over a period of 200 years or so with the support, in some cases, of colonial possessions, and other countries like the Soviet Union had substantial achievements to their credit obtained at a tremendous cost, India is pursuing peaceful and democratic methods to raise the living standard of her people.

We can do this, and the basic reason for my saying so is my enormous faith in the Indian people."[24]

22. See: C. N. Vakil and P. R. Brahmananda, *Planning for a Shortage Economy: The Indian Experiment*, (Bombay, Vora & Co. Pub., Ltd., 1952). Though the authors are favorably disposed to the First Five-Year Plan, they point out the criticisms and doubts of others.

23. The pessimist will quickly point out, however, that a very important factor in the income gain was attributable to unusually favorable monsoons. "What," they may ask, "will be the case if the monsoons fail during the next five years?"

24. *Second Five-Year Plan: The Framework*, inside cover page of publication.

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THE RAJPUT AND HIS VENDETTA (VAIR)

By Prof. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D.

A Rajput is condemned as a *kuput* (worthless son), who fails to retaliate or die in the attempt. His very birth as a Rajput puts him under a debt, and this debt is to die (*marne ka rin*) in vindication of his personal and family honour in the first instance, and for his *kula* (sept) and *gotra* whenever the call would come. The debt of salt (pay and maintenance) is also repayable by laying down life for the paymaster, no matter of whatever country or creed. It was—and it is, his living faith that blood cries for blood, and that the departed spirit of a kinsman slain in a private feud lies enchained within the belly of the murderer, whose death at the hands of a son, brother or kinsman of the murdered can alone set the aggrieved spirit free to ascend heaven! A Rajput after a successful termination of his grim vow of *vair* conjures up before one's vision the terrific Bhim of the *Mahabharat* and *Veni-samharam*, who drank in the field of Kurukshetra the warm blood of the Kaurava Crown Prince tasting as sweet as mother Kunti's milk. It was but a praiseworthy *Dharma* of a Kshatriya with which even the higher *Dharma* of pious Yudhisthir could not interfere. This sentiment of *vair*, though a noble animal instinct, was thus the legacy of the Mahabharat to the Rajput of Medieval India.

Vair or vendetta was not peculiar to the Rajputs or to India. It was the common feature of every society in its tribal stage of social evolution. In fact, it was the cement of tribal solidarity, and a sacred duty which a man of honour owed to the society. The Pagan Arab held the law of revenge in as much sanctity as the medieval Rajput. The Mosaic Law of "a tooth for tooth" found its way to Islamic Jurisprudence as *kisas* (retaliation in kind), which was the indisputable right of every Muslim to demand. Pre-Islamic Arab poetry breathes the fire of blood-feud even fiercer than that of the bardic literature of Rajputana. In medieval times, feud and loyalty, whether territorial or clannish, always went together. In the modern age the State has taken away this right of the individual to retaliate his own wrongs, and [illegible] him walk helplessly with the Penal Code in [illegible] pocket without any guarantee of adequate justice, which the *katar* of the Rajput used to exact promptly from the wrongdoer or his clan and kin with a more deterrent effect. In medieval Rajput society no money compensation could atone for bloodshed; only *dharti* and *dulhan* (territory and bride) from the guilty were acceptable as peace offering.

(2)

In Rajputana blood-feud was not confined to the warlike Rajputs only. It was common with men of every community, even of the low classes. Those who could not shed blood on account of some religious scruple, or where the adversary was stronger, would go to some Rajput protector to do the needful for them. Blood feud was not an evil brought to Rajputana by the Rajputs themselves. It existed long before in the land, and it exists till today even outside Rajputana among all classes and castes, particularly among the Jats of the Punjab and some parts of U.P., as my personal knowledge goes.

To confine ourselves to Rajputana proper where the blood-feuds of non-Rajputs also provide an indispensable background for a picture of feuds of the Rajput.

Till the first half of the fifteenth century the greater part of the territory, later Bikaner Raj, was held in independence by the Saharan Godara and Beniwal Jats. Rao Bika Rathor came to live among the Jats with his followers. The Saharan Jats lived in Bharang, and one Malki, the wife of the Chaudhuri of the Saharan happened to praise the liberality of the Chaudhuri of the Godara and remark in innocence, "This ought to have a Chaudhuri like him." This was too much for her husband and the honour of his tribe. He beat his wife with a stick and said, "Go and live with him." After about a month of unpleasant non-co-operation in the household, the Saharan Jats assembled one evening to make up the quarrel between their Chaudhuri and his resentful wife. Goats were killed,

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went round and heavy feasting went on. But Malki fled that very night with the chivalrous Chaudhuri of the Godaras, who was lying in wait in the neighbourhood. Thus *vair* started between the two tribes. The Godaras having Rao Bika at their back, the Saharans decided to surrender their territory for buying the help of the powerful Narsingh Jat of Siwani. Rao Bika surprised Narsingh Jat in his camp, and left the balance even between the two warring tribes, both of which eventually accepted Bika as their ruler. Dasu Beniwal came to Rao Bika, and prayed, "*Raj! hamara vair hai so dilado to dharti tumahari hai*" (My Lord ! I have a *vair;* if you avenge it, our land is yours). Rao Bika went against the Sohar Jats of Suhrani Khera to retaliate the *vair* of the Beniwal Jats, and thus every ruling Jat clan of *Jangal-des* in pursuit of petty feuds, lost its territory and independence to the astute and valiant Bika, the founder of the Bikanir Raj.

It it hardly an exaggeration to say that as many crack desperadoes among the Rajputs lost their lives in pursuit of *vair* as ever perhaps died in a better cause. Quarrels not only between man and man but also among their unforgiving womenfolk multiplied feuds. A Rajputani would not eat her bread in ease till any offence to her was avenged by her son, or any relations on her father's side. No pen-picture of the Rajput's balance-sheet of blood and quarrel can be half so effective as anecdotes preserved in their bardic literature. We shall give abridged versions of a few anecdotes to indicate the spirit of the age.

(3)

One stormy night in the rainy season Rao Shuja's son, Nara, who had been given Falodi in jagir,—sat at his meal in his mother's room about four gharis after nightfall, when a maidservant opened the window, and looking outside said to her mistress, "Tonight lightning is flashing over Pohkaran." At the mention of Pohkaran, Rani Lakshmi, mother of Nara, gave out a pensive sigh. "What ails thee, mother, when thou hast two sons like Bagha and Nara, and the Rao (father) is also hale and hearty ?" After having been pressed hard the melancholy lady at last disclosed that when she was a maiden, Rao Khivan (Khemkaran) had refused the coconut of betrothal sent by her maternal grandfather, and remarked that she was known to have been born under a bad star (*Mula Nakshtra*). Nara's blood was up and he said, "Mother, your maternal aunt is in the house of the Rao of Pohkaran, and on that consideration I say nothing to him. Say a word, and Pohkaran is ours."

Many months after, one day Rao Khivan —who had gone to a distant farm-yard to look after his horses—, was rinsing his mouth in the morning when he was startled by the neighing of Nara's gallant charger, Koridhaj. He was very much upset; because, the fort of Pohkaran had been left with a few soldiers, and particularly, some days before the expelled *Purohit* (priest) of Falodi had come to reside there. Rao Khivan sent forward for news five or six troopers, who stationed themselves on a hillock overlooking the caravan route. Soon after a strong party of horsemen with camels carrying arms came that way, and the troopers of Khinva challenged them, "Which Thakur goes there ?" From the other side came the false reply, "Nara, son of Bida, going to Amarkot with the *barat*." With some misgiving the troopers came back to Rao Khivan and reported that all did not seem well (*kuchh dal me kala hai*) : "The party is proceeding on its way; all are in *kasariya* with *sehra-s* (bridegroom's crown) on the heads and singing lustily *khambaich* (Khambaz) tune."

News soon came from Pohkaran that all was over there. With eighty troopers Rao Khivan hurried to join his expelled family and relations, who had gone to Baharmer. On the way he came across a *gadaria* carrying a bleating goat on his shoulders. Uncertain about his future the Rao asked his Bhat, "Bawa ! what does this goat say ?" The Bhat, who pretended to understand horse, birds and animals alike when occasion would arise, gravely broke the mystery : "You will kill Nara in as many years as the number of *kos* you will traverse to eat this goat." Rao Khivan gave a few *phadiyas* (*dams* equivalent to a double-pice) to the goatherd, hurried 12 kos and ate the goat at the village of Bhiniana.

Khivan gave no peace to Nara by raiding and cattle-lifting in Pohkaran for twelve years. On one occasion Rao Khivan with his son Lunka and another comrade, Chacha Barjang made a swoop on Nara's cattle, and Nara with his followers overtook them in pursuit. Nara spurred his horse after Lunka, who all of a sudden wheeled about and struck at Nara in motion on horseback. Nara's head fell down on the

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ground; but his horse carried the headless rider two hundred paces where his body fell.

Goyand, son of Nara, sat on the *gadi* of Pohkaran and carried on the feud of his father's blood. There was constant fighting, and the land became desolate (*dharti basne na pave*). Old Rao Shuja, father of Nara, at last intervened and summoned both Goyand and Khivan to his presence. He divided the land between them half and half fixing the boundary at the place where Nara's head had fallen on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra V.S. 1551.*

(4)

Sona Baj, a sister of the sluggish plebian knight, Pabu Rathor, had been given in marriage to the Deora chief of Sirohi, who had also married a daughter of Ana Baghela. Ana was a wealthy lord, and richer therefore was the *dahej* (marriage dower) of the Bagheli than that of Sona Bai. The Bagheli used to provoke Sona Bai by a displaying boast of her ornaments as is the way of women. The Bagheli in taunt said to Sona Bai, "Thy brother (Pabu) eats with the Thoris (a low class thievish people who eat dead animals) !" The Rao took the side of the Bagheli and said, "Rathori, why dost thou resent it ? It is a fact that Pabu lives with the Thoris." "But Raoji has no Thakur as bold as my brother's Thoris," came the angry rejoinder from Sona Bai. At this the Deora's cowardly whip played on Sona's back, and Sona wrote to her brother demanding satisfaction for her insult.

With his cavaliers and nine Thoris Pabu started for Sirohi. On the way lay the territory of Ana Baghela. Chandia Thori said to Pabu, "Redeem my *vair* on Ana Baghela who slew my father." Pabu turned against Ana Baghela, and killed him; but he spared Ana's son and accepted only the ornaments of Ana's wife, which he meant for a present to Sona Bai.

Pabu reached Sirohi and sent a challenge to his brother-in-law to come out and fight. He instructed his Thori sharp-shooters not to kill the Deora chief but make a captive of him alive. Hearing the news of the capture of her husband Sona came out in a *rath* (bullock carriage), and begged for the release of her husband. Enmity was made up, and Sona Bai went to the ... ment of the Bagheli and said, "Bai, my h... has killed your father. Get up and d... *lokachar* (customary weeping)."

There was a feud between the Rathors ... Johiyas, and Goga Rathor, son of Biramdev, ... on one occasion returning after having ... Dalla Johiya by a night attack. Next day, G... party was overtaken by Dhirdev (son of D... and Dhirdev's father-in-law Ranangdev Bh... Pugal. Gogadev, covered with wounds ... his thighs disabled, lay on the ground; but ... dared approach him as long as sword was ... grip. Bhati Ranangdev, who was passing ... way on horse, was challenged by Goga to ... mount and "take his salute" (*i.e.* come ... fight). Ranangdev turned away in contempt ... ing, "*Tere Jaisi bishtha ka pa parvara lete phire* (It is no business of mine to take the salu... the night-soil of a man like you).

Then came Dhirdev, and to him, Goga ... "Dhirdev, thou art a brave Johiya; thy ... (uncle, politely meaning 'father') is turn... restlessly in my stomach (*tarap raha hai*); ... it please thee "to take my salute" (*muj...* Dhirdev dismounted and approached him; G... sword plied and parried, and Dhirdev lay stre... ed near him. When Goga too was abo... breathe his last, he shouted out, "Hear, if anyb... is there! Goga says that the *vair* between ... Rathors and the Johiyas now stands at ... (and therefore over). If any one lives, let ... carry my words to Mahewa that now a *vair* ... the Bhatis is on hand; because, Bhati Ranang... has abused Goga as *bishtha*." This was ... by Jhanpa, who carried Goga's message ... Mahewa.

Mulu Rathor had a *vair* with Samant Si... Songarah Chauhan of Jalore, who had ... into his own household Mulu's wife and a ... born of her. He managed to become frie... with a maid-servant of Samant Singh, and ... night lay in wait near the *tulsimandap*, ... former wife placed *thali* before Samant Sing... for his evening meal, and Samant Singh ... her to wake up the son of Mulu to take food ... him. He praised in high terms the valour ... noble qualities of Mulu, which must have ... inherited by his child. Mulu was no ... Arden, and he cried, "I will not kill the ... will not; the *vair* is over." He went away ... married another wife!

* Nainsi tells us that the boundary thus fixed had been continuing till his own time. Such a boundary is known as *had-padi* (the place where bones lie), which it is a sin to cross by people at feud. There are such *had-padis* also in U.P. where Rajputs dwell.

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Before a *vair* was started by a whole clan the justice of the cause used to be weighed by the elders, who would try for a compromise if better sense prevailed. A murder of a kinsman by another of the same sept (*gotra*) was generally made up, failing which the aggrieved party received a sort of moral sanction to exact vengeance. A *vair* became a moral obligation for the whole clan when the quarrel was with another clan. "Gotra-hatya" (*i.e.*, slaying of kinsmen) was considered a heavy sin to be atoned for by a pilgrimage or charity. A *vair* was generally closed by a cession of territory, or by a matrimonial alliance of a wholesale character between girls and boys of opposite parties, either voluntary or forced by the stronger party in demand of brides.

Evils of the *vair* was disastrous for the Rajputs. Religion was lightly parted with, and the independence of one's *bhum* (patrimony) even sold to aliens to buy their help for the gratification of revenge on powerful adversaries. Conversion of Rajput tribes *en masse* of Sindh, Runn of Cutch and the Thal (Desert) was to a great extent precipitated by this ingrained frenzy for revenge. Rao Maldev of Jodhpur vowed to sow *muli* (radish) by cutting *babul* (thorny trees) on the soil of Biramdev's Merta, and Biram took a countervow to cut the mango trees of the royal garden of Jodhpur if he was father's son. Biramdev joined Sher Shah and had his revenge on Maldev; but the liberty of the Rathors slipped off their hands.

The spirit of vendetta of the Rajput was exploited by astute Akbar and all his successors for political ends. Its force was too strong even for a strong government sometimes. Rajah Girdhardas, son of Raisal Darbari and chief of Khandela, was killed in a private quarrel by the Sayyids in Burharpur in 1624 in the reign of Jahangir. Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan, who had been at this time giving chase to the rebellious prince, Khurram, found no other way of appeasing Rajput cry for *vair* except by yielding to their demand and executing leader of the Sayyid party (Nainsi, *Khyat*, ii, p. 35, ·(2 ɯ

Providence at last taught the Rajputs a terrible lesson of the evils of *vair* that brought about the tragedy of Princess Krishna Kumari of Mewar, made so familiar to us by a nearest contemporary, Col. Tod. Krishna Kumari's poison cup symbolises poison of *vair* between the Chundavats and the Sakhtavats within Mewar, and of the senseless pride of the Rathors and the offended dignity of the Kachhwahs outside. We need not reproduce the narrative of Tod, which is now common knowledge through poems and dramas. We may only add a background of the long-drawn episode of the feud and rivalry between the Sakhtavats and the Chundavats, correcting Tod's bias for the former.

Ever since the voluntary abdication of Chunda's claim to the *gadi* of Mewar in favour of his infant step-brother Mokal (1397 A.D.), it became a recognised political tradition in Mewar that *pat* (throne) belonged to the children of Mokal, whereas *thath*, *i.e.*, power and prestige of the state were to be in the keeping of the progency of Chunda represented by the house of Salumbar. About one hundred and eighty years after, Maharana Pratap gave to his younger brother, Sakat Singh, a large appanage, and the descendants of Sakat Singh growing rapidly powerful began to dispute the primacy of the Chundavats at court and in the field. Jealousy consumed the two rival septs, and their broils became frequent. A second Pratap was not born in Mewar to hold back these fighting bulls of Sisodias by their horns, and hence the inevitable disaster. Under weak rulers Udaipur presented the spectacle of Shakespeare's Verona ringing with the defiant faction cry. "Down with the Montagues, down with the Capulets".

Loyalty in later times sat lighter on the Sakhtavats, and one of them, Narayandas, accompanied the traitor prince Sagarji to the court of Jahangir. Ravat Megh Singh Chundavat, better known to fame as Kala Megh (Black Cloud), was sent by Maharana Karan Singh to expel Narayandas from Bengu, which he refused to evacuate according to the terms of the treaty between Amar Singh and Jahangir. *Vair* thus started between Ravat Megh and Narayandas. Narayandas surprised the home of Megh during his absence, and carried away one elephant to humiliate his adversary. Megh invited his kinsfolk, the Chundavats, to avenge his wrong as the Sakhtavats had mustered strong to back their own kinsman, Narayandas. When rival septs were about to plunge into a bloody fight, the Black Cloud thundered halt, saying that he would rather go

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unavenged than take upon his head the sin of Gotra-hatya.

Such restraint and noble impulse hardly characterised the conduct of the Sakhtavats. Matters came to a head during the regency of the Queen mother after the accession of Hamir Singh II (1773). Court intrigue fanned to flame the feud between the two premier clans of Mewar. The Sakhtavats, who had been in virtual rebellion for twenty years before the Krishna Kumari tragedy, invited Jaswant Rao Holkar against the ruling junta of the Chundavats backed by the Sindhias, and this brought the notorious Amir Khan Pathan on the scene. They were nowhere when Amir Khan was destroying temples and threatened to sack Udaipur.

India would have been saved much of her misery if Lord Wellesley had been allowed to carry unhampered his policy of imposing Subsidiary Alliance on Indian rulers, who had by their worthlessness forfeited long before any claim to independent existence. Moral hesitancy of the British resulted in the prolongation of the misery of the vast masses of peace-loving people upon whom their own protectors had let loose the Pindari pest.

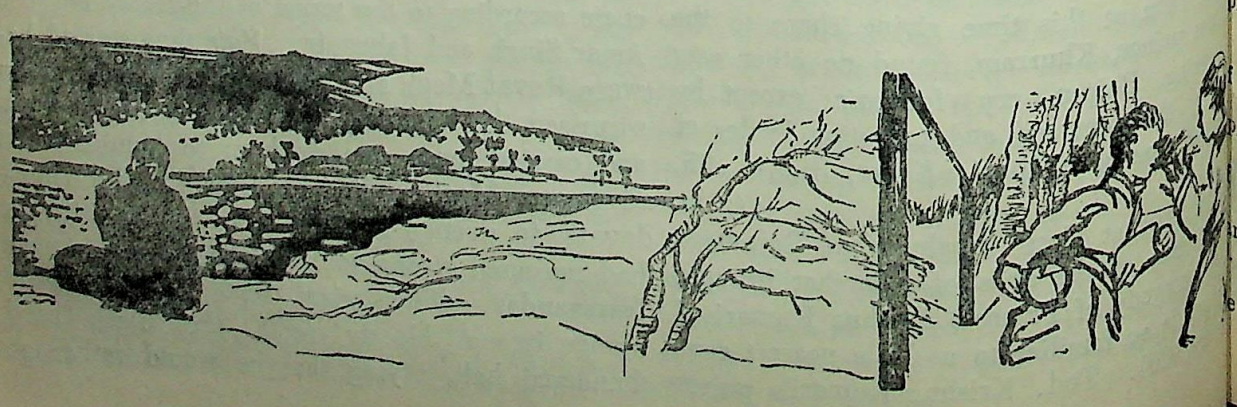
It is a sad episode of our medieval history when in the pursuit of *vair* families and clans courted ruin and loss of everything a man ought to hold nearer and dearer; namely, his country's liberty and his ancestral religion. *Vair* was the salt of life to society in Medieval India as elsewhere. But eventually it proved a killing poison. It is all the more regrettable because the Rajput did not learn to sink petty enmities, unite for a greater cause, and thus divert lava of retaliatory spirit of *vair* from the individual and the clan to a national channel, which would have transmuted it into territorial patriotism as in European countries.

Past history tells us that it was the cult of prejudice and hatred, and not of love, tolerance and forgiveness,—that created Ancient Greece as well as England of the nineteenth century and Germany of the twentieth. The same cult of hatred for Non-Aryans held together the old Aryan polity till Lord Buddha preached *Pancha-shila* and great Asoka experimented truth in the politics of a powerful empire. It was the cult of racial hatred of the for the non-Arab that had created the Arab Empire in defiance of the tenets of Islam; and that Empire crumbled to pieces counter-hatred of subject peoples recoiled the Arabs.

Experience has proved a hard school modern nations, who seem to have at last realised that the cult of hatred, even if camouflaged lip sympathy, solicitude and supersaintly fessions, does not carry us far in state Militant hatred, harnessed to political and gious propaganda, had, no doubt in the sometimes acted as a powerful stimulus for growth of modern nations, or as a restorative to the prostrate body politic in critical moments but normally these are only poisons of drug value from the seductive influence of it is hard to escape.

The historian looks back with mixed feelings of admiration and disappointment on the Rajput in pursuit of their *vair*. Modern India should take a lesson from the past, because in this period of transition the essence of *vair*, howsoever refined seems to have taken possession of castes, communities and provinces under various guises and slogans. To them who stake much for a cause we may only say in the words of the poet:

Alpasya hetoh bahur hatum ichchan,
Vichara-mudhah pratibhasi me twam.



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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XI) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom (Continued)

By D. N. BANERJEE,
Surendranath Banerjea Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

I

In the preceding article[1] in this series we have dealt with certain aspects of Article 22 of our Constitution as interpreted by our Supreme Court. In this article we propose to refer to some other aspects of Article 22 as judicially recognized.

II

In our preceding article[2] we have referred to some of the 'principles' which the Supreme Court laid down on 25th January, 1951, in connexion with the case[3] known as *The State of Bombay* V. *Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya*, and which it has since applied to the decision of some later cases. We have already[4] referred to one such later case,[5] namely, *Tarapada De and Others* V. *The State of West Bengal*, and we shall now refer to another,[6] namely, *Dr. Ram Krishan Bhardwaj* V. *The State of Delhi and Others*, in connexion with Article 22 of our Constitution.

Briefly speaking, the *Ram Krishan Bhardwaj* case arose out of a "petition[7] under Article 32 of the Constituton (of India) for the issue of a writ in the nature of *habeas corpus* directing the release of the petitioner Dr. Ram Krishan Bhardwaj" who was a medical practitioner in Delhi and who was "said to be under unlawful detention." The petitioner had been arrested on 10th March, 1953, under an order of the District Magistrate of Delhi under Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, as subsequently amended. The grounds of his detention were communicated to him on 15th March, 1953. Now one of these grounds, as "mentioned in Sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 2 of the statement of grounds," was :

"(e) You have been organising the movement (the Praja Parishad Movement of Kashmir) by enrolling volunteers among the refugees in your capacity as President of the Refugee Association of the Bara Hindu Rao," a local area in Delhi.

It was argued by the counsel for the petitioner, who relied on the decision[8] of the Supreme Court in the *Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya* case, that this ground was "extremely vague" and gave "no particulars to enable the petitioner to make an adequate representation against the order of detention," and that it thus infringed "the constitutional safeguard provided in Article 22 (5)" of the Constitution of India. Against this view it was argued by the Attorney-General for India on behalf of the respondents that "the grounds must be read as a whole and so read, the ground mentioned in sub-paragraph (e) could reasonably be taken to mean that the petitioner was organizing the movement (the Praja Parishad Movement of Kashmir) by enrolling volunteers from the 4th to (the) 10th March in the area known as Bara Hindu Rao." Thereupon the Supreme Court declared[9] in the course of a unanimous judgment on 16th April, 1953 :

"This interpretation is plausible, but the petitioner, who is a layman not experienced in the interpretation of documents, can hardly be expected without legal aid, which is denied to him, to interpret the ground in the sense explained by the Attorney-General. Surely, it is up to the detaining authority to make his meaning clear beyond doubt, without leaving the person detained to his own resources for interpreting the grounds. We must, therefore, hold that the ground mentioned in sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 2 (of the statement of grounds) is vague in the sense explained above."

In regard to the question whether one or two vague grounds could, or could not, affect the validity of a detention where there were other sufficiently clear and definite grounds to support the detention, the Supreme Court stated :[10]

1. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1957, p. 23-36.
2. See *ibid*, pp. 32-36.
3. Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction: Case No. 22 1950, the Supreme Court of India.
4. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1957, p. 35-36.
5. Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction: Case No. 24 1950, the Supreme Court of India.
6. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1953, Vol. IV, rt VII, July, August and September, 1953, pp. 708-
7. Original Jurisdiction: Petition No. 67 of 1953, e Supreme Court of India.—See *ibid.*, p. 708.
8. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1957, pp. 32-36.
9. *The Supreme Court Reports*, July, August and September, 1953, pp. 711-12.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 712-13.

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"Preventive detention is a serious invasion of personal liberty and such meagre safeguards as the Constitution has provided against the improper exercise of the power must be jealously watched and enforced by the Court. In this case, the petitioner has the right, under Article 22(5), as interpreted by this Court by a majority,[11] to be furnished with particulars of the grounds of his detention 'sufficient to enable him to make a representation which on being considered may give relief to him.' We are of opinion that this constitutional requirement must be satisfied *with respect to each of the grounds*[12] communicated to the person detained, subject of course to a claim of privilege under Clause (6) of Article 22. That not having been done in regard to the ground mentioned in sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 2 of the statement of grounds, the petitioner's detention cannot be held to be in accordance with the procedure established by law within the meaning of Article 21 (of the Constitution). The petitioner is, therefore, entitled to be released and we accordingly direct him to be set at liberty forthwith."

Thus the Supreme Court unanimously held[13] in the *Dr. Ram Krishan Bhardwaj* case that "the constitutional requirement that the grounds must not be vague must be satisfied with respect to each of the grounds communicated to the person detained, subject to the claim of privilege under clause (6) of Article 22 of the Constitution," and that where one of the grounds was vague, a detention was not, even though the other grounds were not vague, "in accordance with the procedure established by law and was therefore illegal."

We may refer here to an interesting point. What would happen "if the detaining authority (originally) proceeded on two grounds" and one of these grounds was afterwards "admitted to be non-existent or irrelevant," or "unsubstantial" and, therefore, could not "be made a ground of detention"? This question arose[14] in connexion with "a petition under Article 32 of the Constitution (of India) praying for the issue of a writ, in the nature of *habeas corpus*, directing the release of the petitioner, Shibban Lal Saksena," who was "said to be unlawfully detained in the District Jail at Gorakhpur." The petitioner had been arrested on 5th January, 1953, under an order of the District Magistrate of Gorakhpur issued "under Sub-clauses (ii) and (iii) of Clause (a) of Section 3 (1) of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950,[15] as amended by later Acts." On 7th January, 1953, the grounds of his detention were communicated to him.

These "grounds, it appears, were of a two-fold character, falling respectively under the two categories contemplated by Sub-clause (ii) and Sub-clause (iii) of Section 3 (1) (a) of the (Preventive Detention) Act."[16] The petitioner submitted his representation against the detention order on 3rd February, 1953, and his case was considered by a duly constituted Advisory Board at Lucknow on 23rd February, 1953. After the Advisory Board had submitted its Report, the Uttar Pradesh Government confirmed on 1st March, 1950, in the exercise of its power under Section 11[17] of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, "the detention order against the detenue under Sub-clause (ii) of Section 3 (1) (a) of the (Preventive Detention) Act, but as respects the second ground under Sub-clause (iii) of Section 3 (1) (a) of the Act the Government did not

11. Obviously, reference here is to the judgment of the majority of the Supreme Court in *The State of Bombay* V. *Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya*.—See *The Modern Review* for January, 1957, pp. 32-36.
12. The italics are ours.
13. *The Supreme Court Reports*; July, August and September, 1953, p. 708.
14. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IV, April, 1954, pp. 418-23.

15. Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, ran as follows:
"3. *Power to make orders detaining certain persons.*—(1) The Central Government or the State Government may—
(a) if satisfied with respect to any person that with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to—
(*i*) the defence of India, the relations of India with foreign powers, or the security of India, or
(*ii*) the security of the State or the maintenance of public order, or
(*iii*) the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community, . . . it is necessary so to do, make an order directing that such person be detained.
(2) Any District Magistrate or Sub-Divisional Magistrate, or, in a presidency-town, the Commissioner of Police, may, if satisfied as provided in Sub-clauses (*ii*) and (*iii*) of Clause (a) of Sub-section (1), exercise the power conferred by the said Sub-section."
16. See foot-note 15 above.
17. Section 11 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, laid down:
"11. *Confirmation of Detention Order.*—In every case where the Advisory Board has reported that there is in its opinion sufficient cause for the detention of the person concerned, the Central Government or the State Government, as the case may be, may confirm the detention order and continue the detention of the person concerned for such period as it thinks fit."

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uphold his detention and revoked it under this Sub-clause." Thereupon, as stated before, the petitioner approached the Supreme Court under Article 32 of the Constitution, challenging the legality of the detention order originally made against him "substantially on two grounds."

The Supreme Court unanimously declared[18] on 3rd December, 1953, among other things:

"It has been repeatedly held by this Court that the power to issue a detention order under Section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act depends entirely upon the satisfaction of the appropriate authority specified in that Section. The sufficiency of the grounds upon which such satisfaction purports to be based, provided they have a rational probative value and are not extraneous to the scope or purpose of the legislative provision, cannot be challenged in a court of law, except on the ground of *mala fides* (vide *State of Bombay* vs. *Atma Ram Sridhar Vaidya*, 1951, S.C.R. 167). A court of law is not even competent to enquire into the truth or otherwise of the facts which are mentioned as grounds of detention in the communication to the detenue under Section 7[19] of the Act. What has happened, however, in this case is somewhat peculiar. The Government itself, in its communication, dated the 13th of March, 1953, has plainly admitted that one of the grounds upon which the original order of detention was passed is unsubstantial or non-existent and cannot be made a ground of detention. The question is, whether in such circumstances the original order made under Section 3(1)(a)* of the (Preventive Detention) Act can be allowed to stand. The answer, in our opinion, can only be in the negative. The detaining authority gave here two grounds for detaining the petitioner. We can neither decide whether these grounds are good or bad, nor can we attempt to assess in what manner and to what extent both of these grounds operated on the mind of the appropriate authority and contributed to the creation of the satisfaction on the basis of which the detention order was made. To say that the other ground, which still remains, is quite sufficient to sustain the order, would be to substitute an objective judicial test for the subjective decision of the executive authority which is against the legislative policy underlying the statute.[20] In such cases, we think, the position would be the same as if one of these two grounds was irrelevant for the purpose of the Act or was wholly illusory and this would vitiate the detention order as a whole."

In conclusion, the Supreme Court held[21] in this case:

"We desire to point out that the order which the Government purported to make in this case under Section 11 of the Preventive Detention Act is not one in conformity with the provision of that Section. Section 11 lays down[22] what action the Government is to take after the Advisory Board has submitted its report. If in the opinion of the Board there is sufficient reason for the detention of a person, the Government may confirm the detention order and continue the detention for such period as it thinks proper. On the other hand, if the Advisory Board is of opinion that there is no sufficient reason for the detention of the person concerned, the Government is in duty bound to revoke the detention order. What the Government has done in this case is to confirm the detention order and at the same time to revoke it under one of the sub-clauses of Section 3(1)(a) of the (Preventive Detention) Act. This is not what the Section contemplates. The Government could either confirm the order of detention made under Section 3 or revoke it completely and there is nothing in law which prevents the Government from making a fresh order of detention if it so chooses. As matters stand, we have no other alternative but (*sic*) to hold that the order made on the 5th of January, 1953, under Section 3(1)(a) of the Preventive Detention Act is bad in law and the detention of the petitioner is consequently illegal. The application is allowed and the petitioner is directed to be set at liberty."

Thus the petition of Shibban Lal Saksena was allowed by the Supreme Court.

We may now refer to another aspect of preventive detention under Article 22 of the Constitution as recognized by our Supreme Court —we mean "preventive detention for black-marketing." The question arose in 1951 in connexion with "five companion appeals[23] from the judgments of the High Court of East Punjab, and the principal point argued before" the Supreme Court was "as to the legality of the detention of the appellants under the Preventive Detention Act on the ground" that they were "engaged in black-marketing in cotton piece-goods." In the course of its judgment the

18. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IV, April, 1954, pp. 421-23.
19. See in this connecion foot-note 28 *post*.
* See foot-note 15 above.
20. *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, as subsequently amended.
21. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April, 1954, p. 423.
22. See foot-note 17 above.
23. Criminal Appellate Jurisdiction (Supreme Court): Criminal Appeals Nos. 45 to 49 of 1951—*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Part I, January, 1952, pp. 18-27.
These appeals are briefly referred to as *Bhim Sen* vs. *The State of Punjab*.—See *ibid.*, pp. 18-27.

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Supreme Court unanimously held, on 4th October, 1951, with regard to these appeals :[24]

"An order of detention to prevent black-marketing cannot be held to be illegal merely because in the grounds for such detention the detaining authority has referred only to the past activities of the person detained, inasmuch as instances of past activities may give rise to a subjective mental conviction that it is necessary to detain such person to prevent him from indulging in black-marketing in the future.

"Under the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, the test as to whether an order of detention should be made is the subjective satisfaction of the detaining authority; the Court has no power to consider whether the grounds supplied by the authority are sufficient to give rise to such satisfaction. The establishment of the Advisory Board by the Amending Act of 1951* has not made the matter a justiciable one, and even after the Amending Act the Court has no power to consider whether the grounds supplied are sufficient for making an order of detention."

In elucidation of the above point Kania C.J. observed,[25] while delivering the judgment of the Court :

"The Legislature has made only the subjective satisfaction of the authority making the order essential for passing the order. The contention that because in the Amending Act of 1951 an Advisory Board is constituted,[26] which can supervise and override the decision taken by the executive authority, and (that) therefore the question whether the grounds are sufficient to give rise to the satisfaction has become a justiciable issue in Court, is clearly unsound. The satisfaction for making the initial order is and has always been under the Preventive Detention Act, that of the authority making the order. Because the Amending Act of 1951[27] establishes a supervisory authority, that discretion and subjective test is not taken away and by the establishment of the Advisory Board, in our opinion, the Court is not given the jurisdiction to decide whether the subjective decision of the authority making the order was right or not."

III

We shall now refer to another aspect of Clauses (5) and (6) of Article 22 as judicially recognized. This is in connexion with Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, which ran as follows :

"14. *Disclosure of grounds of detention, etc.*—(1) No court shall except for the purpose of a prosecution for an offence punishable under sub-section (2), allow any statement to be made, or any evidence to be given, before it of the substance of any communication made under Section 7[28] of the grounds on which a detention order has been made against any person or of any representation made by him against such order; and, notwithstanding anything contained in any other law, no court shall be entitled to require any public officer to produce before it, or to disclose the substance of, any such communication or representation made, or the proceedings of an Advisory Board or that part of the report of an Advisory Board which is confidential.

"(2) It shall be an offence punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or with fine, or with both, for any person to disclose or publish without the previous authorisation of the Central Government or the State Government, as the case may be, any contents or matter purporting to be contents of any such communication or representation as is referred to in sub-section (1):

"Provided that nothing in this sub-section shall apply to a disclosure made to his legal adviser by a person who is the subject of a detention order."

In *A. K. Gopalan* V. *The State of Madras* the Supreme Court unanimously held[29] on May 19th, 1950 :

"Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950 contravenes the provisions of Article 22(5) of the Constitution in so far as it prohibits a person detained from disclosing to the Court the grounds on which a detention order has been made or the representation made by him against the order of detention, and to that extent *ultra vires* and void."

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24. See *ibid.*

* *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act, 1951. It received the assent of the President of India on 22nd February, 1951. This amending Act made a reference to Advisory Boards "compulsory in *all* cases of preventive detention."—*Vide* Statement of Objects and Reasons for the Act (*The Gazette of India*, Part II—Section 2, dated 10th February, 1951).

25. *The Supreme Court Reports*, January, 1952, p. 24.

26. See foot-note * above.

27. See foot-note * above.

28. Section 7 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, laid down :

"7. *Grounds of order of detention to be disclosed to persons affected by the order.*—(1) When a person is detained in pursuance of a detention order, the authority making the order shall, as soon as may be, communicate to him the grounds on which the order has been made, and shall afford him the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order, in a case where such order has been made by the Central Government, to that Government, and in a case where it has been made by a State Government or an officer subordinate thereto, to the State Government.

"(2) Nothing in sub-section (1) shall require the authority to disclose facts which it considers to be against the public interest to disclose."

29. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. Parts II & III, April & May, 1950, p. 89.

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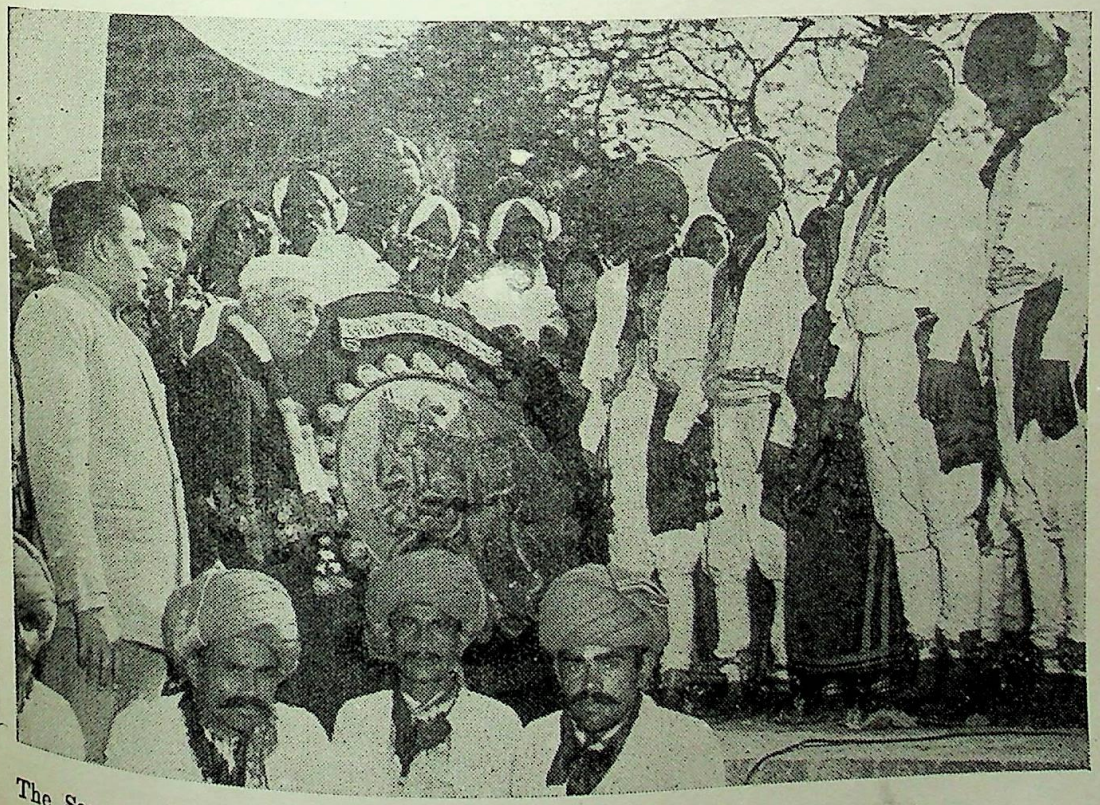
Marshal G. K. Zhukov, Soviet Defence Minister,presented to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru a two-foot bronze statue consisting of a soldier, a sailor and an airman mounted on a six-inch marble base



The Sangeet Natak Akadami Shield for the best group of dancers, participating in the Folk Dance Festival on the 1957 Republic Day, was won by the Bombay State

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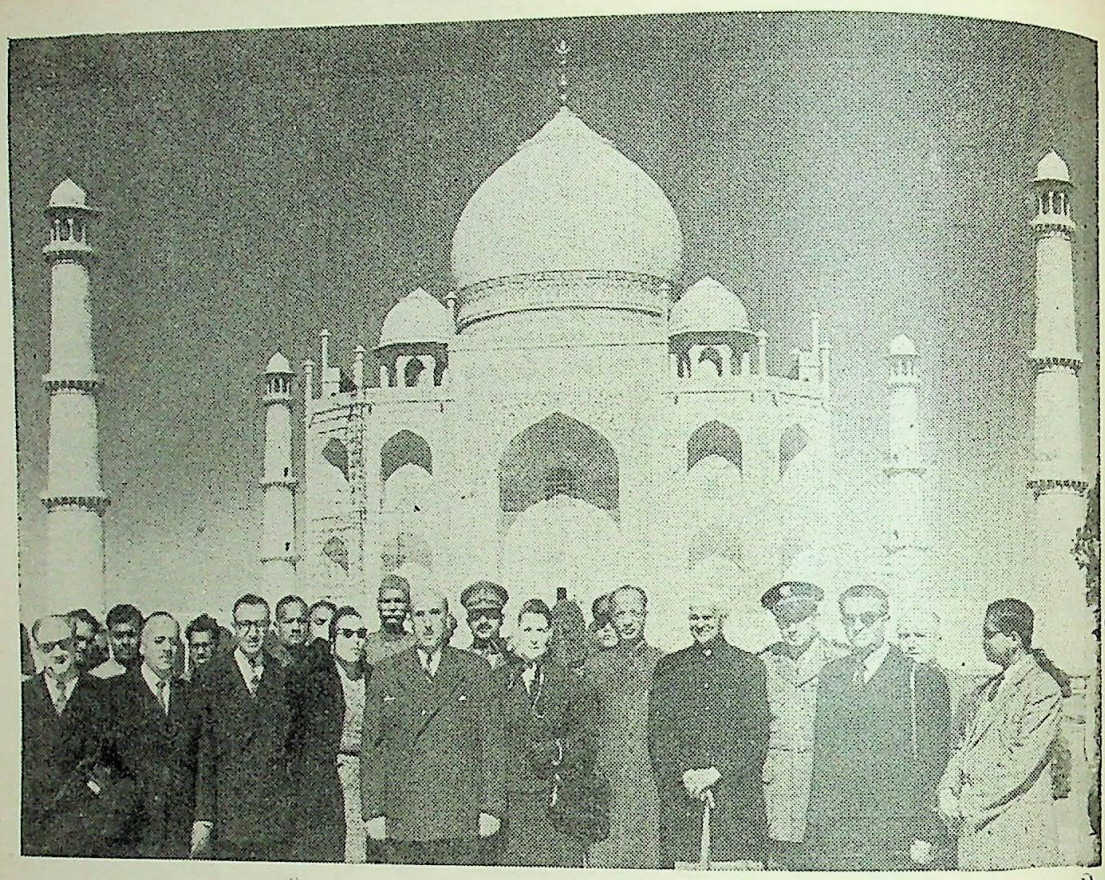
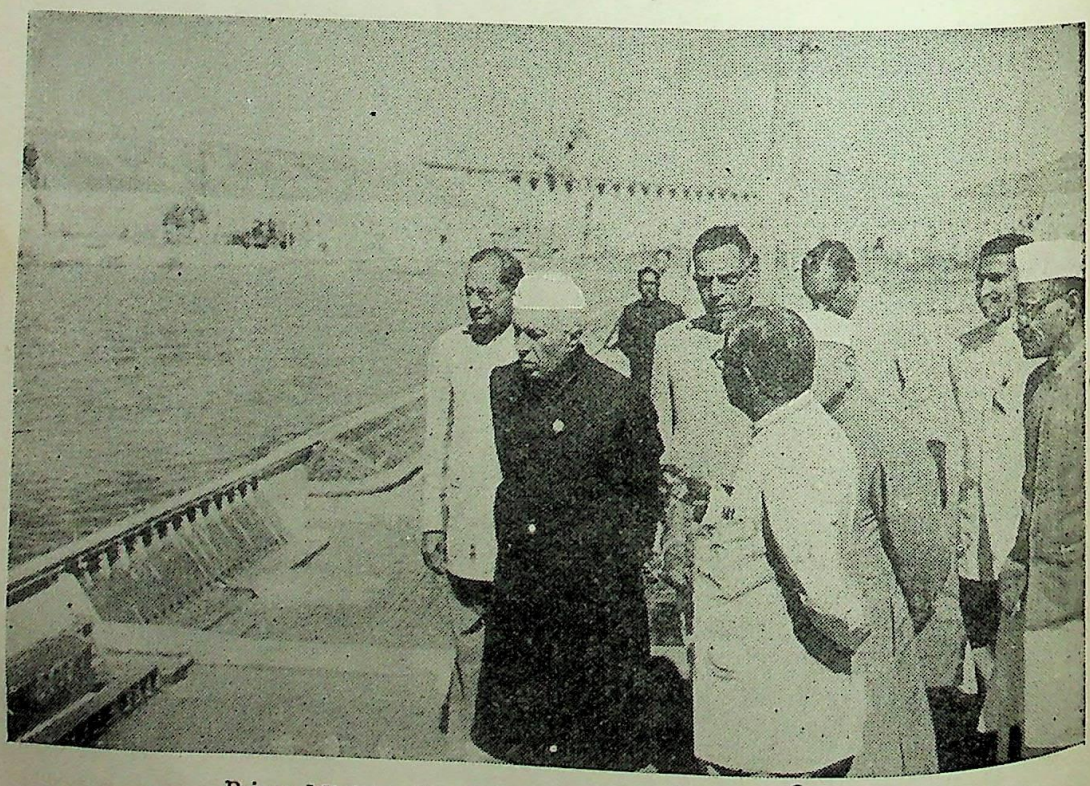


H. E. Mr. Shukri Al-Kuwatly, President of Syria, accompanied by Madame Kuwatly visited Taj Mahal at Agra on January 21



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru opens Hirakud Dam

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Thus Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, as quoted above, was declared by the Supreme Court *ultra vires* our Constitution and, therefore, invalid. Views expressed by individual Judges of the Supreme Court in this connexion are worthy of note here as they clearly reveal the nature and implications of Clause (5) of Article 22 of the Constitution as they had understood it.

Thus, Kania C.J. observed :[30]

"By that Section[31] the Court is prevented (except for the purpose of punishment for such disclosure) from being informed, either by a statement or by leading evidence, of the substance of the grounds conveyed to the detained person under Section 7[32] on which the order was made, or of any representation made by him against such order. It also prevents the Court from calling upon any public officer to disclose the substance of those grounds or from the production of the proceedings or report of the Advisory Board which may be declared confidential. It is clear that if this provision is permitted to stand the Court can have no material before it to determine whether the detention is proper or not. *I do not mean whether the grounds are sufficient or not.*[33] It even prevents the Court from ascertaining whether the alleged grounds of detention have anything to do with the circumstances or class or classes of cases mentioned in Section 12(1)(a) or (b).[34] In *Machindar Shivaji Mahar vs. The King* (1949-50, F.C.R. 827), the Federal Court held that the Court can examine the grounds given by the Government to see if they are relevant to the object which the legislation has in view. *The provisions of Article 22(5) do not exclude that right of the Court.*[35] Section 14 of the impugned Act[36] appears to be a drastic provision which requires considerable support to sustain in a Preventive Detention Act. The learned Attorney-General (for India, Counsel for the Union of India) urged that the whole object of the section was to prevent ventilation in public of the grounds and the representations, and that it was a rule of evidence only which the Parliament could prescribe. I do not agree. This argument is clearly not sustainable on the words of Article 22, Clauses (5) and (6). The Government has the right under Article 22(6) not to disclose facts which it considers undesirable to disclose in the public interest. It does not permit the Government to refrain from disclosing grounds which fall under Clause (5).[37] Therefore, it cannot successfully be contended that the disclosure of grounds may be withheld from the Court in public interest, as a rule of evidence. Moreover, the position is made clear by the words of Article 22(5). It provides that the detaining authority shall communicate to such detained person the grounds *on which the order has been made*. It is, therefore, essential that the grounds must be connected with the order of preventive detention. If they are not so connected, the requirements of Article 22(5) are not complied with and the detention order will be invalid. Therefore, it is open to a detained person to contend before a Court that the grounds on which the order has been made have no connection at all with the order, or have no connection with the circumstances or class or classes of cases under which a preventive detention order could be supported under Section 12.[38] To urge this argument the aggrieved party must have a right to intimate to the Court the grounds given for the alleged detention and the representation made by him. For instance, a person is served with a paper on which there are written three stanzas of a poem or three alphabets written in three different ways. For the validity of the detention order it is necessary that the grounds should be those on which the order has been made. If the detained person is not in a position to put before the Court this paper, the Court will be prevented from considering whether the requirements of Article 22(5) are complied with and that is a right which is guaranteed to every person. It seems to me, therefore, that the provisions of Section 14 abridge the right given under Article 22(5) and are therefore *ultra vires*."

Patanjali Sastri J. stated :[39]

"'Mr. Nambiar[40] turned his attack on Section 14 which prohibits the disclosure of the grounds of detention communicated to the person detained and of the representation made by him against the order of detention, and debars the Court from allowing such

30. *Ibid*, pp. 130-31.
31. *I.e.*, Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.
32. See foot-note 28 above.
33. The italics are ours.
34. Section 12(1)(a) and (b) ran as follows:
"12. *Duration of detention in certain cases.*—(1) Any person detained in any of the following classes of cases or under any of the following circumstances may be detained without obtaining the opinion of an Advisory Board for a period longer than three months, but not exceeding one year from the date of his detention, namely, where such person has been detained with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to—
(a) the defence of India, relations of India with foreign powers or the security of India; or
(b) the security of a State or the maintenance of public order."
35. The italics are ours.
36. *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.
37. Of Article 22 of the Constitution.
38. See foot-note 34.
39. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, pp. 217-18.
40. Counsel for the petitioner A. K. Gopalan. See *ibid*, p. 94.

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disclosure to be made except for purposes of a prosecution punishable under sub-section (2)[41] which makes it an offence for any person to disclose or publish such grounds or representation without the previous authorisation of the Central Government or the State Government, as the case may be. The petitioner complains that this provision nullifies in effect the rights conferred upon him under Clause (5) of Article 22 which entitles him to have the grounds of his detention communicated to him and to make a representation against the order. If the grounds are too vague to enable him to make any such representation, or if they are altogether irrelevant to the object of his detention, or are such as to show that his detention is not *bona fide*, he has the further right of moving this Court and this remedy is also guaranteed to him under Article 32 (of the Constitution). These rights and remedies, the petitioner submits, cannot be effectively exercised, if he is prevented on pain of prosecution, from disclosing the grounds to the Court. There is great force in this contention. All that the Attorney-General[42] (for India) could say in answer was that if the other provisions of the Act[43] were held to be valid, it would not be open to the Court to examine the sufficiency of the grounds on which the executive authority was 'satisfied' that detenion was necessary, as laid down in *Machindar Shivaji Mahar* vs. *The King* (1949, F.C.R. 827), and so the petitioner could not complain of any infringement of his rights by reason of Section 14 which enacted only a rule of evidence. The argument overlooks that it was recognised in the decision referred to above that it would be open to the Court to examine the grounds of detention in order to see whether they were relevant to the object which the legislature had in view, such as, for instance, the prevention of acts prejudicial to public safety and tranquillity, or were such as to show that the detention was not *bona fide*. An examination of the grounds for these purposes is made impossible by Section 14, and the protection afforded by Article 22(5) and Article 32 (of the Constitution) is thereby rendered nugatory. It follows that Section 14 contravenes the provisions of Article 22(5) and Article 32 in so far as it prohibits the person detained from disclosing to the Court the grounds of his detention communicated to him by the detaining authority or the representation made by him against the order of detention, and prevents the Court from examining them for the purposes aforesaid, and to that extent it must be held under Article 13(2) (of the Constitution) to be void. This, however, does not affect the rest of the (Preventive Detention) Act (1950) which is severable."

41. Of Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.—*Ibid*, p. 94.
42. Counsel for the Union of India.
43. *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.

Mahajan J. said :[44]

"Section 14 of Act IV[45] of 1950 has been impugned on the ground that it contravenes and abridges the provisions of Articles 22(5) and 32 of the Constitution. . . . This section is in the nature of an iron curtain around the acts of the authority making the order of preventive detention. The Constitution has guaranteed to the detained person the right to be told the grounds of detention. He has been given a right to make a representation [vide Article 22(5)], yet Section 14 prohibits the disclosure of the grounds furnished to him or the contents of the representation made by him in a court of law and makes a breach of this injunction punishable with imprisonment.

"Article 32(1) of the Constitution is in the terms:

'The right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred by this Part is guaranteed.'

"Sub-section (4) says:

'The right guaranteed by this Article shall not be suspended except as otherwise provided for by the Constitution.'

"Now it is quite clear that if an authority passes an order of preventive detention for reasons not connected with any of the six subjects[46] mentioned in the 7th Schedule, this Court can always declare the detention illegal and release the detenue, but it is impossible for this Court to function if there is a prohibition against disclosing the grounds which have been served upon him. It is only by an examination of the grounds that it is possible to say whether the grounds fall within the ambit of the legislative power contained in the Constitution or outside its scope. Again, something may be served on the detenue as being grounds which are not grounds at all. In such contingency it is the right of the detained person under Article 32 to move this Court for enforcing the right under Article 22(5) that he be given the grounds on which the detention order is based. The Court would be disabled from exercising its function under Article 32 and adjudicating on the point if the grounds given satisfy the requirements of the sub-clause if it is not open to it to see the grounds that have been furnished. It is a guaranteed right of the person detained to have the very grounds which are the basis of the order of detention. This Court would be entitled to examine the matter and to see whether the grounds furnished are the grounds on the basis of which he has been detained or they consist of some other vague or irrelevant material. The very purpose of furnishing a detained person with

44. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May 1950, pp. 241-44.
45. *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.
46. See List I, item 9, and List III, item 3, in the 7th Schedule to the Constitution of India.

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grounds is to enable him to make a representation refuting these grounds and of proving his innocence (*sic*). In order that this Court may be able to safeguard this fundamental right and to grant him relief it is absolutely essential that the detenue is not prohibited under penalty of punishment to disclose the grounds to the Court and no injunction by law can be issued to this Court disabling it from having a look at the grounds. Section 14 creates a substantive offence if the grounds are disclosed and it also lays a duty on the Court not to permit the disclosure of such grounds. It virtually amounts to a suspension of a guaranteed right provided by the Constitution inasmuch as it indirectly by a stringent provision makes administration of the law by this Court impossible and at the same time it deprives a detained person from obtaining justice from this Court. In my opinion, therefore, this section when it prohibits the disclosure of the grounds contravenes or abridges the rights given by Part III (of the Constitution) to a citizen and is *ultra vires* the powers of Parliament to that extent."

Mukherjea J. observed :[47]

"The provisions of this section (*i.e.*, Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950) are obviously of a most drastic character. It imposes a ban on the Court and prevents it from allowing any statement to be made or any evidence produced before it of the substance of any communication made to the detenue apprising him of the grounds upon which the detention order was made. The Court is also incompetent to look into the proceedings before the Advisory Board or the report of the latter which is confidential. Further, the disclosure of such materials has been made a criminal offence punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year. Mr. Nambiar's[48] contention is that these restrictions render utterly nugatory the provisions of Article 32 of the Constitution which guarantees to every person the right to move this Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred by Part III of the Constitution. It is not disputed that the petitioner has the right of moving this Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, and unless the Court is in a position to look into and examine the grounds upon which the detention order has been made, it is impossible for it to come to any decision on the point and pass a proper judgment. Though the right to move this Court is not formally taken away, the entire proceedings are rendered ineffective and altogether illusory. On behalf of the respondent,[49] it is pointed out that Article 32 guarantees only the right to constitutional remedy for enforcement of the rights which are declared by the Constitution. If there are no rights under the Constitution, guaranteed to a person who is detained under any law of preventive detention, no question of enforcing such rights by an approach to this Court at all arises. I do not think that this argument proceeds on a sound basis, and in my opinion, Section 14 does take away and materially curtails some of the fundamental rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution itself. Article 22, Clause (5), of the Constitution lays down as a fundamental right that when a person is detained for preventive detention, the authority making the order shall, as soon as may be, communicate to such person the grounds on which the order has been made, and shall afford him the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order. Under Clause (6), the authority need not disclose such facts as it considers to be against public interest to disclose. But so far as the grounds are concerned, the disclosure is not prohibited under any circumstance. It is also incumbent upon the detaining authority to afford a detenue the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the detention order. It has been held in several cases, and in my opinion quite rightly, that if the grounds supplied to a detained person are of such a vague and indefinite character that no proper and adequate representation could be made in reply to the same, that itself would be an infraction of the right which has been given to the detenue under law. In my opinion, it would not be possible for the Court to decide whether the provisions of Article 22, Clause (5), have been duly complied with and the fundamental right guaranteed by it has been made available to the detenue unless the grounds communicated to him under the provisions of this Article are actually produced before the Court. Apart from this, it is also open to the person detained to contend that the detention order has been a *mala fide* exercise of power by the detaining authority and that the grounds upon which it is based, are not proper or relevant grounds which would justify detention under the provisions of the law itself. These rights of the detenue would for all practical purposes be rendered unenforceable if the Court is precluded from looking into the grounds which have been supplied to him under Section 7[50] of the Preventive Detention Act. In my opinion, Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act does materially affect the fundamental rights declared under Part III of the Constitution and for this reason it must be held to be illegal and *ultra vires*. It is not disputed, however, that this section can be served from the rest of the Act without affecting the other provisions of the Act in any way. The whole Act cannot, therefore, be held to be *ultra vires*."

47. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, pp. 282-85.
48. See foot-note 40 above.
49. The State of Madras. The Union of India: intervener.

50. See foot-note 28 above.

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Das J. remarked :[51]

"An objection is taken that Section 14 of the impugned Act[52] takes away or abridges the right of the detenue to move this Court by appropriate proceedings. Both Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 32 speak of enforcement of rights conferred by Part III (of the Constitution). The right to move this Court is given to a person not for the sake of moving only but for moving the Court for the enforcement of some rights conferred by Part III and this Court has been given power to issue directions or orders or writs for the enforcement of any of such rights. In order, therefore, to attract the application of Article 32, the person applying must first satisfy that he has got a right under Part III which has to be enforced under Article 32 (of the Constitution) . . . I have . . . said that Articles 21 and 22 provide for protection by insisting on some procedure. Under Article 22(5) the authority making the order of detention is enjoined, as soon as may be, to communicate to the detenue the grounds on which that order has been made. This provision has some purpose, namely, that the disclosure of the grounds will afford the detenue the opportunity of making a representation against the order. Supposing the authority does not give any grounds at all as distinct from facts referred to in Clause (6) (*sic*). Surely, the detenue loses a fundamental right because he is prevented from making a representation against the order of detention. Suppose the authority hands over to the detenue a piece of paper with some scribblings on it which do not amount to any ground at all for detention. Then also the detenue can legitimately complain that his right has been infringed. He can then come to the Court to get redress under Article 32, but he cannot show to the Court the piece of paper with the scribblings on it under Section 14 of the Act and the Court cannot judge whether he has actually got the grounds which he is entitled to under Article 22(5). In such a case the detenue may well complain that both his substantive right under Article 22(5) as well as his right to constitutional remedies (*sic*) under Article 32 have been infringed. He can complain of infringement of his remedial rights under Article 32, because he cannot show that there has been an infringement of his substantive right under Article 22(5). It appears to me, therefore, that Section 14 of the (Preventive Detention) Act in so far as it prevents the detenue from disclosing to the Court the grounds communicated to him is not in conformity with Part III of the Constitution and is, therefore, void under Article 13(2) (of the Constitution). That section, however, is clearly severable and cannot affect the whole act."

Finally, Fazl Ali J. stated :[53]

"So far as Section 14 is concerned, all my colleagues have held to be *ultra vires*, and, as I agree with the views expressed by them, I do not wish to encumber my judgment by repeating in my own words what has been said so clearly and so well by them."

We have quoted above, at length, the views of the individual Judges of our Supreme Court on Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, as they indicate, both clearly and authoritatively, apart from what we have shown in our preceding article[54] on this point, the true meaning and effect of Clause (5) of Article 22 of our Constitution, as considered from different standpoints. It should be clear from what has been shown that in case of a detention order the court must have material to "determine whether the detention is proper or not," although this does not "mean whether" the alleged grounds of detention "are sufficient or not." As we have shown in our preceding article[55] in connexion particularly, with the case of *Tarapada De and Others* V. *The State of West Bengal*, the question of sufficiency of the grounds of detention for the purpose of the satisfaction of the Government is not a matter for examination by the court of law. Thus there is no lack of unity and consistency of thought in the various judicial pronouncements on the real meaning of Clause (5) of Article 22 of our Constitution, to which we have referred in this and in our preceding article.

In our sixth and seventh articles[56] in this series we have dealt with Article 19 of our Constitution. We shall now consider whether this Article 19, or any provision thereof, applies to a law relating to preventive detention as made under Article 22 of the Constitution. In *A. K. Gopalan* V. *The State of Madras* the Supreme Court held[57] by a majority of five to one :[58]

"Article 19 of the Constitution has no application to a law which relates directly to preventive deten-

51. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, pp. 332-33.

52. *I.e.*, the Preventive Detention Act, 1950.

53. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, p. 185.

54. See *The Modern Review* for January, 1957, pp. 30-36.

55. See *ibid*, pp. 35-36.

56. See *The Modern Review* for July, 1956, and January, 1956.

57. *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, p. 89.

58. Kania C.J., Patanjali Sastri, Mahajan, Mukherjea and Das JJ. for; Fazl Ali J. against. *Ibid*, p. 89.

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even though as a result of an order of detention the rights referred to in Sub-clauses (a) to (e) and (g) in general, and Sub-clause (d) in particular, of Clause (1) of Article 19 may be restricted or abridged; and the constitutional validity of a law relating to such detention cannot therefore, be judged in the light of the test prescribed in Clause (5) of the said Article (19)."

In elucidation of this view, Kania C.J. observed :[59]

"As the preventive detention order results in the detention of the applicant[60] in a cell it was contended on his behalf that the rights specified in Article 19(1) (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) and (g) have been infringed. It was argued that because of his detention he cannot have a free right to speech as and where he desired and the same argument was urged in respect of the rest of the rights mentioned in sub-clauses (b), (c), (d), (e) and (g).[61] Although this argument is advanced in a case which deals with preventive detention, if correct, it should be applicable in the case of punitive detention also to any one sentenced to a term of imprisonment under the relevant section of the Indian Penal Code. So considered, the argument must clearly be rejected. In spite of the saving clauses (2) to (6) (of Article 19), permitting abridgement of the rights connected with each of them, punitive detention under several sections of the Penal Code, *e.g.*, for theft, cheating, forgery and even ordinary assault, will be illegal. Unless such conclusion necessarily follows from the article, it is obvious that such construction should be avoided. In my opinion, such result is clearly not the outcome of the Constitution. The Article has to be read without any pre-conceived notions. So read, it clearly means that the legislation to be examined must be directly in respect of one of the rights mentioned in the sub-clauses. If there is a legislation directly attempting to control a citizen's freedom of speech or expression, or his right to assemble peaceably and without arms, etc., the question whether that legislation is saved by the relevant saving clause of Article 19 will arise. If, however, the legislation is not directly in respect of any of these subjects, but as a result of the operation of other legislation, for instance, for punitive or preventive detention, his right under any of these sub-clauses is abridged, the question of the application of Article 19 does not arise. The true approach is only to consider the directness of the legislation and not what will be the result of the detention otherwise valid, on the mode of the detenue's life. On that short ground, in my opinion, this argument about the infringement of the rights mentioned in Article 19(1) generally must fail. Any other construction put on the article, it seems to me, will be unreasonable."

With regard to sub-clause (d), in particular, of Clause (1) of Article 19, which provides for "the right to move freely throughout the territory of India," Kania C.J. stated :[62]

"What is sought to be protected by that sub-clause is the right to freedom of movement, *i.e.*, without restriction, throughout the territory of India. Read with their natural grammatical meaning the sub-clause only means that if restrictions are sought to be put upon movement of a citizen from State to State or even within a State, such restrictions will have to be tested by the permissive limits prescribed in Clause (5) of that Article. Sub-clause (d) has nothing to do with detention, preventive or punitive. The Constitution mentions a right to freedom of movement throughout the territory of India. Every word of that clause must be given its true and legitimate meaning and in the construction of a Statute, particularly a Constitution, it is improper to omit any word which has a reasonable and proper place in it or to refrain from giving effect to its meaning. This position is made quite clear when Clause (5) is read along with this sub-clause. It permits the imposition of reasonable restrictions on the exercise of such right either in the interest of (the) general public or the protection of the interest of any Scheduled Tribe. It is difficult to conceive of a reasonable restriction necessary in the interests of the *general* public for confining a person in a cell. Such restriction may be appropriate to prevent a person from going from one Province to another or one area to another, having regard to local conditions prevailing in particular areas. The point, however, is made abundantly clear by the alternative, *viz.*, for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe. What protection of the interests of a Scheduled Tribe requires the confinement of a man in a cell? . . . Reading Article 19 as a whole, therefore, it seems to me that it has no application to a legislation dealing with preventive or punitive detention as its direct object. I may point out that the acceptance of the petitioner's argument on the interpretation of this clause will result in the Court being called upon to decide upon the reasonableness of several provisions of the Indian Penal Code and several other penal legislations as abridging this right. Even under Clause (5), the Court is permitted to apply the test of reasonableness of the restrictions or limits not generally, but only to the extent they are either in the interests of the general public, *e.g.*, in case of an epidemic, riot, etc., or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe. In my

59. *Ibid*, pp. 100-107.

60. The applicant A. K. Gopalan had been detained in a Madras Jail under Section 3(1) of the Preventive Detention Act of 1950. The case arose as a result of a petition by him under Article 32(1) of the Constitution of India for a writ of *habeas corpus* against his detention.—See *ibid*, p. 95.

61. Of Clause (1) of Article 19 of the Constitution.

62. *Ibid*, pp. 101-107.

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opinion, this is not the intention of the Constitution. Therefore, the contention urged in respect of Article 19 fails . . . Article 22 envisages the law of preventive detention. So does Article 246 read with Schedule Seven, List I, Entry 9, and List III, Entry 3. Therefore, when the subject of preventive detention is specifically dealt with in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights I do not think it is proper to consider a legislation permitting preventive detention as in conflict with the rights mentioned in Article 19(1). Article 19(1) does not purport to cover all aspects of liberty or of personal liberty. In that Article only certain phases of liberty are dealt with. 'Personal liberty' would primarily mean liberty of the physical body. The rights given under Article 19(1) do not directly come under that description. They are rights which accompany the freedom or liberty of the person. By their very nature they are freedoms of a person assumed to be in full possession of his personal liberty . . . It seems to me improper to read Article 19 as dealing with the same subject as Article 21. Article 19 gives the rights specified therein only to the citizens of India while Article 21 is applicable to all persons. The word citizen is expressly defined in the Constitution to indicate only a certain section of the inhabitants of India . . . In my opinion . . . . Article 19 should be read as a separate complete Article.'[63]

Mahajan J. also held that whatever might be the precise scope of Article 19 (1) (d) and Article 19 (5), the provisions of Article 19 (5) would not apply to a law relating to preventive detention, "inasmuch as there is a special self-contained provision in Article 22 regulating it."[64] Further, "the only correct approach in examining the validity of a law on the subject of preventive detention" would be by considering whether the law made satisfied the requirements of Article 22 or in any way abridged or contravened them. If the answer was in the affirmative, then the law would be valid; but if the answer was in the negative, the law would be void.[65]

Mukherjea J. observed :[66]

"The question that we have to consider is whether a law relating to preventive detention is justiciable in a Court of law on the ground of reasonableness under Article 19(5) of the Constitution inasmuch as it takes away or abridges the right to free movement in the territory of India guaranteed by Clause (1)(d) of the Article (19) . . . Article 22 deals specifically with the subject of preventive detention and expressly takes away the fundamental rights relating to arrest and detention enumerated in Clauses (1) and (2) of the Article from persons who are detained under any law which may be passed by the Parliament or State Legislatures acting under Article 246 of the Constitution read with the relevant items in the legislative lists . . . This much is beyond controversy that so far as substantive law is concerned, Article 22 of the Constitution gives a clear authority to the legislature to take away the fundamental rights relating to arrest and detention, which are secured by the first two clauses of the Article. Any legislation on the subject would only have to conform to the requirements of Clauses (4) to (7) (of Article 22) and provided this is done, there is nothing in the language employed nor in the context in which it appears which affords any ground for suggesiton that such law must be reasonable in its character and that it would be reviewable by the Court on that ground. Both Articles 19 and 22 occur in the same Part of the Constitution and both of them purport to lay down the fundamental rights which the Constitution guarantees. It is well settled that the Constitution must be interpreted in a broad and liberal manner giving effect to all its parts, and the presumption should be that no conflict or repugnancy was intended by its framers . . . It seems to me that there is no conflict or repugnancy between the two provisions of the Constitution and an examination of the scheme and language of the categories of Articles which deal with the rights to freedom would be sufficient to show that what Clause (1)(d) of Article 19 contemplates is not freedom from detention, either punitive or preventive; it relates to movement, speaks of a different aspect or phase of civil liberty . . . Furthermore, Article 19 is applicable to citizens only . . . I agree with the learned Attorney-General (for India) that in construing Article 19(1)(d) stress is to be laid upon the expression 'throughout the territory of India', and it is a particular and specific kind of right, *viz.*, that of free movement throughout the Indian territory, that is the aim and object of the Constitution to secure . . . In my opinion, therefore, preventive detention does not come either within the express language or within the spirit and intendment of Clause (1)(d) of Article 19 of the Constitution which deals with a totally different aspect or form of civil liberty. It is true that by reason of preventive detention, a man may be prevented from exercising the right of free movement within the territory of India as contemplated by Article 19(1)(d) of the Constitution, but that is merely incidental to or consequential upon loss of liberty resulting from the order of detention. Not merely the right under Cl. (1)(d), but many of the other rights which are enumerated under the other sub-clauses of Art.

63. For further details, see *ibid*, pp. 100-107.
64. See *ibid*, p. 89.
65. *Ibid*, p. 229. For further details, see *ibid*, pp. 227-30.
66. See *ibid*, pp. 251-62.

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19(1) may be lost or suspended so long as preventive detention continues. Thus a detenue so long as he is under detention may not be able to practise any profession, or carry on any trade or business which he might like to do; but this would not make the law providing for preventive detention a legislation taking away or abridging the rights under Article 19(1)(g) of the Constitution, and it would be absurd to suggest that in such cases the validity of the legislation should be tested in accordance with the requirement of Clause (6) of Article 19 and that the only restrictions that could be placed upon the person's free exercise of trade and profession are those specified in that clause."

Finally, Das J. remarked :[67]

"The purpose of Article 19(1)(d) is to guarantee that there shall be no State barrier. It gives protection against provincialism. It has nothing to do with the freedom of the person as such . . . There can be no getting away from the fact that a detention as a result of a conviction impairs the freedom of speech far beyond what is permissible under Clause (2) of Article 19. Likewise a detention on lawful conviction impairs each of the other personal rights mentioned in Sub-clauses (b) to (e) and (g) far beyond the limits of Clauses (3) to (6) (of Article 19). The argument that every section of the Indian Penal Code irrespective of whether it has any reference to any of the rights referred to in Sub-caluses (b) to (e) and (g)[68] is a law imposing reasonable restriction on those several rights has not even the merit of plausibility. There can be no doubt that a detention as a result of lawful conviction must necessarily impair the fundamental personal rights guaranteed by Article 19(1) far beyond what is permissible under Clauses (2) to (6) of that Article and yet nobody can think of questioning the validity of the detention or of the section of the Indian Penal Code under which the sentence was passed. Why? Because the freedom of the person having been lawfully taken away, the convict ceases to be entitled to exercise the freedom of speech and expression or any of the other personal rights protected by Clause (1) of Article 19. On a parity of reasoning he cannot, while the detention lasts, exercise any other personal right, *e.g.*, he cannot eat what he likes or when he likes but has to eat what the Jail Code provides for him and at the time when he is by Jail regulations required to eat. Therefore, the conclusion is irresistible that the rights protected by Article 19(1), in so far as they relate to rights attached to the person, *i.e.*, the rights referred to in sub-clauses (a) to (e) and (g), are rights which only a free citizen, who has the freedom of his person unimpaired, can exercise. It is pointed out, as a counter to the above reasonings, that detention as a result of a lawful conviction does not deprive a person of his right to acquire or hold or dispose of his property mentioned in sub-clause (f). The answer is simple, namely, that that right is not a right attached to the person (*jus personarum*) and its existence is not dependent on the freedom of the person. Loss of freedom of the person, therefore, does not suspend the right to property. But suppose a person loses his property by reason of its having been compulsorily acquired under Article 31, he loses his right to hold that properly and cannot complain that his fundamental right under sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19 has been infringed. It follows that the rights enumerated in Article 19(1) subsist while the citizen has the legal capacity to excise them. If his capacity to exercise them is gone, by reason of a lawful conviction with respect to the rights in sub-clauses (a) to (e) and (g), or by reason of a lawful compulsory acquisition with respect to the right in sub-clause (f), he ceases to have those rights while his incapacity lasts. It further follows that if a citizen's freedom of the person is lawfully taken away otherwise than as a result of a lawful conviction for an offence, that citizen, for precisely the same reason, cannot exercise any of the rights attcahed to his person including those enumerated in sub-clauses (a) to (e) and (g) of Article 19(1). In my judgment a lawful detention, whether punitive or preventive, does not offend against the protection conferred by Article 19(1) (a) to (e) and (g), for those rights must necessarily cease when the freedom of the person is lawfully taken away. In short, those rights end where the lawful detention begins. . . . It follows, therefore, that the validity or otherwise of preventive detention does not depend on, and is not dealt with by, Article 19. To summarise, the freedom of the person is not the result of Article 19 Article 19 only deals with certain particular rights. . . . . It does not deal with the freedom of the person as such. . . . . A citizen who loses the freedom of his person by being lawfully detained, whether as a result of a conviction for an offence or as a result of preventive detention, loses his capacity to exercise those rights and, therefore, has none of the rights which sub-clauses (a) to (e) and (g) may protect. In my judgment Article 19 has no bearing on the question of the validity or otherwise of preventive detention and, that being so, Clause (5) which prescribes a test of reasonableness to be defined and applied by the Court has no application at all."

Thus our Supreme Court has "by an overwhelming majority"[69] of five to one held that

67. *Ibid*, pp. 302-306.
68. Of Clause (1) of Article 19.

69. An expression used by Patanjali Sastri J.—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, Vol. II, Part V, May, 1951, p. 457.

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Article 19 of our Constitution has nothing to do with a law providing for preventive detention, duly made under Article 22 of the Constitution. It may also be noted here that in *Ram Singh and Others* V. *The State of Delhi and Another* the Supreme Court has unanimously held[70] that, "although personal liberty has a content sufficiently comprehensive to include the freedoms enumerated in Article 19 (1), and its deprivation would result in the extinction of those freedoms, the Constitution has treated these civil liberties as distinct fundamental rights and made separate provisions in Article 19 and Articles 21 and 22 as to the limitations and conditions subject to which alone they could be taken away or abridged;" and that, consequently, "an order of preventive detention cannot be held to be invalid merely because the detention is made with a view to" preventing "the making of speeches prejudicial to the maintenance of public order."

V

In this and in our preceding article we have dealt with the different aspects of Article 22 of our Constitution as judicially interpreted. We should now like to conclude this article with reference to the observations made by some of our Supreme Court Judges with regard to the question of the desirability of a provision like Article 22, or item 9 in the Union List or item 3 in the Concurrent List in the Seventh Schedule to our Constitution, in a constitutional document. Thus we find Kania C.J. observing in the course of his judgment in *A. K. Gopalan* V. The *State of Madras* :[71]

"It may be noticed that neither the American nor the Japanese Constitution contain (*sic*) provisions permitting preventive detention, much less laying down limitations on such right of detention, in normal times, *i.e.*, without a declaration of emergency. Preventive detention in normal times, *i.e.*, without the existence of an emergency like war, is recognised as a normal topic of legislation in List I, Entry 9, and List III, Entry 3, of the Seventh Schedule. Even in the Chapter on Fundamental Rights Article 22 envisages legislation in respect of preventive detention in normal times."

Patanjali Sastri J. has stated :[72]

"The outstanding fact to be borne in mind . . . is that preventive detention has been given a constitutional status. This sinister-looking feature, strangely out of place in a democratic Constitution which invests personal liberty with the sacrosanct of a fundamental right and so incompatible with promises of its preamble is doubtless designed to prevent an abuse of freedom by anti-social and subsive elements which might imperil the national of the infant Republic. It is in this spirit that Cl (3) to (7) of Article 22 should, in my opinion, construed and harmonised as far as possible Article 21 so as not to diminish unnecessarily the tection afforded for the legitimate exercise of liberty."

Referring to the provision for preven detention in our Constitution, Mukherjea J. observed :[73]

"Detention in such form is unknown in Ame It was resorted to in England only during war but no country in the world that I am aware of made this an integral part of their (*sic*) Constitu as has been done in India. This is undoubtedly fortunate, but it is not our business to speculate questions of policy or to attempt to explore the sons which led the representatives of our people make such a drastic provision in the Constitution self, which cannot but be regarded as a most unwa some encroachment upon the liberties of the people

Finally, Das J. has remarked :[74]

"The first thing to note is that under Entry List I (7th Schedule) the Parliament and under E 3 in List III both Parliament and the State Leg tures are empowered to make laws for preven detention for reasons connected with the se matters specified in the respective entries. This lation is not conditioned upon the existence of an with a foreign power or upon the proclamation emergency under Part XVIII of the Constitution. Constitution has, therefore, accepted preventive de tion as the subject-matter of peacetime legislation distinct from emergency legislation. It is a novel ture to provide for preventive detention in the C stitution. There is no such provision in the Cons tion of any other country that I know of. Be it it may, for reasons good or bad, our Constitution deliberately and plainly given power to Parlia and the State Legislatures to enact preventive de tion laws even in peace-time. To many of us a ventive detention law is odious at all times but I desire to emphasise is that it is not for the Cou question the wisdom and policy of the Constitu which the people have given unto themselves. T another basic fact which the Court must not overl

It is evident from what has been above that judicial opinion in our country

70. On 6th April, 1951. See *ibid*, pp. 451-52 and 455-56.

71. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, April and May, 1950, p. 116.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 288.

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on the whole, not been very favourable to the provision for preventive detention in our Constitution. Perhaps this provision was necessitated, as Patanjali Sastri J. has hinted, by the political situation in our country at the time when it was made. The official view appears to have been the necessity of protecting our infant Republic "against violent activities organised in secrecy and intended to produce chaos."[75] Still, it must be admitted, the provision does not seem, however politically and realistically it may be expedient, to be a very happy feature of our Constitution. Nor does it seem to be in consonance with the ideal of the rule of law.

In our later articles in this series we propose to deal with some other Fundamental Rights as guaranteed by our Constitution.

75. See in this connexion the Statement of Objects and Reasons for the Preventive Detention (Amendment) Act, 1951, in *The Gazette of India*, Part II, Section 2, dated 10th February, 1951.—*The Current Indian Statutes*, 1951, *The Punjab Law Reporter Press*, Simla, p. 53.

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WILL INDIA ACCEPT DEMILITARISATION OF KASHMIR?

By Prof. TARAKNATH DAS, ph.d.

It is well-known to all interested in Indo-Pakistani relations that India has refused to accept the decision on the issue of Kashmir, as recently rendered by the Security Council of the United Nations. India's case was well defended by Sj. V. K. Krishna Menon who advocated that the real issue before the United Nations was not a plebiscite to determine whether Kashmir is a part of India or not, but the issue was whether Pakistan was an aggressor in Kashmir or not. Sj. Menon established the fact that from the standpoints of International law and Constitutional law of India, accession of Kashmir to India in 1948 and confirmation of this act later by the legislature of India and adoption of constitution of Kashmir which makes it definite and clear that Kashmir is an integral part of India, leaves no room for any doubt Kashmir's status—Kashmir is a part of India, and there cannot be any plebiscite in Kashmir under U.N. auspices, because such an act would mean U.N. interference in India's internal affairs.

II

It is known that Pakistan, well-equipped with modern arms from the United States of America and the Bagdad Pact Powers—specially Great Britain and Turkey— has been preparing for a holy war against India. Pakistan's hostility to India has been definitely proven by statements of responsible statesmen of the country and the recent anti-Indian demonstration at Karachi, Lahore, Dacca and other cities in Western and Eastern Pakistan, by burning effigies of Prime Minister Nehru, who has been the foremost advocate of peaceful relations between India and Pakistan. Under these circumstances, to protect Indian frontiers, specially Kashmir frontiers, from a sudden attack by Pakistan, India must muster necessary forces, as a defensive measure. There are indications that India is not unaware of Pakstan's war-like intentions and it is to be expected that India will defend Kashmir at any cost.

III

Pakistan knows that the United States Government has given assurance to India that she would do her best that the arms supplied to Pakistan might not be used against India. Pakistan also knows that President Eisenhower is thoroughly aware of the fact that any war between Pakistan and India would serve the cause of Soviet Russia and Communist China, weakening Pakistan and India and undermining the position of the United States in the Middle

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East as well as South-East Asia. Americans, well-versed in world politics, know that if the United States and SEATO powers and Britain and the Bagdad Pact Powers aid Pakistan against India, then India, as a matter of self-defense, might be forced to seek aid from China and Soviet Russia. Thus at the present time, Pakistan's present programme is to carry on diplomatic war against India, to isolate the latter in world politics, if that can be achieved; and to use every possible means, specially using the United Nations organization to create adverse public opinion against India and thus induce vacillating Indian statesmen not to take firm and defensive measures against Pakistan's possible future aggression in Kashmir, East Bengal, Assam and neighbouring regions.

IV

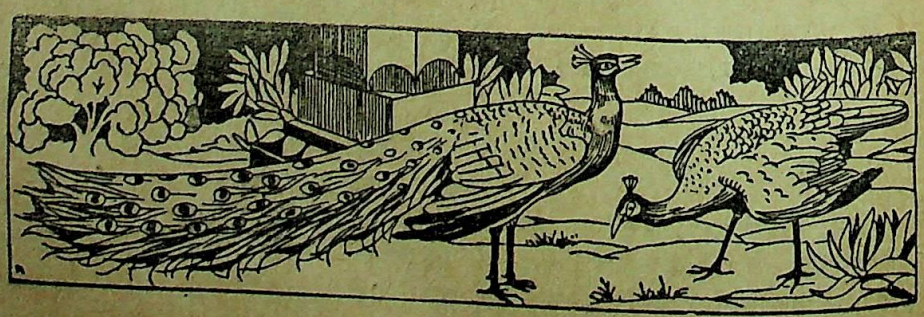
It has been reported in reliable circles that Pakistan, a partner of the United States through SEATO and that of Britain through Baghdad Pact, has induced the Anglo-American Powers to introduce a resolution in the Security Council to the effect that Hon. Gunar V. Jarring, the present representative of Sweden and formerly Swedish Ambassador to India and Pakistan, be asked to go to India and Pakistan in a mission for the solution of Kashmir issue. *It has been reported that the programme of the mission would be to arrange that Kashmir be completely demilitarised. Failing to force plebiscite in Kashmir, Pakistan is working, under the cover of promoting peace, for demilitarisation of Kashmir, which would weaken India's defense as a whole.*

It is to be expected that India will not accept any such proposition and make it unmistakably clear that, as the United States which is faced with hostile attitude of Soviet Russia in all fronts, will not give up her right to self-defense to the United Nations, as the United States will not give up her defense bases all over the world, as the United States would under all circumstances enforce her Monroe Doctrine, Open Door Policy, Truman Doctrine and Eisenhower Doctrine and as the United States would never demilitarise Alaska at the request of the United Nations, so it is to be expected that India will never accept any proposition of demilitarising any part of her domain to cater to the decisions of the United Nations when such propositions would affect India's national interests adversely.

If ever India accepts the supposedly innocent and peaceful measure of demilitarisation of Kashmir, supposedly to further the cause of peace, it will be a precedent for Pakistan to assert that as the relations between East Pakistan and India has deteriorated, then West Bengal, Assam and some of the Himalayan states of India adjacent to Pakistan be also demilitarised to the detriment of Indian national defense.

It was in 1952, during my visit to India after 47 years' exile, in connection with a speech delivered before a distinguished audience under the auspices of the International Rotary Club of New Delhi, I emphasised the fact that the frontiers of India were in danger. *Today frontiers of India are in graver danger. What India needs today is national solidarity and development of her own economic, industrial and defensive power through her own efforts and co-operation of friendly states. The youth of India must be ready and effectively trained themselves to defend Mother India from all forms of aggression. Jai Hind.*

New York, February 14, 1957.



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THE MIDDLE EAST

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.T. (India)

I

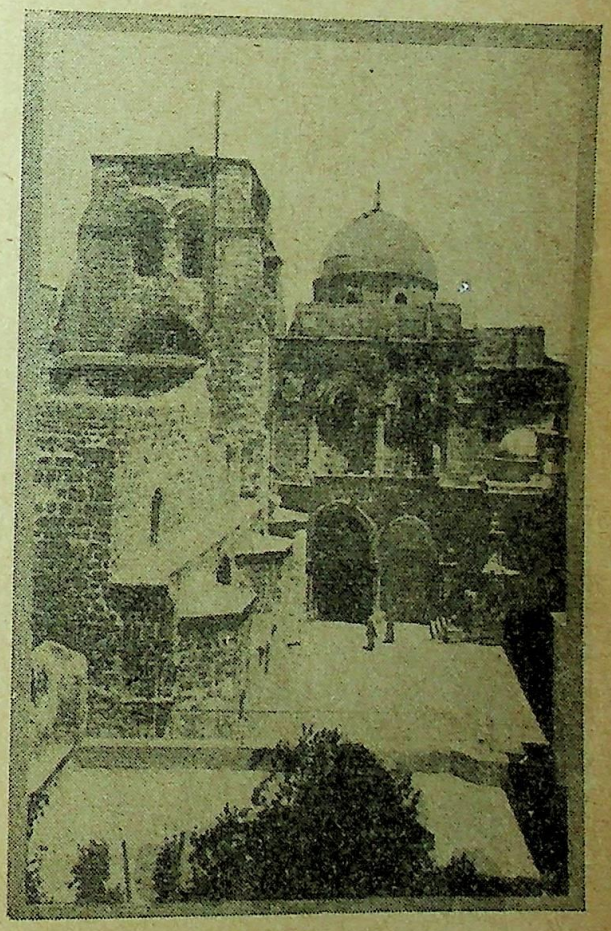
The Problem of the Middle East

The whole world is in suspense as to what may happen in the Middle East. The West feels that not only is Russia so near, but that Russia is gaining in influence by supplying arms to certain States. Russia, on the other hand, finds in the U.S.A. and U.K. aids and pacts, particularly those with West Europe or Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan, an attempt to surround Russia by forming bases all round. U.K. and Japan are already bases. The U.S.A. proposal for international inspection and control for the purpose of disarmament is not palatable to Russia, as it would benefit U.S.A. only, by exposing what is going on behind the iron curtain, while the U.S.A. is comfortably safe at a distance, in spite of jet planes and guided missiles. The clash of opposite ideologies of the "free world" and of "Communism" has led to the cold war. Communism promises a millenium to the hungry and weak countries of the world. The West attempts to check this by giving indiscriminate aids to counteract poverty and weakness. Benefits of trade, or strings attached to aids or even moral obligation to keep others in plenty, have become minor objects. Pacts arise out of fear and there have been pacts against pacts. The deadlock over the Suez Canal is proving immensely harmful to all the trading countries (90 per cent of the Canal traffic) of the East and West.

The Petrol Supply Problem

Petrol, the big indispensable merchandise (65 per cent of the total cargo through the Canal) has been made immobile to all consumers except to the two main opponents of the cold war, which has almost an ironic flavour. Both are self-sufficient, although one has nothing to spare and is beset with transport difficulties and the other is indifferent about finding in it.

The Middle East possesses two-thirds of the whole world's oil resources, but there is no technician to convert the crude material to a condition in which it can be used. The countries are too poor to finance refining, which is a very costly affair. Taking advantage of these conditions, some rich companies or corporations from the West have entered into long agreements on very easy terms. The price has been inflated to conditions prevailing in America, which means that it is 15 times more than is reasonable, the difference being the huge profit earned in the Eastern enterprise, selling at American prices. Therefore though there is a great possibility before India in working her own oil fields, she must take care that she is not duped by foreign capitalists, whose interests have to be carefully defined, even when technical help and foreign capital are indispensable. Popular attempts at nationalisation of oil proved disastrous to Persia from power politics including foreign intervention, blockade causing food scarcity, popular rising crushed by force and bloodshed, suspension of refinery producing unemployment and temporary flight of the Shah. All this ended in a long-term contract to the foreign oil companies against small financial gains. Nasser must have been very bold to try nationalisation again so soon, against such strong foreign interests.



Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem

The long pipe-line from Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, about 900 miles and a short one from Hatida, about 350 miles, end in Haifa on the Mediterranean Sea. Another short line goes to Tripoly from Hatida, bifurcating from the main line from Kirkuk and further up. These pipe lines supply directly to the Mediterranean coast, 40 million tons of oil annually, while 67 million tons go through the Canal, *via* the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, in tankers covering a distance of 2,820 miles. The position regarding oil

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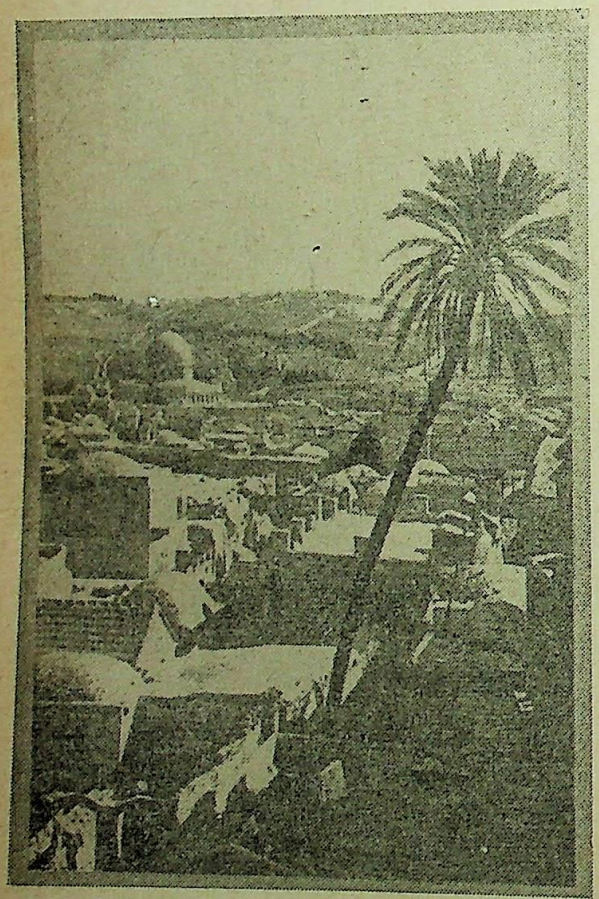
supply has recently been made worse by sabotaging the pipe-lines.

Old History of the Middle East

After the First World War, Turkey lost the sovereignty, enjoyed for ages, of the countries between Turkey and Arabia, *i.e.*, of the "Middle East" of the Westerners. This portion of the country called the "Fertile Crescent," bounded by the Mediterranean on the West, the Arabian desert on the south and mountains on the north and east, has been the great battle-field from very early ages. The Semitic (descended from the Biblical Shem) races of the Chaldeans, Jews, Phoenicians and Assyrians from the southern deserts and the Sumerian (from Sumer, a district in Babylon) races of the Philistines from the islands of the west,



Jerusalem from the Tower of David

the Canaanites, the Akkadians, Hittites, Hyksos, Medes and Persians from the northern and eastern mountains, founded kingdoms in this congenial soil, one after another during long ages and vanished. In the wars between the Egyptians in the south-west and the Assyrians in the east of Palestine, the route lay through the narrow strip of the plains, 120 miles long and barely 15 miles in width, between the river Jordan and the Sea. Jerusalem on the verge of the mountains, often suffered heavily. Later, the Jews appeared on the scene. They fought the Pagans or Heathens from Iran, Iraq, Greece and Rome, and later the Christians during the early Christian era. During the Crusades in the Middle Ages, the Christians fought the Moslems, and now the Arabs are fighting the Jews. Jerusalem as the Promised Land of the Jews the home of Christianity of the Christians and sacred place of the Moslems, has been the bone contention through the ages as at the present time.

After the First World War

Palestine had been conquered from the Egyptian Mamelukes by Turkey in 1517 and was under Turkish rule until 1918, when the British occupied In the treaty of Versailles, after the First World War mandates to the British in the south (from 1923) and to the French in the north (from 1921) were given the League of Nations, for the Allies. But extensive disturbances broke out in 1939 between the Jews and the Arabs over the rights of the Jews to pray at the "Wailing Wall" at Jerusalem and ended in considerable bloodshed, as it spread all over the country. The ever-active marauders in the stony and wild country made the most of these occasions. But there was nothing doing during the Second World War, which broke out in 1939.

The Arabs and the Israelites are always at loggerheads and hostilities start on the slightest provocations. In 1947, Britain handed over to the U.N. the problem of strife between the Israelites, who insisted on the formation of an independent Jewish State and the newly-freed Arabs who began opposing the Jewish independence move.

The General Assembly and the Security Council

Tension between independent States often leads and is settled by war, which generally spreads and affects the world at large, just as a small pimple distresses the whole human form. A peaceful way to settle disputes by a world organisation, through negotiations. Long before the present conflict in the Middle East, some sort of world organisation to prevent war and to settle disputes by negotiation has been considered essential, early this century.

The League of Nations was an international organisation, proposed by President Wilson of the U.S. at the end of the First World War in 1918, to [illegible] a mutual guarantee of political independence and territorial integrity to the great and small States alike. But America did not join this from a strong [illegible] for isolation, as a reaction against President Wilson's intervention in foreign affairs. America was always for isolation—even the founders were against foreign entanglements. Yet America was drawn into the First World War by the indiscriminate sinking of ships without warning by Germans, which caused loss of American lives. There was again a return to isolation after the war, as stated above, until Japanese [illegible]

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cation led America to join the Second World War in 1941. America then finally surrendered the isolation policy and took up the world leadership. In the background of Monroe Doctrine and Rio Pact, it looks like "Hands off me, while I handle you." Even before America was actively engaged, the Atlantic Charter with the main objective of freedom from war, fear and want, was signed in 1941. After the war, the United Nations Charter was drawn up in 1945, at San Francisco by 51 Nations as a more powerful and effective World Organisation (which U.S.A. now joined formally) than the League of Nations, providing an agency for the peaceful discussion of international differences and a hope for a peaceful world. The U.N., under the Charter had no power of action, as the provision of a stand-by permanent force at its disposal never materialised. But they have powers of recommendation to the moral judgement of the world community, of world opinion. This was the American policy—in the Declaration of Independence, the founders had pledged themselves to a decent respect for the opinion of mankind.

The U.N. has two main organs—the General Assembly and the Security Council, the latter with a power of veto in matters affecting security. That is, a single vote out of 5 original members can veto any proposal. This was readily agreed to at the Yalta Conference towards the end of the war. The Council can take action only when all the five great powers are in agreement on policy. Further implications were then not realised, as exemplified by the constant Russian veto on important and urgent matters, for example, in the provision of a working force of the U.N. The General Assembly, however, during the Korean crisis, got passed a resolution, in the absence of the Russian delegate, providing for an emergency Assembly session, if a veto prevented dealing effectively with a threat of peace. This by-passing of the veto by a resolution was instrumental lately in getting Britain and France out of the Canal area and stationing of the temporary U.N. force for security.

The U.S.A. has brought a belated resolution, now before the U.N. that noting

(1) the disregard of 1948 Armistice arrangements, particularly the penetration of Israel,

(2) operations of Britain and France against Egyptian territory,

(3) interruption of traffic through the Canal,

the U.N. urges cease-fire, withdrawal of forces, no movement of military goods, reopening of the Canal and continuance of the emergency session, pending further examination.

Attempts at Peaceful Solution

To ensure permanent peace in the Middle East, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved a partition of the country into independent Arab and Jewish States in place of mandates and a U.N. Commission was entrusted to the work. The Commission partitioned the country into eight States internationalising the Jewish Jerusalem. The Israel State came into existence in 1948, voted to the U.N. in 1949 and a new Republic was proclaimed in 1950 by the Jewish National Council. When the British mandate terminated in 1949, 94 per cent of the area came under Israel. America and 30 (and later 59) nations of the U.N. recognised the State. The Jews objected to the

A view of Samaria

partition and in 1949, infiltrated everywhere except Jerusalem. Regular war broke out in 1950. The Arab was no match for the Israel. An expedition headed by Iraq entered Palestine but was thrown back, leaving a large number of Arabs behind. Their extraction was not heeded for long. The Arabs fled and the country was being constantly ravaged by marauders and robbers. There was widespread massacre near Jerusalem. One million Palestine residents were said to have been evicted from their homes and deprived of property. The strong party in Israel was Socialists, who predominated politically and economically, only 13 per cent being under clericalism. Arab property was left in Israel by Arab refugees, whose rehabilitation is now a problem. There is also a dispute about harnessing of the Jordan water. The U.N. had to intervene. A temporary truce was proclaimed and an Armistice was concluded under terms proposed by the U.N.

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mediator Dr. Bunche, the previous mediator Count Bernadotte having been murdered by the Jews. Still in 1954, troubles broke out when a bus was ambushed and its occupants killed. In this spirit, Israel joined the present Suez strife. The Arabs, perhaps, feel that all the sea-port towns have been given to the Israel, and trade which enriches a country has been throttled against their interests. The Jews feel that the portion of Palestine given to the Arabs has been a real emotional grievance, as it includes Jerusalem, their promised land.

So the armistice 8 years ago, has not been of any use. The U.N. has been laggard or impotent and so has the U.S.A. been indifferent.

The Suez Canal

Nasser, baffled on the question of the Assuan Dam, seized the Canal on the 26th July. Within three days, the U.S.A., U.K. and France met in London and proposed a conference of the surviving signatories (90 per cent of the users) of the 1888 Convention (almost all). Egypt declined to attend. An agreement of 18 countries was carried to Nasser, who rejected it. The 18 met again and proposed to create an association, as a co-operative group of the Canal users. The matter was brought to the Security Council and six principles (same as of the original proposals of the 18 countries in London) with concurrence of Egypt, were adopted. A second part of the resolution, regarding implementation, was vetoed by Russia. Then a proposal to hold a conference of the Secretary-General, (the executive of the U.N.), Egypt, Britain and France did not materialise; Israel penetration and violence by U.K. and France followed instead. Blaming Russia for the Canal dispute, assuming intended penetration, appears to be unjustified, since Russia proposed joint action with the U.S.A. to settle the dispute.

First of all, Israel penetrated into Egypt. Quickly following, France and England acted, with 12 hours ultimatum and armed attack, later from air—for temporary control, presumably to make the canal safe. The matter was brought to the Security Council, but vetoed by Britain and France, the only dissenting votes against the resolution. The Secretary-General called an emergency session by a vote of 7 members of the Security Council. As a result, Britain and France have withdrawn from the Canal zone and the U.N. Emergency force has been stationed in the Canal area.

Even if the Suez Canal dispute is now settled, as it appears likely, the differences between the Arab States in the Middle East and the Israel and the internal quarrels between Arab States themselves, may still continue.

It is difficult to find a solution that would satisfy all the parties. The suggestion of an Arab Federation came from a voice from America. This was also suggested by the Jordan Premier, envisaging a Federal Parliament determining common Arab policies in the foreign, military and strategic fields, local matters being left to the local parliaments. This will at least solve the differences between the several Arab States, which have always been acute, avoiding interference from distant contesting foreign countries, who are intent to fill up the power vacuum there.

II

Israel's Case

World opinion has been outraged by the Israeli penetration into Egypt for which Israel owes an explanation. The Israel country or Palestine, surrounded by Moslem States, except on the Sea coast, is a republic with a president for 5 years and a Chamber of Deputies elected by votes of all Jewish citizens. The Bagdad Pact[1] initiated by Britain and sponsored by the U.S.A. was opposed by Israel, because it armed one set of enemies of Israel, that is, the Arab States of the East. Russia retaliated by arranging supply of huge quantities of arms to Egypt, which is another enemy of Israel, in the West. Both aim at annihilating Israel. Egypt blocked the Canal against Israel. It is true that Israel had the free use of the Gulf of Akaba. But bands of robbers and marauders infesting the wild country cannot be checked from the tip of the Gulf, when both the sides are under Moslem control. Further, Egypt had not complied with the U.N. resolution of 1951 recognising Israel's rights to use the Canal, on the lame excuse that a state of war existed between Egypt and Israel and as such, blocking the Canal was permissible according to the Convention of 1888. In the perpetually disturbed state of the country, each side blamed the other for Soviet support in border incidents. Calling it a war, it appears that Egypt did not want peace. Egypt would, moreover, come to no terms about shifting the population according to race, as there may be unspeakable massacres and extermination in centres of isolated colonies distributed over the country. Of course, this is a grim fact. There are 150 Jewish settlements in Palestine, but of the whole population of 1,200,000 the Jews used to number only 350,000 (now risen to 608,000) and Christians 100,000, so that the country was overwhelmingly Mahomedan. In Jerusalem (the claimed capital of Palestine in 1950) itself, of a population of 90,000, about half are Jews. Again formerly the Moslems used to be four-fifths. Again there were 63,000 (lately reduced[2] to 40,000) Jews in Egypt, 73,000 in Iraq, 30,000 in Syria, who have become foreigners after the partition in 1949. On the other hand, when the Israelites abandoned the Sinai Peninsula, a vital factor for their development, there were only 120,000 Moslems left there.

1. See foot-note 3.
2. Both due to the return of Jews in large numbers, as detailed later, to Palestine.

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The Arab League was formed of all the Moslem States of the Middle East. Then there was the Bagdad Pact between Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. All this was ominous[3] to Israel.

Israel appealed to the U.N. for a settlement but they seemed indifferent or impotent. Facing the difficult position with the alternatives of "to do or die," Israel penetrated into Egypt even before the British and French incursions, of which, perhaps, it had hints. The Israelites thought that their long-coveted chance had come. The incentive for the British came from an attempt to recover their lost prestige in the Canal zone and there was prospect of oil in the Sinai region. The French incentive came from a sense of injury, because Egypt had sent arms aid to Algeria. Both had, however, the common aim to check the Communist Russia, though presumably to help the Israel cause. They counted on America in this venture. But America kept out, because it was not for using force and decided that two wrongs cannot make anything right. In any case, Israel was trapped into the position which was later repudiated as a mistake.

History of Israel

In order to understand the position of Israel in world affairs, its long strange history is an interesting study. The Jews now number about 15,500,000. They have lived scattered over the length and breadth of the earth for 20 centuries, having no home-land. Yet they survive as a distinct race, while history abounds in evidence of so many races having risen, fallen and forgotten. They have distinguished themselves in every age as people of character, achievement and culture and in their imposing form and features, while enduring great suffering and misfortunes.

The founder of the Hebrew nation, Abraham, lived about 2000 B.C., when the Egyptian and Babylonian civilisations had grown old and enfeebled. He led his people from Ur, near the mouths of the Euphrates in the idolatrous land of the Chaldeans. Ur is said to have been founded even 2,000 years earlier by a Sumerian race and modern excavations have unearthed this earlier civilisation of the Stone Age in potter's wheels, earthenware pots and drain pipes, as well as in fire-places, well-laid gardens and so on, discovered underground.

Abraham had the divine call to found a nation, dedicated to one God and to move West and settle in Palestine. Isaac, succeeding Abraham had twin sons, Jacob and Esau. The latter was cheated of his heritage by wily Jacob and settled in the barren southern hills of Nageb up to Akaba. Jacob changed his name to Israel and his 12 sons became heads of 12 tribes, known as Israelites. Jacob was partial to his son Joseph. This led the others to sell him as a slave to a merchant on his way to Egypt. But Joseph, through his honesty and ability, became a favourite with the Pharaoh or ruler in Egypt. Later, when a famine drove Jacob and his sons to Egypt, they settled there through Joseph's influence and they prospered for generations. The Egyptians grew jealous of the Jews and forced them to slavery and employed the slave labour to build the Pyramids. Finally, they tried to exterminate the race by drowning, until Moses delivered them from this oppression. He evaded the guards and led them through a long journey, known as the Exodus, back to the Promised Land of Canaan or Palestine.

In the 15th century B.C., Palestine was under the Egyptians. When the Israelites came, it was held by a Canaanite tribe. At the Sinai Mountain, amidst thunder and lightning, Moses was given in tablets of stone the Divine Laws or the Ten Commandments, which form the ethical standard of the whole civilized world. So Moses is known as the first law-giver. His son Joshua had to fight against the Canaanites, Philistines and others in Palsetine. During these troubled days, officers known as "Judges" were appointed and later, "Prophets" or reformers, who speak for God and finally "Kings". David conquered the city of Jerusalem in 753 B.C. and made it his capital. It reached its greatest splendour under Solomon, but there were dissensions. After division of the kingdom amongst the tribes, Jerusalem became the capital of the kingdom. Later, about the 10th century B.C., there were two kingdoms—Israel with capital at Samaria on the North and Judea with capital at Jerusalem in the South. They were constantly fighting with each other. The northern half became idolatrous and was lost by an attack by the Assyrians. The mixed people left there, were called the Samaritans. The Southern State, Judea, kept its original faith but was subject to constant worry from warfare between the powerful Assyrians and the Egyptians on the

3. Israel made a false reading of the situation. The Arab League (1945), conceived for a long time of all independent Arab States to co-ordinate their policies for all common interests, was no effective political force, because of rivalry for predominance between Egypt and Iraq, and other differences between one another, leading to constant clash of arms. Thus Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Jordan made a joint Egyptian command, which Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan did not join because of the Egyptian command. The Bagdad Pact for technical and economic development and mainly mutual defence, was a new grouping of the latter States including Britain, started at Portsmouth in 1948 and signed in 1954. This was actively opposed locally, showing diversity and some Moslems were now disowning Britain. In the late crisis, it appeared that there was really no Arab bloc. Only some despotic feudal, monarchist or republican regimes of Arab rulers were active. But fortunately for Israel, they did not take up the cause of Egypt. The people of Jordan are actually demonstrating against foreign influence in Egypt and Iraq, (the Iraq Government is for pacts). Even some people of Iraq and of East Pakistan are agitating against the Bagdad pact.

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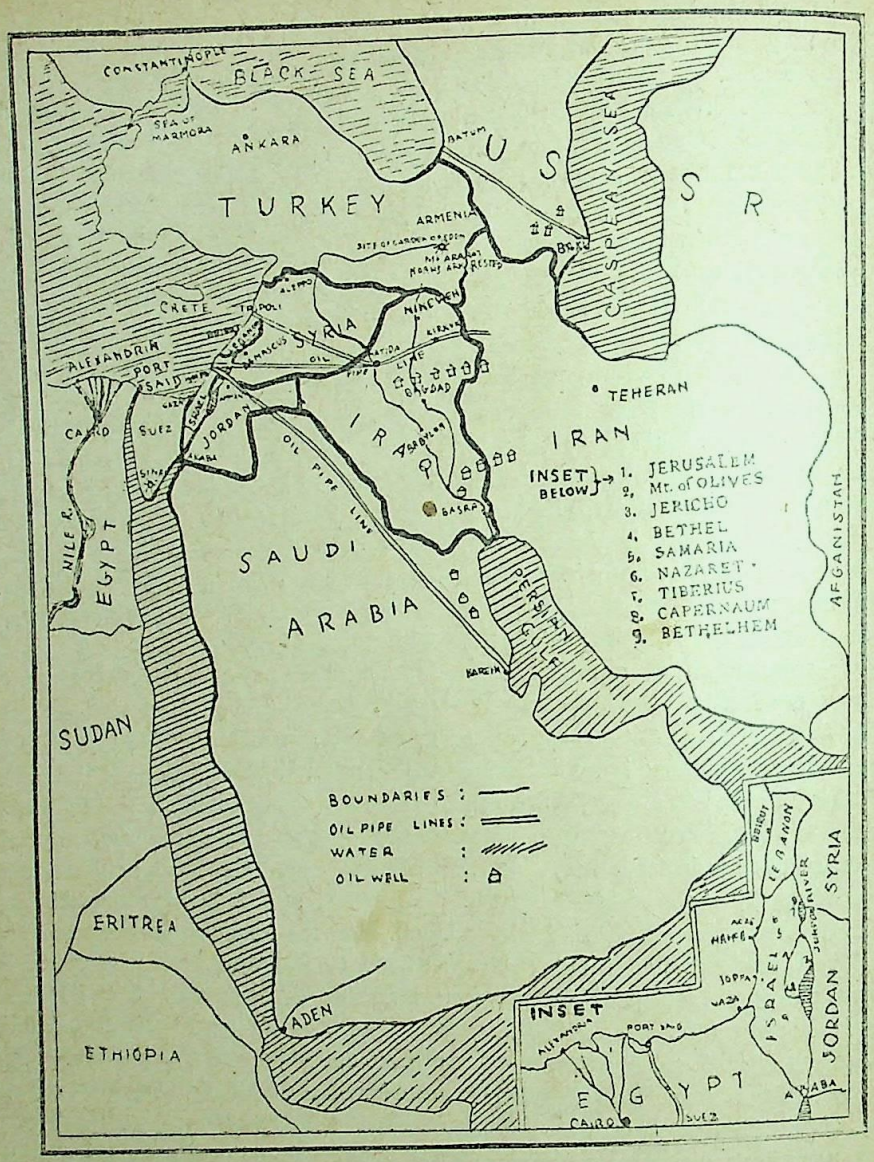

The oil routes in the Middle East

North and South respectively. The weakened kingdom was over-run by the Chaldean King Nebuchadnezzar of Bagdad in 587 B.C. When he left after appointing a Governor, the Jews revolted and massacred his soldiers. In retaliation, Nebuchadnezzar returned, destroyed Jerusalem, including the temple and carried the whole people to Bagdad as slaves. Nothing remained of the 12 tribes and thus ended the Jewish kingdom. After about 70 years, the Chaldean kingdom was crushed by the Persians under Cyrus and the Jews were brought back to Jerusalem in 530 B.C., when they rebuilt the temple in 415 B.C. An important part of the Hebrew Bible, or the Old Testament, was compiled while under captivity in Bagdad, where they advanced in culture.

Persian administration ended in 333 B.C. after the Conquest of Alexandar, when the Ptolemies, the Greek rulers of Egypt, also ruled Judea or Judah. Then Palestine fell into the hands of the Syrians with hundred years. They tried to force idolatry Jews. The temple was profaned in 170 B.C. The revolted and became independent in 130 B.C. I internal dissensions, Rome was invited to and Pompey made himself master of Palestine. independence of the Jews ended and after 2,000 it was only regained in 1950. Julius Caesar pla foreigner, Antepeter, who had helped him Egyptian campaign, as ruler of Palestine. were his son and grandson, who figured in the fixion. There were constant insurrections revolts ending in a great war in 66 A.D. Bu took Jerusalem in A.D. 70, burnt down the and massacred thousands of Jews and took th slaves to Rome. The Jewish nation was thus troyed. But the spirit survived in a scattered suffering great persecutions.

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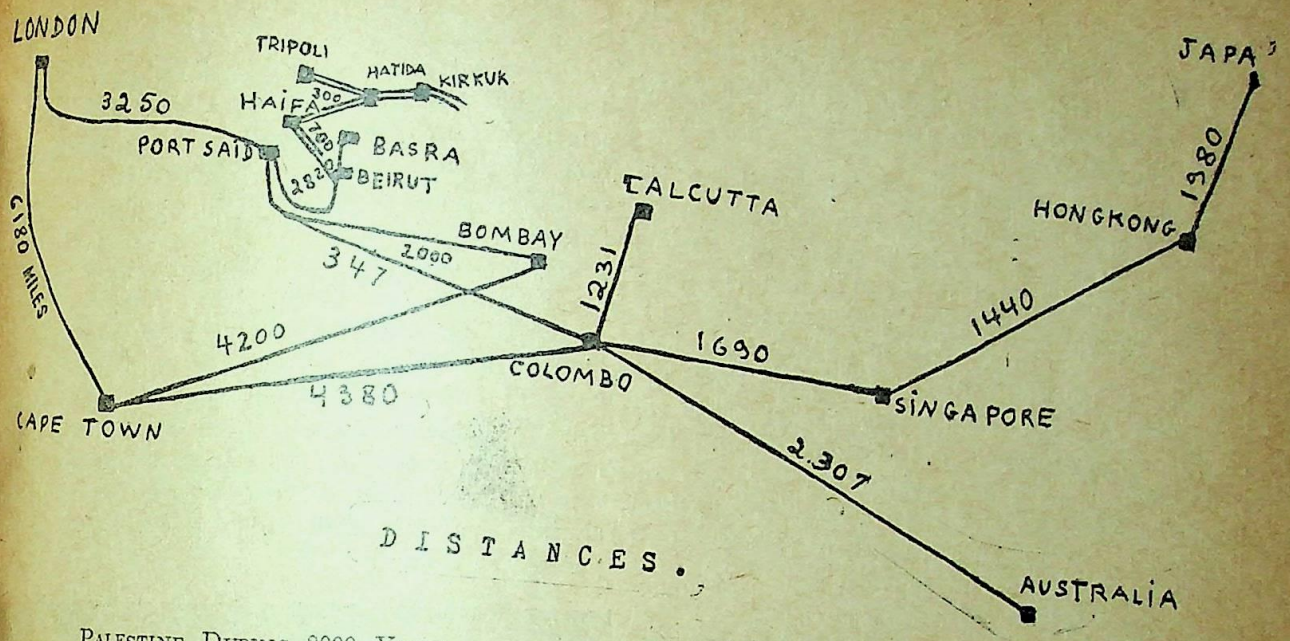

Palestine During 2000 Years

Hadrian, Roman Emperor, rebuilt Jerusalem in 130 A.D. The Edict of Milan proclaimed by Constantine in 323 A.D. after his conversion, spread Christianity quickly. He recovered the holy places and built two magnificent Churches. The Church of Constantine was built on the Holy Sepulchre in 335 A.D. Jerusalem became the main place of pilgrimage of Christians in the 5th Century. Restoration however began with Justinian I (526-565). The Persians took Jerusalem in 616 A.D. It was reconquered in 628, but was soon lost to the Arabs. The Egyptians took Jerusalem in 971 A.D., but were driven out by the Seljuks (from Central Asia) whose barbarous rule was the immediate cause of the Crusades. The Crusaders conquered Jerusalem in 1099, but lost it to Saladin, the Seljuk ruler of Egypt and Syria, in 1187. The Crusaders reconquered Jerusalem in 1229. After 15 years under Frederick II of Germany, it was finally lost in 1239 to the Sultan of Damuscus. After a period of Mameluke (from Egypt) domination from 1382, Turkey occupied Jerusalem in 1517 and ruled up to 1918, when the British took it during the first World War.

The Jews Return to Palestine

The Jews migrated in large numbers[4] to Palestine, especially after the purge of Hitler. They have long desired of a national home through the Zionist movement, to bring to Palestine as many as possible of the 15,500,000 Jews scattered all over the world in isolated centres in large numbers. The immigration to foreign lands was due to constant persecutions in their homeland and to their enterprising spirit. Endorsed by the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and afterwards incorporated in the treaty of Versailles, the proposal was to establish a National Home for the Jewish people, without prejudice to the rights of other people in Palestine or the status of Jews in other countries. During the mandate given to Britain over Palestine and after it, vigorous steps for improvement have been taken by Britain and the Jews. Lands allowed to grow into waste have been reclaimed; ports opened at Gaza, Haifa, Tel Aviv, etc., the salts from the Dead Sea are bringing revenue and the harnessed Jordan helps in irrigation and as a source of power. A Hebrew University has been opened in 1925. Hebrew is the national language of a large number of schools, started in the country, but English and Arabic are also official languages. British and American backing of Israel during this period cannot be denied.

(To be continued)

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4. Formerly the Jews were in a great minority. Of over a million population, about 760,000 were Moslems, 200,000 Jews and 100,000 Christians. There have been large migrations of Israel to Palestine between 1932-40, 243,000, and 1940-48, 110,717. After formation of State, 700,000.

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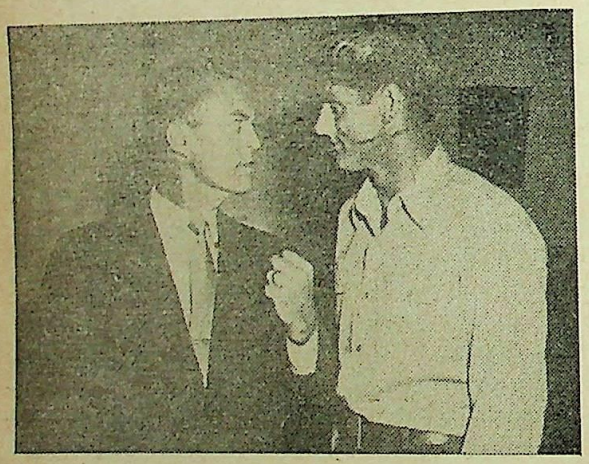
PRISONS WITHOUT BARS

With nothing but easily-climbed fence separating them from freedom, 1,500 men convicted of various crimes are serving their sentences in a prison in the United States called the California Institution for Men at Chino.

This "minimum security" penal institution, which emphasizes rehabilitation rather than punishment, is an experiment whose remarkable success is attracting world-wide attention and is likely to lead to further advances in constructive penal administration.

Criminals who in an ordinary prison would likely be confined in narrow cells and condemned to sit out long hours in idleness and silence, live at Chino in dormitories and eat in a common dining hall. Their wives and children may visit them regularly in the parklike grounds, and prison authorities help them learn a trade so that on completion of their sentences they are equipped to earn a living.



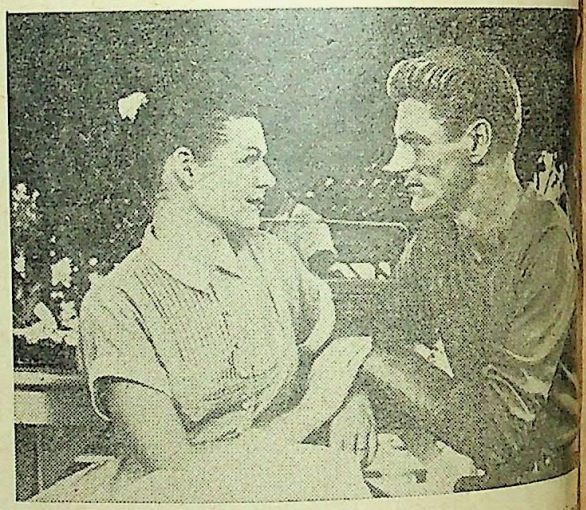
"Superintendent Scudder" tells a tough and defiant "Davitt" that his future lies in his own hands with Chino's help in reforming himself

It is the aim of Chino and similar recently-established "minimum security" institutions to help the prisoners, as they expiate their crimes, to develop into self-respecting, law-respecting human beings, able eventually to resume their place among their fellows as responsible members of society.

This American experiment in human salvage was established largely through the efforts of Kenyon J. Scudder, founder and first superintendent of Chino, a well-known authority on penal matters, and author of a widely-read book, *Prisoners Are People*. The book describes the philosophy and methods of this modern and humane approach to the question of imprisonment and cites many moving examples of individual rehabilitation that Chino has accomplished. So dramatic is Scudder's story that it has become the basis of a motion picture, *Unchained*, which, in turn, by further stimulating interest and concern about prison welfare, is likely to help promote more extensive programs of rehabilitation.

When the State of California, whose prisons had a very low rating, began about 1935 to make plans for a more modern type of prison, 2,000 acres were secured near the town of Chino, in southern California. After some delays and local opposition arrangements were finally made to build a farm-like institution without gun towers or high walls, where the men would be handled without the use of force or firearms.

Discarding traditional methods, Scudder chose for his staff a carefully screened group of young men, many of whom has just completed college. None had previous experience as prison guards, but all were enthusiastic about the rehabilitative possibilities of this new undertaking. These young men were given an intensive eight-week training course before the prison was opened.



One of Chino's most widely discussed innovations is to allow a prisoner's wife to visit him regularly.

"The course," says Scudder, "included instruction in the use of firearms so that no one could get hurt. Then we locked up the guns, as they have never been used except in case of escape. Through the teaching of judo, the art of self-defense, we developed in each man poise, courage, and confidence in his own ability to cope with any emergency that might arise without resorting to arms. A part of each day was devoted to the theory of handling men, some sociology, psychology, problems of discipline, and the general philosophy of freedom that was to govern the institution."

"Convicts who are to be given the chance of serving their sentences at Chino are carefully screened. The selection is based on the man's record and on his attitude and whether he is likely to get into trouble again. The largest number of

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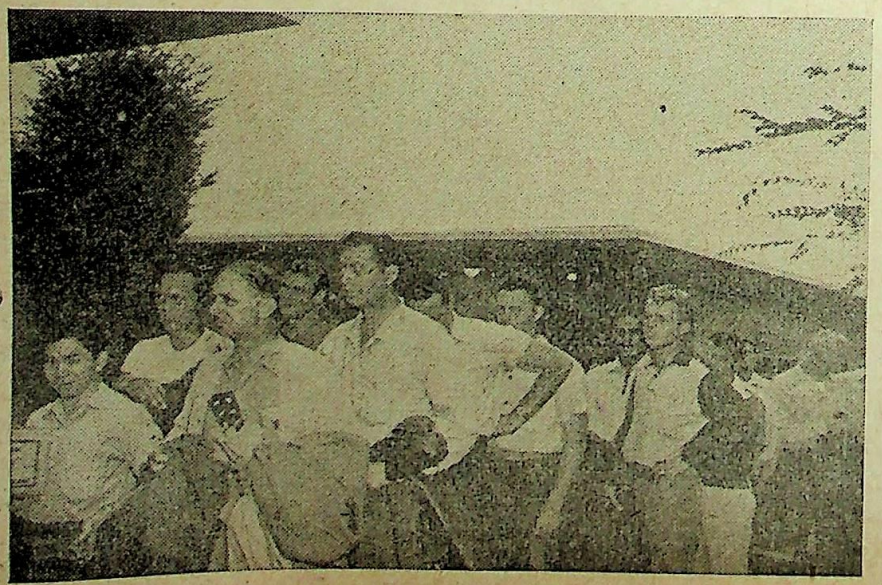
Davitt is elected by vote of his fellow prisoners to represent his dormitory on the prison council

Davitt appears before the Parole Board. If he can give convincing evidence to lead a law-abiding life, the Board may advance the date of his release



A new batch of convicts arrives at Chino where there are no barred windows, prison walls or armed guards

A reformed convict (right) gives Davitt some good advice

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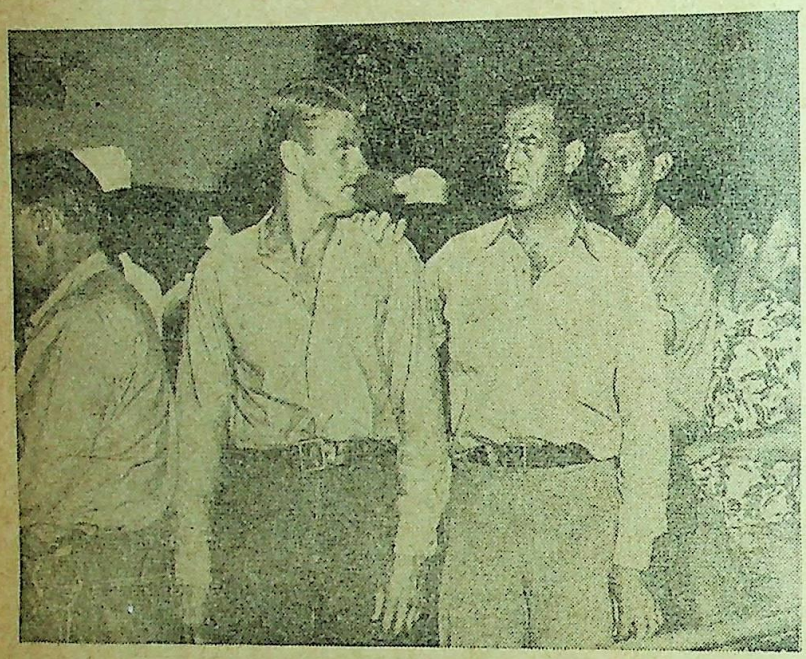
are in for robbery with a gun; next, burglary, grand theft, and bad checks. A few murderers are selected toward the end of their imprisonment to give them a chance to get ready for release and to accept responsibility for their own custody. It is the man and not the offense that is important."



Prisoners line up in the cafeteria-style dining hall

At regular intervals of six months a prisoner is interviewed by the Parole Board, or "Adult Authority." If the prisoner shows convincing evidence of rehabilitation and a sincere determination to become a responsible member of society, the Board may advance the date of his release. With this prospect to encourage him the prisoner has a strong incentive to face the self-examination and the self-discipline which are fundamental to his final rehabilitation.

Scudder believes that the liberal visiting privileges the men enjoy at Chino have contributed greatly to their adjustment and are one of the most successful of this prison's innovations. Early prisoners were allowed to build an attractive visiting area outside the Administration Building. They constructed a large pergola, planted lawn and trees, and built a number of picnic tables and benches. Here on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays the families—parents, wives and children—can bring their picnic baskets, and for four hours visit undisturbed with no one listening to their conversation. The men themselves are allowed to wear ordinary sports clothes on visiting days.

The prisoners at Chino are kept busy in useful work and wholesome recreation. Classes in bricklaying, tilesetting, plastering, welding, machine shop work, body and fender repair, auto mechanics and a host of others, taught by journeymen instructors furnished by the Chino High School District, equip men with skills to sell to an employer upon release. The institution also has one of the finest prison hospitals in the world. Here crippling injuries and other physical disabilities which may have led a bitter and frustrated man into crime in the first place can be corrected, providing him with a fresh and hopeful outlook on a new future outside the prison.

The forestry and farm work camp has been organised in connection with Chino and other California State institutions has also proved of great benefit in the programme of rehabilitation.

Today California's Department of Corrections has 37 per cent of its

In the California Institution for Men at Chino father and son can enjoy a visit together without embarrassment

prison population serving their sentences under "minimum security" in these camp and ranch units far removed from the old chain-gang type of labour.

The forestry camp has proved an excellent way to get the prisoners started in "minimum security"

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the outdoor life and the sense of freedom in these camps bring out the best in men as they approach the day of release. Another point to be considered is that construction costs and upkeep are much less than for a regular prison building, and more men can be handled on a six-month's turnover schedule than in the large institution. In addition, these men make excellent forest fire-fighters and more than earn their entire keep through the work they perform.

And why do the prisoners at Chino and other "open" prisons not seize the many opportunities to escape that present themselves? At Chino, with its 1,500 men, where the housing units are never locked, escapes number less than one per cent. It is easy to climb over the barbed wire fence. Prisoners are even shown, when they arrive, how they can scramble over without hurting themselves. But they are warned:

"If you stay on the inside of the fence you can enjoy limited freedom. When you drop down to the other side you are a fugitive felon and we will bring you back no matter how long it takes. Many more years will be added to your sentence and you can never come back to Chino."

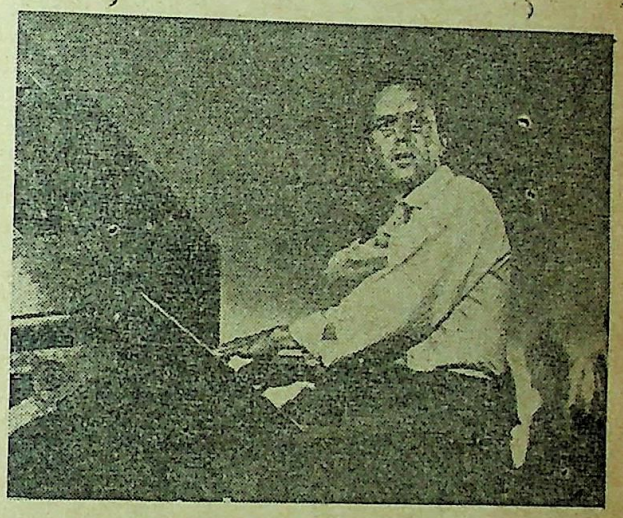
The advantage of paying their debt to society in a prison like Chino, rather than in close confinement in an old style "maximum security" institution, is not to be lightly disregarded. For at Chino a prisoner, no matter what his crime, is still an individual with certain rights and privileges as long as he behaves himself.

When Chino was opened in 1940 it marked a high point in many years of American thinking and effort along the road of prisoner rehabilitation. In 1870, the Prison Congress of Cincinnati adopted a Declaration of Principles that served as the starting point for the entire modern reform movement, which, under the United Nations Social Commission, has become world-wide in its scope.

The Cincinnati Congress led to the establishment in 1878 at Stockholm of a Permanent International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, which, after strongly influencing thinking on penal administration in various countries, was absorbed by the United Nations in 1951. (The first and last presidents of the Commission were American citizens: Enoch Cobb Wines, 1872-78, and Sanford Bates, 1946-51).

Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners were approved for the United Nations recently by its European Consultative Group. A Cairo Seminary in December, 1953, adopted several amendments to the proposed Minimum Rules that took into account special conditions prevailing in the Near East. This seminar, on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders for the Arab States, at which the Government of Egypt was host, was attended by penal administration officials of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen, as well as by a number of technical experts and observers from the League of Arab States, the Government of Turkey, UNESCO, and various non-governmental institutions.

At the seminar the question of open institutions, such as Chino, was discussed, particularly from the point of view of the measures to be taken as transitional steps leading to the introduction of such institutions in the Arab States. The Cairo Seminar adopted several amendments to the proposed Minimum Standards of the United Nations, taking into account special conditions prevailing in the area, and advocated setting up a Central Bureau for the exchange of information within the Arab States.



This professional pianist, unable to make a living, had taken to crime. Surgery in the hospital restored the use of his injured hand and he now looks forward to renewing a successful career on his release

During 1953 two experts were assigned under the United Nations to four countries (Burma, Israel, Pakistan, and Turkey) to discuss programs in what is known today as Social Defense and to advise on future developments. Thirty-one fellowships and scholarships were also awarded in the field of prison reform, and it is under this program that many officials connected with prison administration are now visiting U.S. Federal prisons and such State establishments as Chino.

Chino in particular demonstrates the successful application of today's humane and constructive approach to penal administration. For the goal and guiding principle of that approach, accepted on a world-wide scale under the United Nations, is summed up in the statement:

"The purposes of training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge, and to fit them to do so." —USIS.

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BHARAT KALA BHAVAN, BANARAS

(Museum of Indian Arts and Archaeology)

FOUNDED in Banaras in 1920, under the life-presidentship of Rabindranath Tagore, Bharat Kala Bhavan was conceived to make it possible, under one roof, the study and appreciation of Indian art and archaeology in all possible phases. The Kala Bhavan developed healthily and remained under the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Banaras,—an autonomous body—from 1929 to 1950 when it was taken over by the Banaras Hindu University.

Rabbit Hunting
(Mixed Rajput Moghul, 18th century)

At this stage a capacious, double-storeyed building, having a floor area of 1,26,000 sq. ft., was specially planned for this Museum and a portion of it, covering 9,600 sq. ft. floor area has already been constructed at a suitable spot in the University campus. The style of the building itself represents an attractive assimilation of old Indian architectural motifs; [illegible] attempted before.

The Museum now ranks with the fore[most] museums of India, having several unique collect[ions] divided into a number of sections.

The Painting Section, perhaps its finest, has [been] slowly built up on a basis of selection of the fi[nest] examples of each period of Indian history, the [idea] being rather to allow any period go unrepresented [than] be illustrated through a mediocre specimen. T[he] Kala Bhavan is well on its way to become a [real] national art gallery where Indian pictorial art can [be] studied in all its phases.

The same discriminative selective basis [was] operated in the case of Sculpture Gallery. It has [a] superb examples of Indian plastic art. The Prasad[hi] the Kartikeya, and the Nataraja (bronze image, [10th] century, from Tiruchinapally) are some of the [out]standing acquisitions. The Terra Cotta Sec[tion] represents many archaeological sites and has [some] outstanding examples from Rajghat (Banaras) [and] Kaushambi (Allahabad).

The new Numismatic Section contains [punch] marked, die-struck, Kushan-gold and Gupta-gold [coins] and a good representation of Moghul silvers and [co]pers and a few examples of the Delhi Sultans.

Forming an integral part of the Kala Bhavan, [the] Cottage Industries and Crafts Section has numer[ous] enamels, jewellery pieces, objects of precious and [semi]precious stone, inlays, etc. Of Indian textiles there [are] good examples of shawls, brocades, calicos, em[bro]deries and needle-works from different parts of I[ndia].

The Antiquities Section contains some [coins], plates, stone inscriptions, many clay-sealings [from] Rajghat (Banaras), Sanads and a few relics of [the] Moghul Emperors.

Representative examples from Mohenjodaro [and] a few copper-implements and potsherds are [featured] of the Pre-History and Proto-History Section.

UNIQUE LITERARY SECTION

Kala Bhavan's unique Literary Section [contains] autographs, portraits and other relics of the [famous] litterateurs of Hindi and Urdu, first editions of [rare] books and the first issues of Hindi periodicals [and] journals. And some autographs and mementos of Mahatma Gandhi form the valuable contents of Gandhi Section.

The Museum Library contains a fairly good [col]lection of books and magazines on Indian arts and allied subjects and the Kala Bhavan publishes [an] illustrated art journal *Kala Nidhi* in Hindi.—*PIB.*

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LALA HAR DAYAL

A Scholar And A Patriot

By M. M. LAL, B.A. LL.B., J.D.

"It is an illusion and a delusion that more fighting will end in friendship, that more tanks and bombs will usher in the golden era of peace . . . Love—and Love alone—can hasten the advent of the millennium of Peace." —Har Dayal in *Twelve Religions and Modern Life.*

The life-story of Har Dayal is the story of an unyielding spirit, which remained true to its principles in the face of various strains and stresses of life. It is very difficult to give an unemotional biography of such a controversial figure, shrouded in mystery.

Lala Lajpat Rai, the lion of the Punjab, in his famous book *Young India* wrote of him:

"Har Dayal is a unique personality. He lived a life of purity and wanted others to do the same. He is an idealist of a strange type. He is simple in his life and apparently quite indifferent to the opinions of others about him. He does not court favour at the hands of anyone and would go out of his own way to help others."

These words are the key-note to the personality of Har Dayal. He trotted the globe restlessly for more than three decades, first with the rashness of a rebel and then with the coolness of a pacifist and the vision of a humanist, but always keeping the interest of his country foremost in his mind.

Born in 1884 in a Kayastha family of Delhi, he got his early education in a mission school and later joined St. Stephen's College, Delhi. As is expected of a man of his calibre he had a very brilliant academic career so much so that in 1904 when he was at Lahore, in the M.A. examination he established a record in English and in some of the papers even obtained full marks. This record was later on considered unsurpassable and hence removed from the archives of the Punjab University.

Like Macaulay, Har Dayal had a photographic memory. He could attend to five things at a time; he could, for example, simultaneously watch a game of chess, count the peals of a bell, solve mentally a mathematical problem and listen to Arabic and Latin verses read out to him and then to everyone's utter amazement, describe all the stages of the chess game, count the number of peals of the bell, present correct solution of the problem, and reproduce the Arabic and Latin verses.

He sailed for England for higher studies on a Government scholarship. It is in that country that nationalism entered his mind for the first time. Here he came in contact with the fiery nationalist Shyamaji Krishna Varma, the publisher of the famous fortnightly journal, *The Sociologist*. Those were the very tumultuous days of the boycott movement in Bengal and non-payment of revenue movement in the Lyallpur district of Punjab. The arrest of Sardar Ajit Singh (the uncle of Sardar Bhagat Singh) and the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai further charged the political atmosphere of the Punjab with tensity. These things had naturally their reverberations in the young and sensitive mind

Lala Hardayal at Sweden

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of Har Dayal. He resigned his scholarship, which he termed as 'tainted money', and after giving up his studies, came back to India in 1907 to preach his doctrine of active hostility to the British Government.

He settled in Lahore, and gathered the student community around him among whom he was already so popular, and openly preached boycott of the British Government and British Institutions in India. He developed a strong hatred for English culture and dress and started wearing a simple Indian dress—a loose shirt, a dhoti and a pugree. He discussed and argued in favour of Hindu nationalism. His writings strongly pleaded for the adoption of national language. To him, Western education, meant the complete subduing of Indian manhood. He used to write in Hindi or Sanskrit in reply to scores of letters which he received in English. All these activities put him in disfavour with the Government and ultimately he had to escape to England in 1908 to avoid arrest, but alas, never to come back to his beloved Motherland!

In England, Har Dayal began to preach his gospel among the Indian students. There he wrote his historic article "The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race" which when published in India in *The Modern Review* for September, 1909, created a sensation. He went to Paris also and worked there for some time with Shyamaji Krishna Varma, his old associate in London. But on account of his differences with his associate and lack of good response to his type of nationalism, from the Indian students in U.K., he took to seclusion and studied Buddhism in Mortinique a French Colony in West Indies and Karl Marx in Honolulu. He was for some time a lecturer in Hindu philosophy and Sanskrit literature at Stanford University, California. He organised some Punjabee inhabitants of that State, mainly employed on farm work and formed a 'Ghaddar Society,' which started on November 1, 1913, a journal called *The Ghaddar* for the propagation of its views. The society played a notable role in our struggle for Independence. The Kama Gata Maru incident and other activities of the society led the American Government to arrest Har Dayal in 1914 with a view to his deportation as an 'undesirable alien.' But he was later on released on bail, soon after which he escaped to Switzerland from where he reached Berlin in the last week of January, 1915.

During his stay in America, Har Dayal's ideas underwent a marked change, for the influence of Hinduism and Hindu institutions on his mind fast began to fade, although the political nationalism in him remained unshaken. This change was sufficiently evident from the articles (like "India in the World Movement," "Optimism,' 'The Indian Peasant' etc.) which he contributed to the Indian press. He eulogised the Indian peasantry and fervently appe for giving it the topmost place in the four- order of Hindu Society. He wrote thus:

> "The Indian peasant is the *anna-data*, Vishnu of Society. He is the source of all and strength. He is the sun round which o classes are like planets shining by his light. . he is the symbol of India in her helplessness despair. Mute in his anguish, half-uncons of his own sorrows, dead to the outer world, sensible to the higher life of culture and prog the Indian peasant needs a voice to sing woes."

In Berlin, he organised the Indian Revolutio Committee which proved to be the last flicker of genius as a revolutionary. The organising of committee led him to a lot of trouble and made up his mind to quit Germany, but he was allowed to do so, as he was taken to be an 'a German Oriental.' But Har Dayal managed to to Sweden, a neutral country. Here he wrote garrulous war notes, published in the form of a b *Forty-four Months in Germany and Turkey* therein expressed himself strongly against the a cratic ways of the Germans and praised the B system of Democracy. He wrote:

> "The English and the French must get rid race prejudices and pride. The Oriental m lay aside distrust and rancour . . . . The En and the French will serve to unite the Orient the Occident in indissoluble bonds of comra ship."

This change in the outlook of Har Dayal perhaps due to his bitter experiences with men violence, and the study of Buddhism which he during his seclusion period.

Har Dayal was in Sweden for about a de and maintained himself through teaching Sansk and Swedish languages to the higher class student

He was permitted to come to England in 19 During his stay in England for about twelve y Har Dayal 'drank deep into the fountain of kn ledge,' and mastered a number of languages learnt various sciences and arts. He came in c tact with the best social and religious societies England and visited Sweden, Denmark and Fr on cultural and academic missions. His study r in Edgware, a suburb of London, had about books. He obtained the doctrate degree from London University on his thesis of *The Bodhisa Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, which later on published in the form of a book. He w the famous utopian and philosophical book na *Hints for Self-Culture*, in which high ideals been placed before the readers. *Twelve Relig and Modern Life* was his last publication. His tures, which he delivered in the USA just a

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months before his death, are the cream of his vast learning and rich experience.

Har Dayal was not only a mental prodigy, a nationalist, a patriot who fought for the cause of India's freedom in distant lands, he was a great philosopher also, with scientific outlook and a humanist's vision. He was a rationalist and did not believe in religion and its forms and dogmas. To him, God was a 'meaningless and mischievous monosyllable.' He has presented to the world a philosophy of his own, *i.e.*, Dayalism, the keynote to which is Scientific Ethics (as distinguished from theological and metaphysical Eethics), which aims at the complete and harmonious development of human personality in all its four aspects—physical, intellectual, aesthetic and ethical. Its *summum bonum* as in the words of Har Dayal himself, is not God, Spirit, Salvation or Nirvana but the Perfect Man in the Perfect State, Full Growth, Free Activity and Happiness, Truth, Goodness, Beauty and Health. To realise its ends, a modern Culture Institute was started in Edgware in 1938.

Har Dayal had always desired to come to his country and had his desire been fulfilled he would have done wonders in the fields of constructive work in India, but when he was permitted to come back here in November 1938, through the efforts of his relatives, and other well-wishers like the Rev. C. F. Andrews and Bhai Parmanand, alas! he passed away in sleep from heart attack on March 4, 1939 in Philadelphia, USA, where he had gone to organise the fifth Parliament of Religions of the World Fellowship of Faiths. The news of his death reached India a month after he had died. Thus passed away a genius who lived the life of a traveller-philosopher surrounded by a halo of revolutionary mystery. Though a major part of his fruitful career was spent in exile, he did so much for his country. There is much in his writings of tremendous use to us in our personal lives as well as in the advancement of ours as a nation. But it seems that we have forgotten him. It is time enough that Har Dayal is resurrected.

———:O:———

TAGORE'S CHITRANGADA AND DEBJANI

A Study in Contrast

By JOGES C. BOSE

Some time in 1920, a few distinguished ladies were at-home to Rabindranath at Baroda. They asked him what made the ideal woman? He refered to those lines of Chitrangada, which indicate the rightful place of the woman as a wife to double the joys and lighten the burdens of her husband culminating in the fulfilment of herself as a mother. The conception, in sober prose, is as old as the beginning of the world and is pedestrian in a busy, fast-paced world of today. But the sense of beauty, which abides, is in Rabindranath harvesting the woman with power to attract the man, despite his nomadic turbulence, to cling to hearth and home.

Chitrangada is the daughter of a king of Manipur, Assam, in the days of the Mahabharata. For reasons, we need not bother about, she grows up in habits and other pursuits of her life, which make one a man and not a woman. At one arresting snatch of undeniable youth, however, she meets Arjuna, whose tales of valour have saturated her since the days of childhood. She pauses to read in the stir of her blood that she is a woman and is in the intriguing presence of a man—no other than the idol of her imagination. In fact, she realises that she is smitten with a passionate love for Arjuna. The moments are precious and bid fair to flit by. She cannot, therefore, rest content to rely on her own resources unaided and invokes Madan, the god of love, the same as Greek Eros, to help her work the chance.

Inasmuch as Rabindranath has omitted in his English version *Chitra* a good many lines of his original Bengali, I would translate the relevant texts to illustrate my theme. Face to face with Madan, Chitrangada at once sets down to the brass tack of her purpose.

"If I had had the time," she says, "I would not have besought thee. Inch by inch I would have my ground gained to conquer him. I would have been an associate by his side—a charioteer in the field of battle fierce; an attendant in arms while a-hunting; a guard keeping watch over the tent at night; and at all times, I would fain assist him rescue the oppressed, which so eminently befits him, the true soldier that he is."

* * * *

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"After all, am I to be just one of those women, who, born in thousands, can be found all around—in homes, streets, everywhere and spend themselves up in wails as their only right?"

Madan and his co-adjutor Vasanta, the god of Spring, the same as Lychoris, accede to her prayer. One gives her the vernal bloom and on its basis, the other clothes her with a ravishing apparel. She is now lovely beyond compare but the glamour is to last for one year only.

To the ladies at Baroda, Rabindranath recited the penultimate lines of *Chitrangada*:

"I am Chitrangada; no goddess for worship or for lodgement in bonnet high nor, to be sure, am I the very common type that thou shouldst in proud disdain tend in the rear. If it be thy choice to allow me function as thy llfe's companion in weal and woe and make me share thy problems hard in all strenuous undertakings and journeyings that danger spell, shalt thou truly assess what I am."

Fully aware that the romantic spell is to wear out as the year completes its cycle, what in Chitrangada mounts the top is the serenity of her consciousness that increasingly as physical charms fade inwardness develops compelling attachment. Her level-headedness —head governing the heart—would not let the intense secret of love flag and volatilize. In fact, in the spring-tide of life, when the sense of balance and reflectiveness has little appeal, Chitrangada, even if effervescent, is cool and circumspect on many a sensitive point. She cautions her impetuous lover Arjuna to look facts in the face down the precipitate days of rose and rapture, lest the summer that woos too soon yields place to the winter, when wed. There is, however, a certain mechanization on laying the trap for Arjuna. In her resolute, matter-of-fact poise, the frolicsome, debonaire Chitrangada looks a little blatant and infused with a femininess of the heady type. She has in her surrender none of Milton's 'sweet, reluctant amorous delay' nor the idyllic felicity of Tennyson's 'ask me no more'. But she has, what is Rabindranath's own, the strange, solemn satisfaction, which belongs to the woman founding a home.

Chitrangada depicts a story of love at first sight, which has hardly any time for prolonged romance. The absence of prudery all but keeps step with the conduct of a primitive race the heroine belongs to.

Having had to weave on such a set pattern, Rabindranath sets up scope for beauty by creating forces, which ennoble the social order. In the final analysis, it makes the story instinct with the spirit of self-discovery and self-fulfilment in a life superior to what a man or woman could achieve alone. He makes Chitrangada's craving for Arjuna idealise into a feeling of adequacy, as she says to her spouse:

"Should the child, I bear thee, be a son, I ... so rear him up in arts, which a warrior ... that he shall be Arjuna the second. I would ... make a gift of him to his father, who would ... and then alone appraise me correctly."

According to Schopenhauer, 'Passion ... upon an illusion, which represents that which has ... only for the species is of value to the indivi... The deception, he says, must vanish after the a... ment of the end of the species. Rabindranath ... duces Eros and the atmosphere of illusion. Here ... the veil of deception is withdrawn after the s... has attained the end. Yet the difference is f... mental. Schopenhauer's individual discovers tha... has been 'the dupe of the species'. Rabindra... individual is assured of his or her completeness ... an enduring line of moral greatness which s... society as the best gift of civilisatoin.

Winston Churchill saw Bernard Shaw's *... Barbara* on the stage once again after long t... years. In the intervening period, the First Great ... he says, had changed almost every human insti... of England; but the society presented by Shaw ... not been subject to any change; it needs none; ... 'the very acme of modernity.' Shaw was Chur... early antipathy, derided as a 'merry mischi... Puck'; all the same, Churchill acknowledged Shaw ... 'the greatest living master of letters in the Eng... speaking world' (*Great Contemporaries*). In the ... of this, I have often wondered what is these ... *Chitrangada* to make it hold the floor for the ... these long sixty years. It woefully lacks the elem... which make drama a success. But then it lays ... without any conscious effort what makes the w... the custodian of the social and moral values of s... and what ethical power makes her compose for ... play of understanding and appreciation, as it subli... even the trite and trivial into something ... and enduring.

There are yet those, who discern the 'anti-... Ibsen in him. They have discovered Hjordis ... heroine of *The Warriors of Heligiland* in Chitra... An unhappy coincidence has it that Rabindr... translates Chitrangada's *'jani ami ey prem ... shudhu krandaner nahe'* as 'mine is not the light ... of a weak woman.' This is exactly the English ve... word for word, of what Hjordis exclaims in the ... drama. This line, happily omitted in *Chitr... Selectdd Poems and Plays*, also yields ground f... hasty assumption. But just a simple literal trans... of the above passage, 'I know that this love of ... cannot in mere lamentations end,' bars any ne... family likeness with Ibsen's drama. Then the... deeper thoughts as well.

Hjordis is married to Gunnar. Her lover ... marital days Siguard marries her foster sister ...

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They all meet at Gunnar's five years after marriage. Hjordis says to Siguard:

"I love you and dare say without a blush, for mine is not the light love of a weak woman. . . I have no real home since the day you took another woman to wife."

Hjordis remembers that Siguard's desire was for a woman willing to follow him on a Viking's quest, armed in steel and spurring him on to fight. She now harps on it, wholly bent on snatching him away from his wife's arms. She says:

"Let Gunnar stay here, let Dagny go back to Iceland with her father. I will put on my armour and follow you wherever you choose to go. It is not as your wife that I will follow you. Like a splendid Valkyn will I follow you, urge you on to the fight and to hero's deeds, so that your name may be famed abroad. When swords are flashing, I will stand by your side."

Contrast this all-too-sudden thrumming on the string of wild abandon with Chitrangada's pursuit for Arjuna to make him accept her as his wife, fit as well to follow him to the hazards of a warrior's life. Either is inspired by conflicting concepts. One breaks down a home; the other builds it up, cemented layer to layer by community of interests in order to share a common dedication.

Those, by the way, who talk glib of Ibsenism do no justice to Ibsen either. To take his *A Doll's House*, the representative book on women's revolt, Nora, the heroine, spurns husband's connection only when she wakes up to the basic rude fact that he is the common type to capitalise the helplessness of his wife. The husband says to the wife:

"I shall not be a man if this womanly helplessness did not just give you a double attractiveness in my eyes."*

It is against this insulting position, if I have read right, that Ibsen protested. Ibsen never suggested for the woman the abandonment of the sphere where, by the qualities of her personality, she dominates. For otherwise, why should Mrs. Linda of the same *A Doll's* caused pine for 'some one to work for and live for—a home to bring comfort into'? In *Ghosts*, Ibsen makes Mrs. Alvin 'not to pin all faith shop Manders chide the happiness that was bound with the spirit of volt.' What in truth is common to Ibsen and Tagore that either is a radical, nay a rebel, but no iconoclast. Either desires the woman to push ahead their complementary, co-operative role. Either is supplementing and to that extent supplanting the old society, where the woman is relegated to the relentless grind of domesticity and is dead to the vital urges of the day.

I do not know what exactly it is due to, but whenever I think of the pampered Chitrangada, I involuntarily remember the neglected Debjani. Chitrangada, we have seen, is enamoured of Arjuna, but carefully equates the points of reciprocity and strengthens the contact by marriage not a day too early. Whereas, Debjani lived in full freedom of intimacy with Kach for one thousand years,† but would not broach the talk of marriage. She only gives vent to her inward throbs on the day they met to bid each other adieu, the prospect of marriage irrevocably gone.

Debjani is the daughter of Sukracharya, the religious preceptor of the Daityas, living in the nether world as counterparts of gods in heaven. Kach, the son of Brihaspati, the religious preceptor of gods, was charged to go down to the region of the Daityas in order to learn the art of preparing the elixir of life from Sukracharya. There in the realm of the Daityas, Kach ingratiated himself into the good grace of Debjani through his proficiency in music and dancing, two very competent arts to induce intoxication of the sense and spirit. Sukracharya could not say 'no' to his daughter and taught Kach the secret.

The poem *Bidya-abhishap* (Farewell-curse) is fairly long and we begin—translation mine—at the crux, where Debjani is holding underneath a correct demeanour the thoughts of a bruised, boiling heart:

Debjani: Remote, unfriended hast thou spent thy painstaking years of study in this strange land. None was there by thy side to make amends for the pangs of exile or minister unto thee the comforts of a home. I only did what utmost I could with the limited means at my disposal. But then how could I have for thee the amenities of heaven and, at the top of all, the radiant faces of its damsels? May I not, however, hope that when thou hast to thy abode returned, the silly little lapses in my hospitality will as well flit by!

Kach: I wish thee say farewell with the gracious smile which is thine own.

Debjani: Smile? Alas friend, this is no heaven! Here yearnings dwell insatiably in the inmost recess of the heart, just as worms in a flower live; and the desire hovers round the desired, not unlike the love-lorn bee round about the closed petals of a lily. Here, as pleasures depart, the memory lives in isolation with long-drawn sighs. This is no heaven; smile is not perforce so cheap here. But friend, go thy way. Why for nothing shouldst

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* Rousseau, says Bertrand Russel in his *History of Western Philosophy*, cherished this idea that eresiu Vassuer, who alone was very near the position of a wife, was completely dependent on him.

†In the vein of a mathematical critic—one year of this mundane earth is equal to one day of the heavenly region; is it so of the nether world?

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thou while away thy time? The gods anxiously thy return await. What! art thou really going? Choosest thou to ring down the close with two meagre words of convention? Is this the way to part company after one thousand years?

Kach: Wherein may I have offended thee?

Debjani: What a pity, this beautiful, sylvan land hast for one thousand years spread its lordly shade over thee. The rustle of leaves hast the music of birds carried. Dost thou propose to leave all these in sublime non-chalance?

To follow them in broad outline, Debjani harps on the memory of bygone days, as the years float by in the primal glory of their seasons—the loveliness of spring, the hurly-burly of summer gales, the liquid profusion of monsoon and the golden autumn. Days without number, they sat reclined under the genial cover of groves listening to the murmurs of the babbling brook, the Benumati. Debjani asks, how Kach would forget them all? Kach instantly replies that they would stick to him inalienably, as mother-land does to the roving traveller. This is tantalising, and Debjani can ill afford to conceal her hunger of one such assurance in respect of herself. But her royal bearing stands in the way. She would not stoop to any blatantness of which we have had enough and to spare in Chitrangada. The colourful strain, the fencing and the rest of it burst out into one very suggestive question.

Debjani: Alas friend, was there in this exile any other to stand by thee day and night, who forgot herself to help tide over thy aches of living with strangers?

Kach: That name is woven fast with mine for ever.

The acknowledgement is spontaneous and without any mental reservation. They now stand face to face revealed in their pent-up attachment, as though in emotional suspense, on the brink of a dam that can no longer withstand the onslaught. Immediately, however, as the crisis stares Kach in the face, he recovers in a swing and apologises.

Kach: Forgive me Debjani, I cannot think of anything my own in scorn of duty clear.

Debjani: Where is the room for forgiveness in my heart thou hast to stark callousness brazed? To heaven shalt thou repair in full glory of thy desire achieved; and here I shall wander forlorn, my life frustrated and to pieces gone. The million memories relentless shall bite and pursue me with the shame of rejection. Fie, fie, cruel traveller, wherefore didst thou come to whistle away a few leisure hours of thine? Seated in the shade of my heart's overflowing outgrowth, didst thou stitch all the pleasing sensations of life by one thread, such as flowers are a garland made. But alas, with what supreme unconcern hast thou thrown it away, its fragments broken, to smooth down thy exit! All that I hold dear, all that I adore is to the dust hurled outright. I curse thee, and it shall abide that just as thou dost neglect me in preference to the Art thou devoutly pursued, it shall ever elude thee; thou shalt, without question, its carrier be but can't enjoy it; thou shalt teach it, but can't apply.

Kach: But I bless thee dear, happy shalt thou be and forget the agonies of today in the effulgence of a new-born glory.

Kach looks a sneak walking in the shade of Debjani, irretrievably discovered having paid court to her for an ulterior motive. But Debjani with her tense, vital emotions, dressed in perfect composure is elegance in flesh and blood. She does not lose an iota of her dignity even in extreme moments of frustration, even as she feels that she is beaten hollow and is very near being extinguished. After having sufficiently unblued the blue blood in Kach, the Poet has, by the concluding sentence, conceded to redeem him to make Debjani look a delicate shade of pink.

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ERRATUM

The Modern Review for February, 1957: Title of the picture at the top, p. 136: *Read* How University *for* Harvard University.

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STUDY OF FAMILY STRUCTURE AMONG THE EAST PAKISTAN REFUGEES

By PARAMANANDA PRAMANIK, M.Sc.,

Culture Research Institute, Tribal Welfare Department, Government of West Bengal

In this paper I would try to describe the family structure at present found among the refugees from East Pakistan. The materials were collected from among 554 refugee families under the supervision of Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta. The investigation was carried out in 17 colonies under Santipur Police Station in the district of Nadia. For information, heads of the families were interviewed.

The families were chosen at random; it was found later that nearly all the districts of East Pakistan had been covered. These families belonged to 28 castes of Hindu society. These 28 castes were arranged under 7 groups according to their hereditary function in the Society. The 554 families were also divided into Simple, Intermediate and Extended families. For more specific classification Simple was divided into 3 and Extended into 2. During discussion instead of repeating the same thing again and again I shall term it as Family No. 1, 2 and so on.

Caste Groups

All the 28 castes were grouped under different headings. For this heading, I followed Nesfield's occupational ranking of the castes. As a result of this, Kayasthas, a writer caste falls under the Serving Caste group. The scheme of Nesfield has also been followed by the Census Reports. Regarding representatives of the different caste groups, I have followed the Census of 1921. In that Census, they have included a group "Industrial Caste" in addition to the "Traders." I have included this "Industrial Caste" into "Artisan Caste" excepting "Teli and Tili" castes who are grouped under "Trader" caste of my report, as they, where I worked, are engaged in Trading and no artisan work. Risley also in his book *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* has described them as "a large oil-pressing and trading class of Bengal." Therefore, my classification of the caste groups along with the representative castes are as follows:

1. *Intellectual Profession*: Brahmin.
2. *Labour and Agriculture Labour*: Barui, Rajbanshi, Namasudra, Mahisya, Sadgope.
3. *Artisan Caste*: Tanti, Malakar, Karmakar, Sankhadhar, Kumar, Muchi.
4. *Trader Caste*: Teli, Tili, Suri, Saha, Garai, Modhabanik, Swarnabanik.
5. *Serving Caste*: Kayastha, Dhobi, Napit, Goala, Malo, Modak.
6. *Religious Group*: Vaishnab.
7. *Others of Unknown Function*: Kshatriya, Rajput.

Family Structure

All the 554 families were broadly divided into three categories—Simple, Extended and Intermediate. For this broad classification I adopted the usual method followed by other Anthrpologists. But for convenience and more specific classification I divided these again and these are as follows:

1. *Simple*:

(a) When in a family parents and children are found—I term it complete.

(b) When either parents and children—it is partially complete.

(c) When only husband and wife but no children—it is incomplete simple.

2. *Extended*: When several simple families live under one kitchen it is termed as Extended. I have divided this group in two—in one (No. 5) where father is the head of the family, and in another (No. 6) eldest brother is head of the family. Otherwise in family structure both the groups are the same.

3. *Intermediate*: Families in between these two are included in Intermediate group. Here in addition to the number of simple families under one kitchen, some other relatives, *viz.*, wife's parents or brothers or sisters or any other distant relatives, are living. Hence, it has been shown separately from the other two classified groups.

Discussion

From the chart attached herewith, it is observed that 179 out of 554 families, *i.e.*, 32.3 per cent come under Labour and Agriculture Labour Caste (Table I) and they come under 5 caste groups. Of them the largest concentration of the families is noticed under the family structure I (78 out of 179) and next is family structure V. Family structure IV is the smallest under this group (7 out of 179). Comparing with the total number and percentage, I find that there also Family structure I of this caste took the leading role, *viz.*, 78 families out of 263 families come under this group, *i.e.*, 29.6 per cent out of 47.0 per cent. This structure

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CHARTS SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES

Caste Groupings	*According to Census 1921* Representative of the caste group	*Simple Family* Husband, wife and unmarried children	Husband or wife & unmarried children	Husband, wife and no children	Total	Per-centage	*Intermediate Family* Husband, or wife or both married sons, their wives and children, unmarried children & relations of wife	Per-centage	Husband or wife or both, married sons, their chidren and wives, unmarried sons & daughters & widow daughters	*Extended Family* Married brothers, their wives & children, unmarried brothers & sisters and parents or father or mother.	Total	Per-centage	Grand total	Per-centage
		I	II	III			IV		V	VI				
Intellectual profession	Brahmin	35	5	4	44	69.0	4	6.2	10	6	16	25.0	64	12.0
Labour and Agricultural Labour	Barui, Rajbansi Namasudra Mahisya, Sadgope.	78	11	19	108	60.3	7	3.9	46	18	64	35.9	179	32.3
Artisans Castes	Tanti, Malakar, Karmakar, Sutradhar, Kumar, Muchi.	71	8	16	95	69.3	1	0.7	29	12	41	30.0	137	24.7
Traders Castes	Teli, Tili, Suri, Saha, Garai, Swarnabanik, Gandhabanik.	16	3	4	23	72.0	1	3.1	6	2	8	25.0	32	5.7
Serving Castes	Kayastha, Dhobi, Napit, Goala, Malo, Modak.	58	8	9	75	57.6	7	5.3	30	18	48	36.9	130	23.4
Religious Group	Vaishnab	4	..	2	6	60.0	..	..	4	..	4	40.0	10	2.0
Others of unknown function	Kshatriya, Rajput.	1	..	1	2	100.0	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	0.3
Total		263	35	55	353	..	20	..	125	56	181	..	554	100.4
		63.2	10.0	15.8	89.0	..	4.0	..	25.0	10.0	32.0	..	100.0	

Caste Group Representatives Simple Intermediate

TABLE I

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Function														
Total	263	35	55	353	..	20	..	125	56	181	..	554	100.4

TABLE I

Caste Group	Representatives	Simple I	II	III	T	P	Intermediate IV	P	Extended V	VI	T	P	G. Total	Percentage
Labour and Agriculture Labour Caste	Barui, Rajbanshi, Namasudra Mahisya Sadgope	78	11	19	108	60.3	7	3.9	46	18	64	35.7	179	32.3
Percentage		29.6	31.4	34.5	30.5	—	35.0	—	36.8	32.1	35.3	—	32.3	—
Grand total		263	35	55	353	—	20	—	125	56	181	—	554	—
Total percentage		47.0	6.0	10.0	63.7	—	4.0	—	23.0	10.0	32.6	—	100	—

TABLE II

Caste Group	Representatives	Simple I	II	III	T	P	Intermediate IV	P	Extended V	VI	T	P	G. Total	Percentage
Artisan Caste	Tanti, Kumar, Malakar, Muchi, Karmakar, Sutradhar	71	8	16	95	69.3	1	0.7	29	12	41	30.0	137	24.7
Percentage		26.9	22.8	29.0	25.4	—	5.0	—	23.2	21.4	22.6	—	24.7	—
Grand Total		263	35	55	353	—	20	—	125	56	181	—	554	—
Total Percentage		47.0	6.0	10.0	63.7	—	4.0	—	23.0	10.0	32.6	—	100	—

TABLE III

Caste Group	Representatives	Simple I	II	III	T	P	Intermediate IV	P	Extended V	VI	T	P	G. Total	Percentage
Serving Caste	Kayastha, Dhobi, Napit, Goala, Malo, Modak.	58	8	9	75	57.6	7	5.3	30	18	48	36.9	130	23.4
Percentage		22.0	22.8	16.3	21.2	—	35.0	—	24.0	32.1	26.4	—	23.4	—
Grand Total		263	35	55	353	—	20	—	125	56	181	—	554	—
Total Percentage		47.0	6.0	10.0	63.7	—	4.0	—	23 0	10.0	32.6	—	100	—

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TABLE IV

Caste Group	Representatives	Simple					Intermediate		Extended				G. Total	Percentage
		I	II	III	T	P	IV	P	V	VI	T	P		
Intellectual Profession	Brahmin	35	5	4	44	69.0	4	6.2	10	6	16	25.0	64	12.0
Percentage		13.3	14.2	7.2	12.4	—	20.0	—	8.0	10.7	8.8	—	—	—
Grand Total		263	35	55	353	—	20	—	125	56	181	—	554	—
Total Percentage		47.0	6.0	10.0	63.7	—	4.0	—	23.0	10.0	32.6	—	100	—

TABLE V

Caste Group	Representatives	Simple					Intermediate		Extended				G. Total	Percentage
		I	II	III	T	P	IV	P	V	VI	T	P		
Trader Caste	Teli, Tili, Suri, Saha, Swarnabanik, Gandhabanik Gorai.	16	3	4	23	72.0	1	3.1	6	2	8	25.0	32	5.7
Percentage		6.0	8.5	7.2	6.5	—	5.0	—	4.8	3.5	4.4	—	—	—
Grand Total		263	35	55	353	—	20	—	125	56	181	—	554	—
Total Percentage		47.0	6.0	10.0	63.7	—	4.0	—	23.0	10.0	32.6	—	100	—

TABLE VI

Caste Group	Representatives	Simple					Intermediate		Extended				G. Total	Percentage
		I	II	III	T	P	IV	P	V	VI	T	P		
Religious Group	Vaishnab	4	—	2	6	60.0	—	—	4	—	4	40.0	10	2.0
Others of Unknown Function	Rajput, Kshatriya	1	—	1	2	100.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	0.3
Grand Total		263	35	55	353	—	20	—	125	56	181	—	554	—

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group is followed by the structure V where 46 families out of 125 is noticed, *i.e.*, 36.8 per cnet while total percentage of this group is 23.0 per cent. Families of this caste group represent all the family groupings of which the largest number representing simple family group (108 out of 179, *i.e.*, 60.3 per cent) while total percentage is 32.3 per cent under this group.

The second biggest group is Artisan caste represented by 6 caste groups and by 137 families out of 554, *i.e.*, 24.7 per cent (Table II). This group also is representing all the family structure. In this group also majority family come under structure I (71 out of 137). Family structure No. I is followed by No. V which is represented by 29 families out of 137 of this group and less than half of the structure No. 1. The smallest structure No. 4 under this group is formed by a single family. But considering with the total groups I find that the percentages are quite uniform in all the structures excepting in structure No. 4 where it is only 5 per cent while total percentage is 4 per cent. Majority families are grouped under "Simple Family," *viz.*, 95 out of 137, *i.e.*, 63.7 per cent in comparison to 24.7 per cent and hence formed the biggest group in comparison with other two groups formed by a single family and 41 families, *i.e.*, less than half of simple family. Here heavy difference between structure No. 1 and others gives an impression that they are to some extent more individualistic in nature.

Serving Caste, a third biggest group, is formed by 130 families out of total 554 families, *i.e.*, 23.4 per cent are included in this caste. This caste is formed by 6 caste groups. In this group, as usual, structure Nos. I and V took the leading role. Difference between structure Nos. I and V is half. Structure No. I is formed by 58 families out of 130 while No. V by 30 families only. Structure No. VI got third place while other three structures are uniform. In comparison with total percentage I find that structure No. I is just half, *i.e.*, 22.0 per cent in comparison to 47.0 per cent while in other structures this percentage exceeded. Taking individual group I find that the number of families in Simple and Extended group varies, but not so remarkably as in others. In this group Simple family group is formed by 75 families, *i.e.*, 57.6 per cent and Extended by 48 families, *i.e.*, 36.9 per cent while the total number of families is 130 and percentage is 23.4 per cent.

Brahmin is grouped under the Intellectual Profession Class and has got fourth position depending on the number of families grouped under this class. This class is represented by 64 families out of 554, *i.e.*, 12 per cent. Maximum number (35) of families are grouped under the Structure I while in other structures the number of families is almost the same and varies between 4 and 10. In this respect, there is also a gulf of difference between the structure I and others.

TABLE VII

Showing Distribution of Families in Each Family Group and Their Percentage.

Family Groupings	*Labour and Agriculture* Labour Caste		*Artisan Caste*		*Serving Caste*		*Intellectual Profession* Caste		*Trader Caste*		*Religious and others* Group of unknown function		Total	Percentage
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage		
Simple	108	31.0	95	24.0	75	21.2	44	12.4	23	7.0	8	2.2	353	97.8
Intermediate	7	35.0	1	5.0	7	35.0	4	20.0	1	5.0	—	—	20	100.0
Extended	64	35.3	41	23.0	48	25.4	16	9.0	8	4.4	4	2.2	181	99.3
Grand Total	179	32.3	137	24.7	130	23.4	64	12.0	32	5.7	12	2.2	554	100.0

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This heavy difference in number indicates that of these 64 families they are more individualistic in nature. Coming into individual group I find that Simple family group always dominated other groups (44 out of 61, *i.e.*, 69 per cent). Comparing with the total number I find that the number and percentages in structures I and V are very low, in structures II and IV it has exceeded while in structures III and VI it is a most the same.

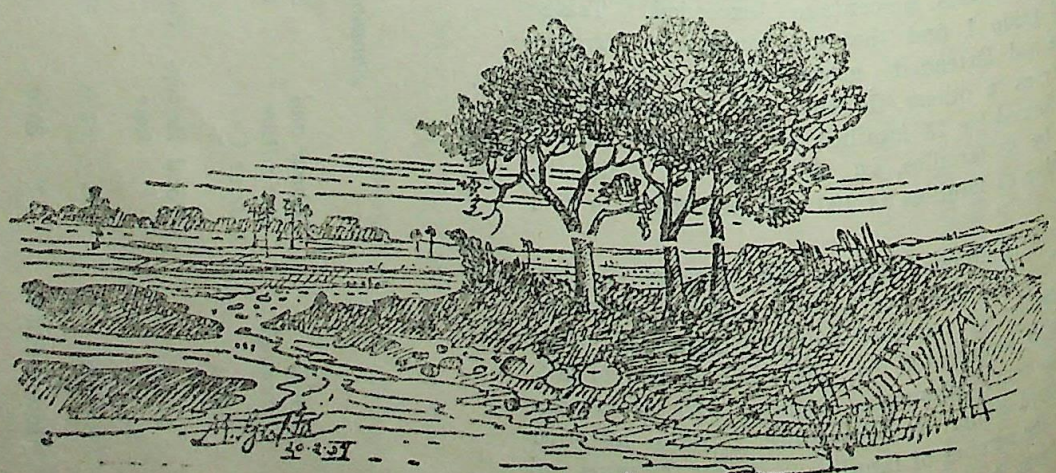
Represented by 7 caste groups 32 families out of 554, *i.e.*, 5.7 per cent were grouped under "Trader Class" and have secured fifth place. This group has also followed the path of its predecessors. In this case, too, structure No. I took the leading role represented by 16 families out of 32, *i.e.*, half the number while in other structures the number varies between 1 and 6. Taking individual group into consideration I find that simple family is represented by more than half of the total families under this group (23 out of 32, *i.e.*, 72.0 per cent). Therefore, an individualistic idea is noticed here also. When it is compared with the total number of families it is seen that the percentage is too low in the structures I, V and VI (6.0 per cent, 4.8 per cent, 3.5 per cent in comparison with 47.0 per cent, 23.0 per cent, 10.0 per cent). In structure III it is almost the same (7.2 per cent in relation to 10.0 per cent) whereas in structures II and IV percentage exceeded (8.5 per cent and 5.0 per cent in comparison with 6.0 per cent and 4.0 per cent).

Coming to the last two other groups, *i.e.*, Religious group and others of unknown function represented by Vaishnab and Kayastha and Rajput respectively I find their number is too meagre. They do not even represent in all the groups. In the case of Religious group, I find from the Table that they are 10 in number out of 554, *i.e.*, 2.0 per cent and are representing structures I, III, and IV only; of which maximum number is found in Simple group, *i.e.*, 60 per cent while rest 40 per cent are in Extended group. Intermediate group remained unrepresented. In case of others of unknown function group, I find them only in Simple family group represented by two families. Their percentage in comparison with total percentage stands to 0.3 per cent.

Summary

In conclusion, from the Table VII it become clear that Simple family group in all the grouping have taken a leading role. When we consider individual groups, I find that Labour and Agricultural Labour caste is topping the list (108 out of 353 families, *i.e.*, 31.0 per cent) and next in order of number families are Artisan Caste, Serving Caste, Intellectual Profession Caste, Trader Caste and so on. This position of the caste groups is also noticed in the Extended family group with a little variation where Serving Caste took second position (25.4 per cent) and Artisan into third (23.0 per cent). While in the case of Intermediate group the position of the individual groups has totally been altered. In this group Labour and Agriculture Labour Caste and Serving Caste are in the leading role (35.0 per cent). Intellectual Professional Caste followed them (20.0 per cent). Artisan and Trader Castes are last in the list (5.0 per cent) while Religious group and others of unknown function remained unrepresented.

Again when the individual family group is considered it is noticed that most of the families (353 of 554) were grouped under the Simple family groupings. This gives an idea that of the 554 families, they are more individualistic in nature and Simple family minded. When the Extended family group is taken into consideration—it depicts a figure which is about half to that of Simple family (181 in comparison with 353 of the Simple family). The number of Intermediate family groups in comparison with other two groups is very meagre (total number is 20).



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE KONGU COUNTRY *being the history of the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem from the earliest times to the coming of the British. By M. Arokiaswami. University of Madras. 1956. Pp. 420. Price Rs. 15.*

"The Kongu country" (Kongu *Nadu*) comprises a small area of nearly 15,300 square miles roughly equivalent to half the size of the Mysore State before the re-distribution of the political map of India last year. Because of its relatively small size and of its misfortune in being the prey of powerful neighbours like the Cholas and the Pandyas in ancient and the Rajas of Vijayanagar and Mysore in mediaeval and modern times, it has received no systematic treatment up till now. And yet it has played no mean part in history because of its possession of the beryl mines in Coimbatore district (the only available source of that gem until its recent discovery in Russia), and its geographical position as furnishing through the valley of the Ponnani river "a natural trans-peninsular highway" as the convenient alternative to the long coastal route between the Malabar and the Coromandel ports. In the exhaustive study under notice which is one of the most thorough regional histories of our times, the author has availed himself of all sources, indigenous and foreign, literary and epigraphic. The book consists of four parts. Part I (three chapters) describing the beginning under the pre-historic peoples of the megalithic tombs and their successors, Part II (four chapters) dealing with the history of the tract under the rule of the Karnatas (Rattas and Gangas), Part III (five chapters) describing the rule of the Cholas, and Part IV dealing with the history of the renewed Karnataka rule (Rajas of Vijayanagar, Nayaks of Madura, and Rajas of Mysore along with a short reference to the rule of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan). During this long stretch of eighteen centuries or thereabout the author has supplemented the political history with useful notices of the contemporary social life, religious condition, administration, economic conditions, art and literature and so forth. He has also discussed at adequate length numerous details relating to the political history, topography, genealogy and chronology during the same period. Three maps, five illustrations, a Bibliography and an index bring this useful work to a close. Professor K. K. Pillay of the Madras University contributes an appreciative Foreward.

We offer below a few remarks for consideration by the author in the event of a new edition being called for. The book suffers from a want of proportion, Part IV in spite of its wealth of material being much smaller in size than the rest. The descriptions of art and architecture are wanting in technical details. The Kongu tract as a separate political entity is identified by the author (p. 5), somewhat in contradiction with the title of his work, with the whole of modern Coimbatore district and portions of the modern Salem, Tiruchirapalli and Madurai districts. The author's date for the Pyramids of Egypt (p. 17) requires rectification. His suggested identifications of the Kosar people (p. 44), the region of Ophir (p. 74) and the people called Seres (p. 77) require verification. The title "Chau-Tu-Kwa" (p. 285) is incorrect. The "god-dwarf, Lord Krishna" (p. 386) is a slip for Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation. The author's judgment on the character and administration of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan is clouded by his passion for hero-worship.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE LIBERATOR SRI AUROBINDO: *By Sisirkumar Mitra. Jaico Publishing House. 35, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. Pp. 220. Price Rs. 2.*

Literature on and about Sri Aurobindo is growing, and the book under review is a valuable addition to the subject. It is a running biography of Aurobindo Ghose, today known to the world as Sri Aurobindo. He has been termed "The Liberator". The important role played by him in India's liberaton movement has probably led the author to choose this title. There were many others in this movement who also took an important part in this struggle. They, too, deserve to be called 'liberators', and their activities should be remembered by us as well with deep gratitude. The book consists of five chapters and two appendices, and references. The chapters are: Perspective, Prophetic Dawn, Light Growing, Nationalism as Dharma, and Towards a Larger Liberation. That Sri Aurobindo was a force in Indian politics cannot be gainsaid. The New Spirit that dawned in India with the start of the twentieth century owed not a little to the activities of Sri Aurobindo. The revolutionary impetus given by him to the liberation movement of India during the great Swadeshi days landed him into immense troubles. But he overcame them with great credit. The chapter on "Towards a Larger Liberation" depicts the story of his life in Pondicherry since 1911. Sri Aurobindo was a poet, philosopher, mystic and above all, a man of religion. But he never forgot his people. And in all crucial movements he sought to guide his countrymen. He was a creative genius, and the Pondicherry Ashram stands as a monument to this. The book will be very much appreciated by the reading public.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

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KRISHNAMURTI AND THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SILENT MIND: *By A. D. Dhopeshwarkar. Published by Chetana, Bombay. Price Rs. 4.*

Psychological maladjustment is responsible for all our sufferings. Verbal mind, as contradistinguished from the silent mind, gives a distorted view of reality and this distorted knowledge of reality is misleading. This incorrect appraisal of the state of affairs gives us a wrong diagnosis of the ills of life and we think that the distressing problems of life are caused by economic, social and political causes. Really speaking, all the ills of life are psychological. Man's mind is obsessed with the ideas of gain which go hand in hand with his self-centred activities. The surface or the verbal mind is ruffled with these self-centred activities and it is beyond its capacity to have within its reach Reality as such. It might look upon Reality as an abstraction or as a concept. It cannot delve deeper. But the silent or unconscious mind, which is nine-tenths of the total mind, in its silent awareness is a fit medium through which Reality could commune. The impact of Reality on the silent mind blossoms forth the nobler qualities of the human heart which determine the relation between men *inter-se*. Absolute values like Truth, Love, Freedom, which are mere concepts to the verbal mind, become realities in the silent state. "The insight into Reality of the quiet mind," writes Dhopeshwarkar, "the taste of the quiet mind as it functions through its qualities of the 'heart' and the savour that life gains when lived in this state, present a completely different picture from what we know in ordinary life and must be personally experienced to be understood" (p. 129). This silent mind baffles all descriptions. It cannot be verbalised. What little we know of this silent mind is a mere mental transcript of the memory traces left by the quiet mind and not of the quiet mind itself. This silent mind is in constant movement, ever in change, ignoring and disregarding all that our past traditions entail. Krishnamurti urges for a dissolution of the self and with it goes all divisions of time, viz., past, present and future. We live and enjoy in an 'eternal now', the 'now' that made possible for Arjuna to visualise the Fate of the *Ekadasa akshauhini* in the Mahabharata, the grand epic, through the designing grace of Lord Krishna.

The book under review presents the above thesis in its various bearings in four chapters with a preface styled as 'The Argument.' The author deserves unstinted praise for the way he has presented subtle psychological differentiations and descriptions thereof. We congratulate the author and the publisher of the book on their bringing out a valuable volume wherein our problems of life both psychlogical and extra-psychological have been properly analysed. We unhesitatingly recommend a wide circulation of the volume under notice.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

THE CHESS OF KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN LIFE: *By G. N. Somani, B.A. Published by the author from the Somani Buildings, Station Road, Jaipur, Rajasthan. Pp. 460. Price Rs. 8-8.*

Sri Somani is a prominent philanthropist of Jaipur and an aged author of several readable books. His first publication is the *Nabina Bharata* which is a Hindi translation of Sir Henry Cotton's *New India* in 1904 and his last publication is named *An Observation on Food Production Drive by the Prime Minister of India* in 1950. He was elected president of the All-India States' Peoples Conference held at Nagpur in 1946. He held many other important and responsible posts from time to time.

The book under review is based on a chess board of knowledge which he received some fifty years ago from an old Brahmin who led a very pious life and was blessed with a miraculous death. This board consists of 108 compartments like the beads of a rosary or *japa-mala* indicating the path of life from birth to salvation. It has been named in Hindi *Jnana Chaupar* or Game of Knowledge as its compartments are divided into four flanks and deal with ethics and religion leading to liberation. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Indian Republic, in a short preface to it writes as follows: "Sri Somani's main purpose seems to impress on the readers the fundamental unity of all religions. The pathway to perfection lies through the observance of cardinal virtues. By quotations from different scriptures he strives to indicate the common Goal."

Sri D. S. Sarma, retired Judge of the Rajasthan High Court, writes an introduction to it. Swami Sachchidananda of New Delhi in a foreward remarks observes that the book is an institution in itself showing the different routes through which human beings pass from vice to virtue and finally to the Goal of human existence. The statements are substantiated by appropriate quotations from Sanskrit scriptures and Western savants. The book is so written that those who read it will acquire a taste for spiritual life.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FRENCH

PSYCHOLOGIE DE LA COLONISATION: *By O. Mannoni. Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1950. Translated by Pamela Powesland under the title "Prospero and Caliban," Methuen, London, 1956. Pp. 218. Price 22s. 6d.*

L'AFRIQUE VIVANTE: *By Pierre Bearn. Librairie Artheme Fayard, Paris, 1955. Pp. 252. Price 450 francs.*

Racial prejudice, if disappearing at all, is disappearing very tardily. Prejudice is sustained by strong vested interests and a whole attitude of mind deeply entrenched puts up the stubbornest resistance to its eradication. And curiously, too, it often exists in minds otherwise surprisingly tolerant, liberal and enlightened.

A species of this racialism, as manfested in colonialism is the subject-matter of this powerful monograph by M. Mannoni who has spent many years in Madagascar. If, during the last thirty years the collectivized conscience of mankind had not been more intensely alive to the injustices and the wastefulness of colonialism, the impact of this book on the intellectuals of the West would have been great. Even today the book is so original in its approach and in the psychology of the colonial type of Westerner that it has been so competently exposed that after reading it even the most insensitive mind can remain complacent.

The French text was published in 1950 and the English translation it will now reach a wider public. Popular journalism has shied away from it owing to this book the publicity that it deserves. Philip Mason of the former Indian Civil Service says in his Foreward, "M. Mannoni is among the interpreters and I believe there can be few colonial administra-

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missionaries or settlers who would not find that his book started trains of thought of the most rewarding kind."

Since the study of the primitive mind by Levy-Bruhl, the mind of the aborigines, the mind of the negroes have been the happy hunting ground of sociologists, anthropologists and the more intelligent of the colonial administrators. By incorporating an intensive analysis of the thought process of the Malagasy peoples the book carries the study a stage further. The detailed information given by the author on the family organization of the Malagasy, on their cult of the dead and on their dream life is of great value to the administrators and the politicians responsible for their welfare. But the great merit of the work lies in the psychological analysis of the malaise of colonialism.

"What keeps the real colonial tied to the colonial situation then, is not primarily profit, whatever he himself may think. If he has lazy slaves instead of efficient workers it is because he does not particularly want the latter; he derives greater satisfaction from keeping his slaves." A colonial is what he is because he is basically a failure in his own native environment. The inferiority complex leads to over-compensation—the desire to dominate. Social life in Europe would have disciplined this trait but precisely because of this he chooses to forsake Europe for the colonies. Power is intoxicating, the more so to those not used to it. If not domination, the colonies provide at least an endless opportunity for patronising the so-called inferiors—even to missionaries.

"Not that the white man's image of the black man tells us anything about his own inner self, though it indicates that part of him which he has not been able to accept: it reveals his secret self, not as he is, but rather as he fears he may be. The Negro, then, is the white man's fear of himself." Hence, arises the Prospero complex. But this complex is aided and abetted by the dependence complex of the native people themselves. The local inhabitants as Mannoni points out took the first colonials as superior beings endowed with magical powers and they invented a relationship of the protector and the protected, inured as they were to the idea of absolute dependence not only on the community of the living but on the community that has passed into ancestry. The projection of the role of protector on the colonials is a compulsive force in the mental make-up of these people. When Prospero refuses to treat with Caliban except as Caliban—an essentially, irretrievably inferior being, the shock of realization of this to Caliban cannot but be catastrophic. Humiliation turns to bitterness.

The value of the book lies not only in the new approach to the jaded subject of colonialism but also in the possibilities that are indicated for a more detailed study of the difficult problem of race relations and for an improvement of colonial policies in general.

The solution lies, of course, in education—education to wean away the childlike mind from dependence to independence and self-reliance, from static collectivism to progressive individualism. But how to instil an individual attitude of mind without disrupting the social cohesion, remains, however, the crux of the problem. Moreover, nothing can be achieved unless simultaneously with the education of the local inhabitants, a new type of education is also extended to the colonials themselves.

The urgency for the latter may be more fully appreciated from the excellent account given by M. Pierre Bearn, a well-known novelist and journalist in his book *L'Afrique Vivante*. He was the press attache of the Africa Mission. This book gives a vivid description of the vast areas covered by their journey through Morocco, Mauritania, Senegal, Sahel, French Sudan, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger and the Hoggar and also of the conditions and lives of the various African peoples inhabiting these areas. He mixed freely with the Africans as well as with the military staff and the colonials and much of what he describes in the French West African colonies supports the conclusions reached by M. Mannoni.

One of the disquieting factors which M. Bearn emphasizes is the friction that prevails—friction between the traders and the administrators, between the military personnel and the civilians, between the politicians and the settlers. Metropolitan France, however, comes off creditably in this situation. Despite the shortage of capital France, it has been estimated, has been investing overseas about 3 per cent of her national income. It is inadequate, it is true, but it does represent a genuine effort to improve the lot of the local inhabitants. In the French Assembly, about 15 per cent of the members are now from the overseas territories due to the French policy of direct rule. But tragedy lies in the fact that the enlightened policy of the Metropolis is utterly rejected by the French colonial settlers themselves. The extremists of them secretly long, in fact, for a return to the good old days, and consider that the false idea of humanitarianism prevailing in Metropolitan France cannot but spell disaster for France as well as for her colonies.

For serious thinkers interested in the well-being of the underdeveloped countries, both volumes contain much stimulating material.

MARGARET BASU

BENGALI

PASCHIMBANGER ARTHAKATHA: *By Bimalendu Ghosh. Published by Bangabharati Granthalaya, Kulgachia, Dt. Howrah. Pp. 93. Price Rs. 4.*

This is an attempt to present in a short compass an economic geography of West Bengal. Undivided Bengal was an economic unit which developed for at least a century to fit in with the world trade and commerce and its component parts functioned as complementary to one another in an organic whole. The partition has disturbed this equilibrium and as a result, both industries and agriculture have suffered. The author has given available statistical figures and a few maps to make the book intelligible to general readers and as such the book will prove useful even to students of the University.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

PRATIBHASHALI DESHBHAKT: *By Doctor Ramapratap Sinha and Thakur Udayvira Sinha. Illustrated. Udayvira Prakashan, Gajner, Bikaner. Pp. 249. Price Rs. 4.*

There are fifteen character-studies in this book. Gandhiji, Subhas Chandra Bose, Lokamanya Tilak, Gokhale, Malaviyaji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Lajpat Rai, Toru Dutt, Swami Rama Tirtha, Maharaja Fatehsingha and a few other rulers have been 'presented' in the glowing prismatic colours of patriotism. The reader cannot but help being touched by the fire, both with its heat and light, of their

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genius. *Pratibhashali Deshbhakt* is worthy of an honoured niche in the library of every patriot, young or old.

HINDI KAVYON KI KAVYA-SADHANA: *By Pandit Durgashankar Mishra, "Parijat." Navayuga Granthagar, Chhitvapur Road, Lucknow. Pp. 310. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This is a handy and useful primer for all students of Hindi literature, particularly those at school and college. It is a panoramic survey-*cum*-study, biographical as well as critical of twenty-six Hindi poets, ancient and modern from Vidyapati to Ranadhari Sinha "Dinkar."

SHAITAN: *Translated from the original in English of "Kahlil Gibran" by Shri Narendra Chaudhury. Hindi Prokashan Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 88. Price Re. 1.*

This is a collection of eight of the well-known stories written by the greatest poet of the modern Middle East, Kahlil Gibran. The translator has preserved not a little of the fire, force, and fineness of the original.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SHRIMAD BHAGVAD GITA: GITA ADARSHA: *By Babubhai Ichharam Desai, B.A. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. 1951. Cloth-bound. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 4-8.*

In spite of Bombay being a cosmopolitan city, institutions for the study of the Bhagvad Gita and other Hindu religious books, are found in large numbers in it. One of such institutions, nearly fifty years old, is the Picket Road Mahajan Wadi Gita Pathshala, originally founded by a very competent scholar of Hindu religious books, specially the Gita, the late Shastri Narhari Vishnu Godse, whose object in life was to create interest in and make every household—man or woman in Bombay—study this sacred book. It has flourished and maintained its attraction because of the eloquent and simple way in which he would his *pravachans* (addresses). His worthy son, Shastri Purushottam, has continued his father's noble work. Mr. Babubhai Desai, a keen student, and devotee of the Gita, has published in book form, the notes he took of the addresses of the learned Shastriji and has furnishes a very useful guide to the *adarsha* (ideal) of the Divine Volume: Attainment of Divine Knowledge, Renunciation of Ego (*Aham*) and then *Moksha* (Liberation). It is worth studyng.

SHRI VALLABH PRABHU: *By C. B. Pathak, B.A., S.T.C., Bombay. Published by Virendra Brothers, 1951. Paper-cover with an illustration of the Acharya and his followers. Pp. 28. Price Re. 1.*

Vallabhacharya was the founder of the *Shuddhadwayt* cult. His life and principles of the faith preached by him are given here, viewed with the eyes of a close devotee.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Chinese Way

R. M. Fox of Dublin writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Invited by the Chinese Society for Cultural Relations, I travelled from Dublin to London and then flew to Peking, across Russia, the flat plains of Siberia, the jagged peaks of the Ural Mountains, the sandy waste of the Gobi Desert and over the Great Wall of China.

In China, I journeyed thousands of miles, from Peking to Shanghai, to Hangchow, to Canton, to Hankow in Central China. Everywhere I found enthusiasm for the Year of Liberation (1949) since when there have been no more invaders, no more war-lords. It was as if the people had come out of a dark tunnel and were gazing joyfully at the sunlight. This was not just a matter of politics or social ideas; it reached down much deeper to the essential seed of humanity. The gaiety, the friendliness, of ordinary people in streets, houses, shops, was striking.

The most drastic measure of the Chinese Revolution is recorded in Article I of the Agrarian Reform Law which reads, "*The land-ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class shall be abolished.*" This meant giving the land to the peasants and it is the one sharp change the Chinese have made. In industry and commerce, developments have been peaceful, and bitter social conflicts have been avoided.

In the shops the principle of joint private-State ownership is universal. Prices are fixed and official receipts are given for every purchase. There is no haggling or cheating. The old Chinese custom of the "squeeze" has dropped out of commerce. In the days of the war-lords there were hoarding and cornering of supplies, and violent fluctuations in the value of money. Some people made fortunes while others were ruined. Now all that belongs to the nightmare past. Supplies are plentiful in the shops and are sold at uniform prices.

A great evil used to be gambling. Public opinion has now eradicated this. People are taught they must earn money and not expect it without effort. And that they must learn to use it wisely. American films were condemned because they presented luxury and wealth which people enjoyed without any exertion on their part. In the courtyard of my hotel I frequently saw motor drivers playing cards, but there was never any money in evidence. I made long train journeys on which people played cards or Chinese chess, but again without any money. I found a spirit of honesty as well as of gaiety. It may be a puritanical phase that will pass. But it adds to the attraction of modern China.

Great tasks of reconstruction are being undertaken, although machinery and technical resources are lacking. Instead, the potentialities and actualities of physical labour are being used to the full. At Hankow, on the Yangtse River, there were 12,000 men engaged in building a great bridge to span the mile-wide river, with two levels, one for rail and the other for road traffic. Three shifts of eight hours were being worked, around the clock. Other construction work included roads and houses. I saw men hacking at a mountain side with spades, while a long line of men filled up straw baskets, slung on each end of a pole across their shoulders, and transported earth and stones to the new road. They were moving the mountain in straw baskets. To get anything done is a matter of being able to reach the controls of physical labour, to use millions of men and illimitable power. This has been called a new expression of social dynamics. There is the energy of several hundred million people to draw on.

Besides this, there are equally strong controls of moral purpose brought into action. This has to do with ancient Chinese wisdom and philosophy. It relies greatly upon the power of persuasion. I asked about juvenile delinquency in China, for this has proved a big post-war problem in the West. In China it is not so. At Shanghai there was a temporary phase of vagabondage and petty crime born of unsettled conditions. This has now been dealt with by the familiar process of guidance and persuasion.

"We could not have the problem of 'wild children' as in the West," I was told, "because here, in China, family feeling is so strong. War orphans would have uncles and aunts to adopt and advise them. They would have the group. See how older children care for younger ones and note how men carry their children as much as the women do."

Problems of marriage and divorce are dealt with, too, by families, as well as by professional groups and organizations, and street and residence committees who are called in for counsel and advice.

Just as shopkeepers have become part of the State organization to serve the community, so industry also is run on the private-State partner ownership principle. Industrialists receive five per cent on their capital investment and are made managers of joint concerns where their knowledge and technical skill can be of service. The State ensures supplies of raw materials and finds markets. It controls investments and directs capital to where it is needed most. Although this is regarded as a transition stage to complete State ownership, I found private employers anxious to join in on the partnership basis. In the same way, small farms came together in a mutual-aid system, in co-operative activities and, finally, in the collective farms, which have yielded the most satisfactory results. I visited a co-operative farm and discovered that each year their income had increased as a result of improved technique and better co-operation.

On the educational front the advances are in striking contrast to the illiteracy which characterized the old *regime*. Everywhere are new schools and a crusade for learning. It is claimed that there are 60,000,000 school children in China and there would be more if schools were available. I saw "spare time" classes in factories, rooms packed with young people

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learning to read and write. Anti-illiteracy classes are held for older women who do not go out to work. A heartening sight was the Institute for National Minorities with 2,500 students drawn from the far corners of China. Here were Tibetans, Mongolians, Uzbeks, with strange books, including a journal from Lhassa, where the first primary school has now been opened. Chinese teachers were instructing students, through translators, in their own tongues. I asked how many there were in their national minorities and the answer was 35,000,000. These far-off communities have been stirred by the passion for learning. I found, too, when I went on the *sampans*—the boats on the water-front at Canton, on which 60,000 people live—that the young children were able to write their names down for me as evidence of their schooling.

China's National Day was celebrated in Peking, on October 1st, by a procession of 500,000 marching through the square at the Gate of Heavenly Peace, in columns a hundred abreast. From early morning they had been streaming through the city. Led by the army and the navy, there were groups from the universities, from factories, schools, athletic bodies, even a contingent of Buddhist monks in their colourful yellow, brown and orange robes. This was the only really wet day, for the rain beat down without ceasing. We, onlookers, had to wring out our wet clothes over the side of the stand. But, for hour after hour, the marchers poured through the square. There were men on stilts, a field of dragons, a moving Maypole, girls waving coloured sashes, school children. None of them wanted to go past the saluting base in spite of the rain. The procession bulged out, they closed in together and jumped up and down with irrepressible enthusiasm while the marshals urged them on. Their feeling was proof against the stormiest weather.

The New China is a mass uprising of humanity, not violent, very friendly, gay and forward-looking. These people have hope and a belief in a new life. It is humanity recreated. Sceptics have said to me, "Mass hysteria! How long will it last? Are you sure they were not gambling behind doors or cheating where you could not see them?" I have listened and agreed that I may be a very simple man, taken in by appearances of gaiety, of honesty. But I do not think so. I was certainly impressed by the sight of the new schools and their occupants, the red-brick blocks of flats in place of shacks of bamboo, mud and straw. These things seemed good to me and I admired the people who were making such peaceful progresss .

I feel they have something we lack in the West, some Eastern quality of thought and philosophy that outstrips all the Western industrial technique. A welcome feature is the absence of social conflict. The Chinese way of life makes the conflicts of the West seem crude and childish. When the Chinese say, "We are learning, we are building schools, we are increasing our productivity; we are making possible a happier life for everyone," there seems to be no reason for any section of their people to oppose or obstruct. What I saw working out was a spirit of social harmony.

The Asian Revolution

Rev. Celestine Fernando writes in The *National Christian Council Review*:

The Asian scene was noted not so very long ago for spirituality, philosophic calm and unchanging ease. The same sun shines over the sprawling sub-continents and islands of Asia today but now these are known far more for their stark poverty, political resurgence and restless economies. The Asian revolution is an uncomfortable reality and it is of extraordinary proportions. Despite the facade of established going democratic institutions behind which in some countries the revolution goes on, it is sometimes fraught with great violence. And because the world is one, our brethren in other lands, however self-sufficient, powerful and remote, can on no account ignore it.

The Asian revolution is based as much on stark economic necessity as on the psychology of a suppressed people. The economic revolution does not exist in isolation from other conditions. The problems are immense. Religious cultural, social and political forces interact on each other and play an inevitable part in moulding the new Asia.

The grinding poverty of Asia which is her chief problem is most commonly expressed in malnutrition and early death for the vast majority of her people. Even in a relatively good economy as in Ceylon 50 per cent of the children in the leading children's hospital suffer from preventible diseases and die from malnutrition. And for the governments and peoples of Asia the problem created by the low standards of living have been further complicated by the impact of war, the destruction of capital resources and the displacement of population, for the refugee problem is by no means confined to Europe in Asia too it is a stark reality today.

In practically every Asian country, the natural resources are meagre, and years of neglect of agriculture and irrigation, owing to war, malaria, poverty and ignorance, even in those countries which in the days of their past glory exported food and were known as the granaries of the East, have now made standards of food production miserably low.

The agricultural situation is complicated by antiquated and iniquitous systems of land tenure. The common problem is the concentration of land ownership in a relatively small section of society resulting in large-scale land tenure. With modern developments in agriculture and industry, the demands of landlords become unlimited, and conditions of land tenure deteriorate, and the transition from status to contract, when it inevitably comes under present conditions, makes the burden of the tenant heavier and that of an absentee landlord lighter as the years go on. Where peasants are small holders, the middleman and money-lender intervene ultimately to make the peasant proprietor a sharecropper in his own land.

In Asia, the concentration of economic power in a few private groups is far more dangerous than in the West. Such groups often control a fair part of the nation's economy through a system of economic ramifications which are not easily discernible. Workers and peasants long down-trodden and suffering are now waking up to their rights. In the years of oppression the working classes discovered the power of unemployment and the serious disadvantage of the lack of social insurance. It was then that labour unions gained in power and prestige, subsequently to be dominated in almost every country, owing to the failure of Governments and employers to take account of the human needs of the working class by Marxist forces whose social idealism, utter consistency to Marxist tactics and strategy, sincerity and criticism of the *status quo*, prove

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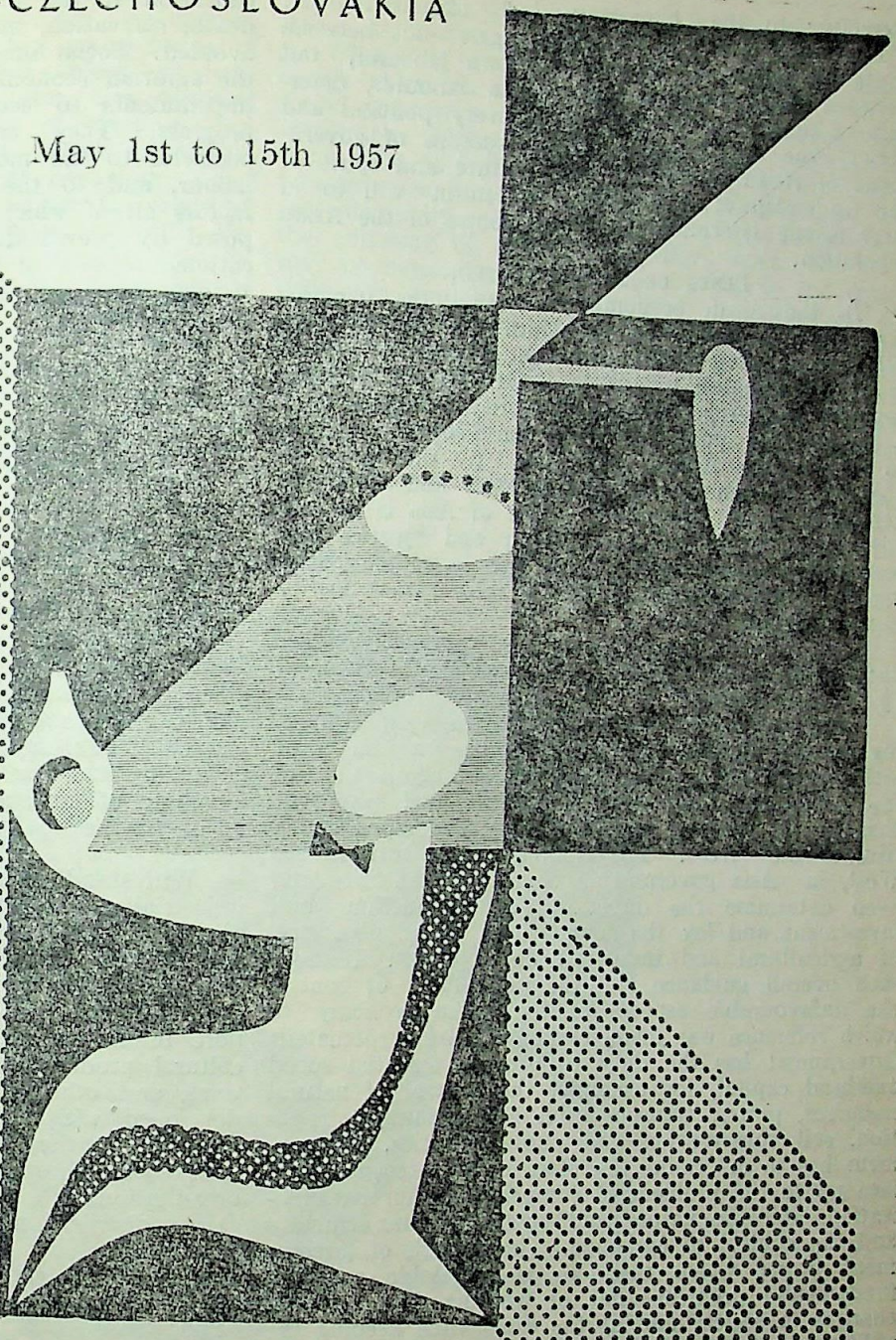

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attractive to the hungering and exploited poor. Today Asia is faced with a struggle not between white capitalist, and yellow or brown labourer, but between Asian capitalist and Asian labourer, determining to a large extent almost every political and social issue and ultimately the structure of government of Asian countries. The nature and spirit of the leadership of Asian trade unionism will to a large extent determine the future course of the Asian revolution.

Lines of Reconstruction

In the Asian economic revolution the perspectives of Marxist and neo-Marxst materialist and other totalitarian social philosophies play a role of increasing influence today. In practically every Asian country, however, there is a minority or occasionally a majority of politically conscious people who seek to channel the Asian revolution, if this is at all possible, through democratic processes and towards a democratic ideal. For the problem of Asia is to lead the Asian revolution for freedom and justice and search for human means to achieve it without turning the governmental mechanism into a new instrument of oppression.

The needed socio-economic surveys have been undertaken in some countries by the World Bank or by U.N. agencies.

In many Asian countries today the view is gaining ground that the Government has a far more active role in the ordering of the economic life of the people in comparatively undeveloped countries, than in the case of the industrially developped countries of the West. For more perhaps than in the West, in Asia governments have to influence and even determine the direction of production and investment and lay the foundations, where necessary, of agricultural and industrial development. Without such overall guidance and the possibility of control the unfavourable aspects of the Asian economy to which reference was made earlier will be perpetuated; Government has the duty to provide essential social overhead capital, for example, the control of natural resources, power, transportation and highways, irrigation, soil conservation and public utilities. Government has to determine the place of private enterprise, face up to the problem of compensation for nationalisation, and the nature and extent of tax-structure and the contr l of exchange. The growth of government power which therefore is inevitable raises a fundamental problem—that of working for structural changes in society and at the same time keeping the political system and the administrative processes of government under constant public scrutiny and control, lest as a result of unbridled power and excessive planning government becomes irresponsible and totalitarian.

In the provision of capital resources, on which agricultural and industrial development can be based, enough has been said to show that no Asian country can be without foreign aid today. It is here that international, national and voluntary agencies, like U.N. and its specalist organisations, the World Bank, the Colombo Plan and Church World Service have been of so great value in the study and the solution of Asian economic problems. Such aid is 'a matter of social justice, *i.e.*, arising out of a concern for man in his need wherever he lives and as a response to human solidarity'.

Such aid is needed in every sphere but particularly in the development of basic health and social education if the widespread incidence of premature death, starvation, malnutrition and illiteracy is to be avoided. 'Social instructions and habits prevailing in the agrarian economies of backward regions are often impediments to economic development and social progress. They constitute in a number of cases obstacles to the mobility of capital, the mobility of labour, and to the formation of modern skills, factors all of which are required to meet the issues posed by present-day world economy . . . Educational aspects of society should be so organised as to contribute in easing the difficulties connected with social transitions'.

Also needed in Asia today is the solution of the problem of over-population and the very serious problems—medical, economic and emotional—created by excessive child-bearing among people who can ill afford to have large families. And both for the sake of the community and family welfare every family in need should be aided to solve its housing difficulties by governments and private agencies promoting scientific research for housing, with cheaper and easily available local material and the provision of technical and financial aid for the purpose.

Of particular interest to Asians today is the *Bhoodan Yajna* Movement of Vinoba Bhave. But along with the necessary support for such movements radical changes must be initiated in order to abolish the old feudal landlordism, invest the peasant with adequate land for his economic needs and establish a system of land tenure which will help the rehabilitation of the peasantry in every country.

Some Needs

With land reform, the peasant and the small industrialist have to be provided with adequate credit facilities and such extension services as are essential for agricultural and industrial development in backward economies. It is here that the co-operative movement has a real claim to public support in Asian countries. Credit co-operatives, agricultural produce and sales societies, fishing co-operatives, and other production co-operatives should be developed with marketing co-operatives. By such development the bargaining power of small producers, their economic stability and education for democratic organisation will all be actively strengthened and a fairer distribution of economic power eventually achieved.

But whatever financial and technological aid is

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may get and whatever socio-economic structure may be built, long term and stable economic development will be seriously hampered and the maintenance of the structure of society jeopardised unless, for both government and private business, there are *qualified administrators* who are also men of loyalty and integrity. Without competent and honest managerial capacity the complexities of social behaviour, especially of men in the mass, can neither be properly understood nor successfully controlled to fulfil the aims of a responsible society. It is not only in politics that the problem of power has to be solved; in the economic structure it is often more insidious and therefore more dangerous. Failure to solve it in day-to-day public administration or in labour relations can cause serious dislocation of the entire socio-economic structure anywhere in the world, but specially in Asia where ancient cultures are in the process of adapting themselves to the complicated ways of modern democracy.

Ultimately also no economic structure can stand secure unless there is a *supporting culture* with a social philosophy and conventions, customs and institutions which feed the imagination of people, train them in orderly habits and help to evoke the necessary emotional responses which are a part of the community spirit. For Asians today this involves the adjusting of perspectives which, even if they may be based on age-old religious beliefs and sanctions, are sometimes not conducive to the spirit of fellowship and community life. When based on certain conceptions of nationalism, Asian community life—and therefore her economic life—can be and often is disrupted by the denial of basic human rights to those who do not conform to the majority view.

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The Afrikaners of South Africa

Samuel Pauw, Principal of the University of South Africa, Pretoria, writes in *Careers and Courses*:

As you will know from what you call the Boer War, my people—the Afrikaners of South Africa—were once known to the world as the Boers. "Boer" means "farmer": we were indeed a nation of farmers.

A century ago there were no cities in South Africa. Cape Town, our mother city, was then, after two centuries of growth, still a town with only 10,000 people. Our other capital, Pretoria, celebrated its first centenary only a few months ago, and our largest city, Johannesburg, will be only seventy years old this year.

The Afrikaners, or rather Boers, came into being as a people in the wide expanse and quiet solitude of the South African veld. For two centuries they were isolated from Europe and the world.

At the end of this time, money and machines, stocks and shares had no meaning for them. They had other values and were not interested in money. They knew there were things money could not buy, and that material luxury and wealth were not the beginning and end of life.

So it happened that when diamonds and gold were discovered on their farms our people were not interested. They sold the farms at a price far below their value and moved off to resume their pastoral life away from the hustle and bustle of the mining-camps.

But they could not avoid the impact permanently. The mining-camps grew into cities which spread their influence throughout the land. They had been founded and were being built up by foreigners with foreign ways and foreign values.

A clash was inevitable. Whatever the merits of the two ways of life, they were incompatible. Ultimately the disagreements resulted in war—the Boer War of 1899-1902, a mere incident in British history, but for us the Second War for Freedom, the all important episode in our history. We lost the war and our freedom; that is why we remember it.

In 1895, the influence of the English language was increasing so rapidly in South Africa that Olive Schreiner who loved the Boers, prophesied that their language would disappear.

Olive Schreiner's words did not come true. The peaceful process by which we were slowly losing our separate identity was stopped abruptly by the war. We were awakened to national self-consciousness and to a determination to be ourselves and to fight for our freedom.

Even after fifty years, in which Britain has done much to make generous amends, we continue the endeavour to remove the remaining symbols of our subjection.

Fifty years ago South Africa was sharply divided into two camps. The war was over but real peace had not come. The impoverished, defeated, and embittered Afrikaners had withdrawn to the quiet isolation of their farms.

In the cities the prosperous and victorious English-speaking section were in complete command. More than 50 per cent of the white population of Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Durban of those days had been born overseas.

Not only were the Afrikaners unwelcome in urban life and its occupations, but they themselves had a deep aversion to the cities. They even called Johannesburg the University of Crime.

Nevertheless, the burden of poverty in rural areas was increasing, and slowly more and more Afrikaners were being forced off the over-populated land. The "Poor White" problem was becoming one of the most pressing in the country. There was only one solution: the trek to the cities.

Although they lacked the necessary training and experience, Afrikaners gradually gained a foothold in urban occupations. Their first chance came in 1907 when employers used them to break a strike of white mineworkers. They proved their worth as workers, and it became the established policy to employ South Africans in the mines. Not many years later most of the underground white workers were Afrikaners.

In an expanding economy the number of the English-speaking section soon proved too small to fill all the vacancies. They were being attracted to the better-paid positions and left many vacancies in the less favourable occupations open to Afrikaners.

One occupation after the other was being filled by Afrikaners. They entered through the lower ranks, and as they gained experience they also succeeded in entering executive positions.

In 1921, the majority of directors of companies, merchants, doctors, architects, accountants and skilled fitters and compositors in South Africa were still of overseas origin. But even in those occupations Afrikaners are now appearing in increasing numbers.

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Thus the occupational structure of the Afrikaners has changed completely. They are no longer a nation of farmers: they fill the whole range of urban occupations.

The changing occupational structure is accompanied by a change in the distribution of Afrikaners. Fifty years ago only about 8 per cent of them lived in the cities; now 37 per cent live there, 33 per cent in the small towns, and only 30 per cent on the farms.

Fifty years ago all the cities in South Africa were predominanty English-speaking centres. Today the majority of the main urban centres have more Afrikaans-speaking than English-speaking people. This change is being reflected in the political situation.

The political division in South Africa is along language lines. The party in power is the National Party, which consists almost entirely of Afrikaans-speaking members. The supporters of the opposition, the United Party, are overwhelming English-speaking—more than 85 per cent.

The success of the National Party in the last two elections was mainly due to gains in urban areas. Formerly it was almost exclusively a rural party; now it also represents the urban workers. It has become the labour party of the Afrikaners, and has replaced the old English-speaking Labour Party which has all but disappeared because there are so few English-speaking manual workers left.

The difficulties of the United Party are in large measure due to the fact that the English-speaking people in the Union are so largely concentrated in three relatively small islands, namely, in Johannesburg proper, in the Cape Peninsula, and in Natal and the Eastern Province.

In these areas the United Party gained overwhelming majorities or unopposed returns. This means that a large part of the voting strength of the United Party was wasted in abnormally large majorities in some areas while it lost many other seats with relatively small majorities.

One is often asked by visitors to South Africa whether the breach between the Afrikaners and the English-speaking section is being healed or whether it is widening. As an Afrikaner I have no hesitation in saying that it is being healed.

True, we have had to fight for recognition in almost every sphere of life. We have had our successes but we have asked for nothing more than equality with our English-speaking countrymen.

We have known what it means to be in a position of inferiority. We do not wish to relegate the English-speaking section to an inferior position. We want to continue to exist as a separate people. What we ask for ourselves we gladly grant to others.

We now feel that we have reached a position where we have nothing to fear from our English-speaking countrymen. As far as we are concerned, real unity has never been nearer than it is today.

South Africa is not the unhappy country it is often made out be. True, we have our disagreements, especially in the field of politics, but they have lost their erstwhile personal bitterness. In our desire for unity our hopes are fixed on our young people. They grow up without personal experience of past struggles; in addition they grow up as bilingual citizens.

While less than 50 per cent of the white people over seventy years of age know both official languages, more than 85 per cent of the young people in the age group fifteen to twenty-nine are bilingual. This fact holds great promise for the future.

A further fortunate fact is that the geographical isolation between the sections is being broken down. The number of Afrikaners in the cities is increasing. The rural areas are today less exclusively Afrikaners than ever before.

A further cause for separation in the past was the economically inferior position of the Afrikaners. Even today the higher positions in the economic life of the country are predominantly in the hands of English-speaking persons, often of overseas origin.

In the 'thirties' the Afrikaners started a movement to strengthen their economic position. They started their own bank, many co-operative trading stores, and their own finance companies. Through their co-operatives they gained control of the marketing of agricultural produce. They have entered the field of industry and have proved their capabilities in that field.

Nevertheless, less than five per cent of the control of manufacturing concerns is in the hands of Afrikaners, and in gold-mining we have only one small group of companies. If Afrikaners do not play an important part in the control of large concerns, the number of small private firms which they control is increasing rapidly.

By and large, South Africa is a happy country. Wild statements by politicians and the press have spread the idea that South Africa is an unhappy country full of strife and disunity. The picture is largely a false one. The standard of living of the people is high; the whites if compared with the people of Europe, the blacks if compared with the people of Africa, and the Indians if compared with the people of India.

I have not touched on the relations between white and non-white in South Africa. Even there, conditions are not as bad as they are often made out to be. Although *aparthied* is attacked from all sides, more and more people, especially among the non-white groups, are coming to realize not only that it is a sincere and straightforward policy but also that it holds positive and definite advantages for all racial groups of South Africa.

In the development of our country we do not look for uniformity but for unity in diversity. In that sense we are working for a real Union of South Africa. In that sense we believe in our national motto: "Unity is strength."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Hamilton . . . and Young America

January 11 this year was the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton who was a brilliant administrator of the infant American Republic:

Alexander Hamilton, brilliant administrator of the infant American Republic, was described by Thomas Jefferson, his bitterest political enemy, as "a colossus to the anti-republican party. Without numbers, he is an host within himself."

His noted biographer, Douglas Southall Freeman, wrote of him: "If revolutionary America produced a more brilliant mind, whose was it?"

This man's influence and ideas left as deep an imprint on American political theory and institutions as perhaps any other leader of the Revolutionary War period except Jefferson himself. Even today, partisans of Hamilton and those of Jefferson form the two major camps of American political theory.

Hamilton was born in the island of Nevis, West Indies, on January 11, 1757. His father became bankrupt and it was necessary for Alexander to earn his own living at the age of 12. As a clerk in an accounting house, his "genius for affairs" became apparent and after two years he was entrusted with the management of the business.

Nevertheless, he left the West Indies to complete his education in America, arriving at Boston in 1772. In 1774, he entered King's College (now Columbia University in New York), and made a brilliant scholastic record.

Friction between England and her American Colonies was growing increasingly serious. Convinced that the Colonies were right, Hamilton, while yet a student, began the advocacy of their cause in a speech at a public meeting on July 6, 1774.

He now began to prepare for military service in the Revolution and secured the commission of captain of the first Continental artillery company, entering service in March, 1776—four months before the world-famed Declaration of Independence. He participated in the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Trenton and Princeton, winning his superior's commendation for skill and courage.

In March, 1777, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel and aide-de-camp on the staff of Washington and became the General's confidential secretary. He took part in the siege of Yorktown, where Lord Cornwallis surrendered, assuring Colonial victory.

To secure some relief from the deplorable condition on the new nation was in—"bankrupt in money and reputation alike," as U.S. Senator Lodge said in his life of *Hamilton*—the Annapolis Convention was held in September, 1786, and Hamilton was one of the New York delegates.

The convention adopted an address, drafted by Hamilton, reciting the intolerable conditions and calling for a convention to meet the following May in Philadelphia to form a Federal Constitution.

At the convention's close he heartily embraced the work of the convention and signed the Constitution as actually adopted.

The same year Washington was inaugurated President, in 1789, he made Hamilton first Secretary of the Treasury.

Masterfully, he organized the new Treasury Department; reduced the confused finances to order; provided for a funded system and a sound method of national taxation; induced Congress to assume the State debts; and authorized methods for establishing a national bank and mint, raising and collecting internal revenue, and managing public lands. He also made possible the government's purchase of West Point, now the seat of the National Military Academy.

In 1791, he inaugurated the protective tariff system.

He was active in government until 1795, when he resigned from the Cabinet to give attention to his neglected private interests.

But he continued to take an active interest in political affairs, and continued to support Washington throughout the two administrations.

Because of his prominence in public affairs, Hamilton felt obliged to accept a challenge to a duel by a political opponent, Aaron Burr. Hamilton was wounded and died the following day, July 12, 1804, at the age of 47.

He was universally mourned by his countrymen, though he was not popular, nor did he ever strive for popularity. However, he had lived for the public good, and his achievements are remembered. Eloquent and refined, able and brilliant, the embodiment of devotion, integrity and courage, his ideas have probably influenced U.S. policies as much as those of any other statesman the United States has produced. —*American Reporter*, January 2, 1957.

Book Day

A. Yelagina writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*:

Can you imagine the noise raised by one thousand or more children gathered in one place and burning with impatience? If you do, you will know how noisy the Hall of Columns of the Moscow House of Trade Unions was in the morning of March 25. And, indeed, how could one help jumping from his seat, climbing onto the velvet-draped chairs, or calling out to his comrades, on the first day of the school vacations, when one is no more than eight-nine years of age and

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filled with the anticipations of what is to come? However, the third bell put them all back into their seats; the lights went out and the hall was comparatively quiet when the curtain was pulled apart.

. . . Not a soul on the stage, nothing with the exception of several giant books in bright covers. For a moment the children are breathless with excitement, and then the hall rumbles with suppressed exclamations:

Andersen's Fairy-tales! The Street of Junior! "I Read That!" "I Did!" *The Son of the Regiment! Silver Skates! A Long Sail Looms White! The Prince and the Pauper!*

To the accompaniment of soft music the books open slowly and familiar heroes come right off their pages. A little Mermaid walks gingerly, barely moving her feeble little feet; Volodya Dubinin, the young resistance fighter, and Vanyo Solntsev, the son of the regiment, march forward with firm step: the brave sailor Zhukov and his friends Gavrik and Petya, peer into the distance, the Prince and Pauper come down, holding hands . . . .

Recognizing them, the children cheer their old friends. Of a sudden the procession of book heroes comes to an end, and a group of men and women in ordinary clothes (not book suites) come onto the stage. Writers! Together with the personages of their books they take their seats at the table, and Lev Kassil, the author of many favourite books, says:

"Children! Our celebration today is held in honour of the books . . ."

"This is a birthday of books, is it?"—cried a little boy in a voice which rang through the hall. He had come to the celebraton with his elder brother.

Yes, like a birthday celebration. That is how the children call their traditional holiday, Children's Book Week, observed in spring. These "birthdays" are celebrated by all the Soviet children in town and country, at the schools and Pioneer Houses, in the parks and libraries, at the clubs and kindergatens. The children are making elaborate preparations for these celebrations: they learn poems by heart, arrange performances and concerts, write book reviews, arrange book expositions, discussions of books and readers' conferences . . . And the authors of the books celebrate together with their young readers.

Let me take my readers to some of the places where the authors met their young readers.

In one of the halls of the Polytechnical Museum of Moscow school-children have assembled at a conference to discuss scientific fantasy stories. L. Platov, N. Kazantsev, V. Ivanov and V. Nemtsov, authors of these stories, have just acquainted the audience with their plans, and they are now carefully listening to their youthful readers. And I must say that they are very severe critics. They keep well abreast of current developments in science, and they are quite able to judge the artistic merits of a book. Here is a serious-looking boy in spectacles summing up their demands: as many scientific fantasy books as possible; they must be fascinating, well written, and must take into consideration the latest achievements in science and engineering. And most important, the flight of scientific fantasy must be irresistible, breath-taking, so as to drive home to everybody the limitless power of human reason. When the writers speak one can feel the emotion in their voice, each one is conscious of the great responsibility of writing for these children who knows, but perhaps there are in this hall many future scientists who will turn into reality what seems like a fantasy today!

Vitali Bianki, the Leningrad writer (with a passion for hunting and thorough knowledge of nature) whose books about animals and plants are known to all Soviet children, went with a group of young naturalists who meet at the City Pioneer Palace to a collective farm in the environs of the capital. The meeting with the village school-children was arranged in the open air. His conversations with the children inspired the charmingly poetic stories which delight thousands of Soviet children.

At the same time, youngsters of a whole district have assembled in the House of Culture at Mozhaisk, Moscow Region, to meet the author of one of the most popular books of the youth, *The Tale of a Real Man*. Moreover, Boris Polevoy did not come alone. He came together with Meresyev, the pilot who is the hero of his book. The writer and the hero were greeted with loud cheers. The lads and girls were simply bubbling with questions and they showered their visitors with them. How did the writer succeed in depicting the inner world of his hero? What was Meresyev like in his boyhood? Was he training himself for heroic exploits? Where did he find the strength necessary for returning to his favourite occupation as a pilot when he was crippled? Could every boy become a hero, if he wants to? The writer and the hero were busy answering questions. Their conversation lasted until late in the evening; the children go home thinking of great deeds which require courage and heroism, of duty and honour.

. . . Numerous groups of school-children are visiting the Moscow print-shops where children's books are issued. Writers and artists are on duty there to tell the children how books are written, to show how illustrations are made for books, and the way follows by the manuscript to the compositors' shop, to the printing presses, etc. The children are given the opportunity to see the printers at work, to watch the operations of the linotypes, rotary presses, engraving etc. They now know how books are made, the books which give them so much delight.

. . . Young readers are more numerous than ever at the libraries. The teachers come, bringing entire groups of first-form pupils to "sign up" at the library. They have already learned to read independently. They are told how to handle books, how carefully they must be not to tear or soil the pages. They are initiated into a most fascinating world where the greatest treasures of human thought and endeavour have been collected for them.

The writers, teachers and librarians give direct guidance to the children. They assist them in selecting the books, cultivate their taste for reading, teach them to respect the book, to acquire knowledge and experience from it.

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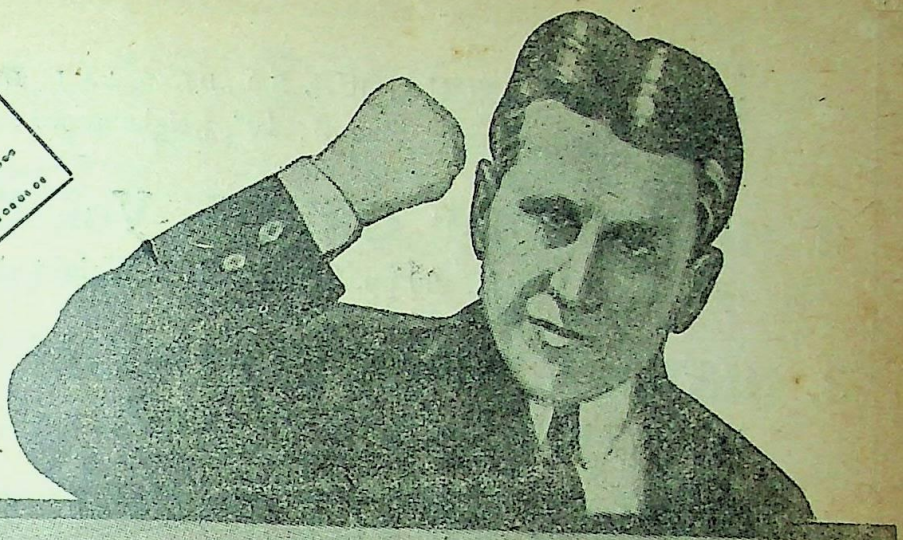

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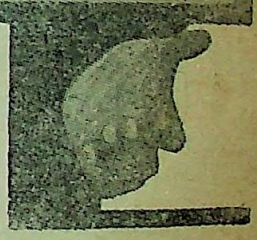

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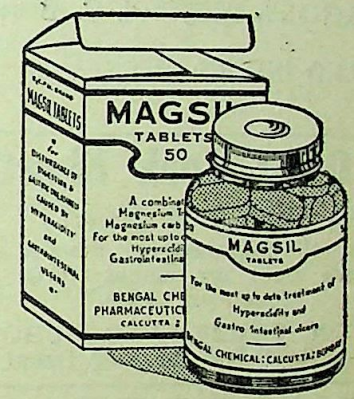

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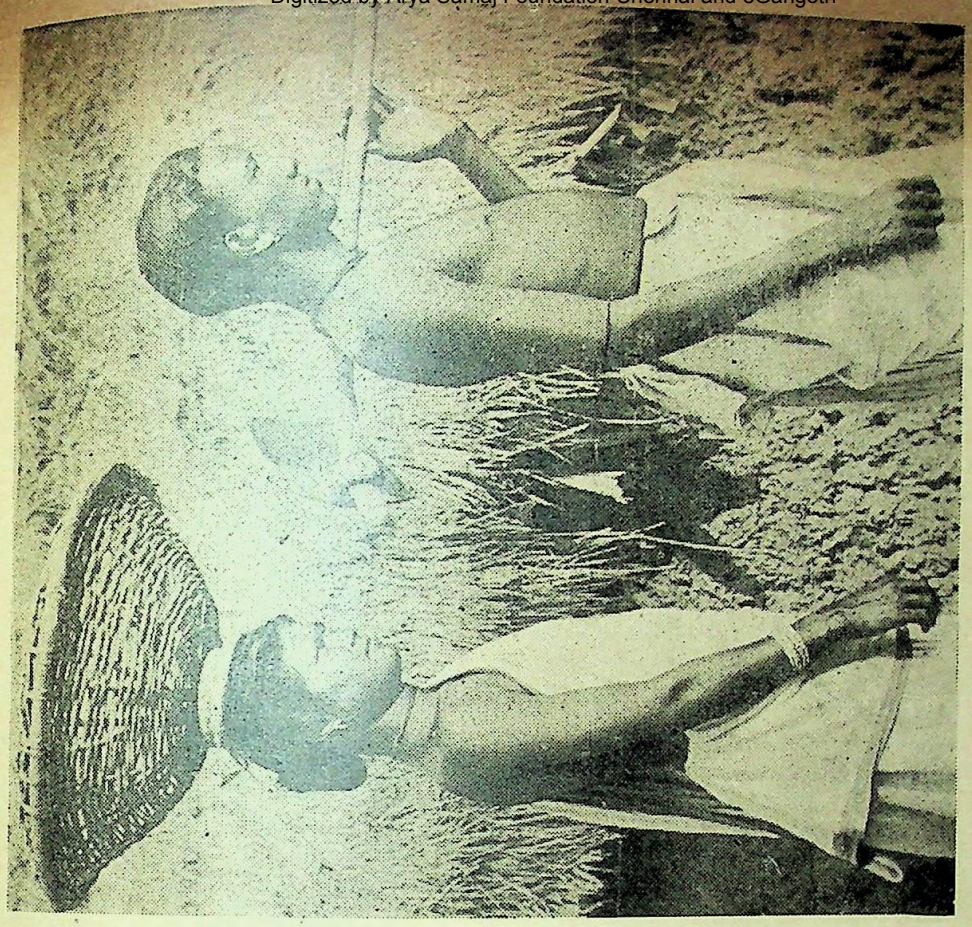

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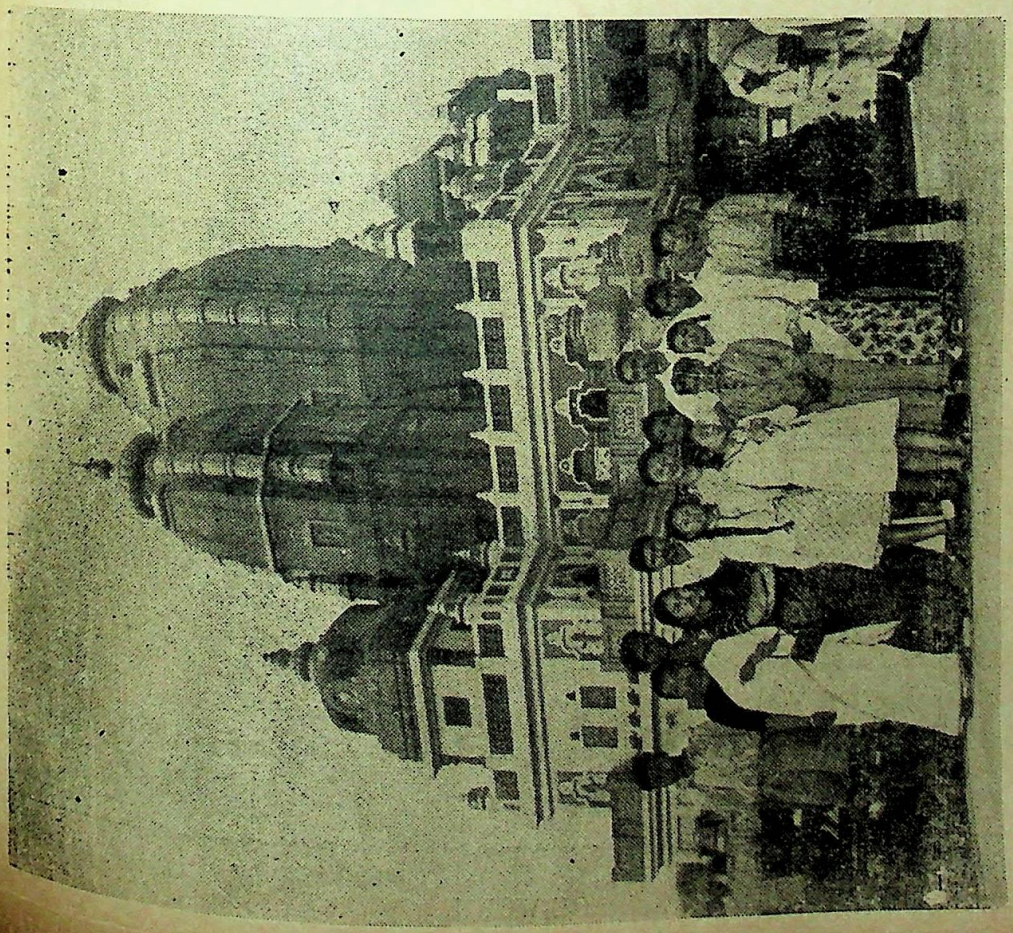

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THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY 1957

VOL. CI, No. 5 WHOLE No. 605

NOTES

The People and the Congress

It has been apparent for some time now that a few of the topmen in the Congress, including Pandit Nehru, have become uneasy at the waning of Congress popularity amongst the nationals of the Union of India. Of course, the great majority of those who have scrambled to the top, have done so for ulterior motives and to them the reason why does not matter a jot. All that is of any consequence to them consist of the shekels that might be garnered and the flesh-pots that might be shared within the next five years. When the time comes for fooling the masses again for another five years, the question of choosing band-wagons—or of turning coats if the situation be desperate—would be duly considered, so that this farce of "Democracy" might be carried on!

But even amongst the few at the top who might be regarded as being free of gross motives, not one seems to be either capable or willing to make a factual analysis of the reasons why the Congress is losing contact with the masses. Pandit Nehru has spoken on the matter several times and his latest statement, which will be found elsewhere in these editorials, is in a line with his previous utterances on this subject. We are no longer surprised at the lack of understanding and the incapacity for logical deduction from glaring facts displayed by our topmost ivory-tower dwellers, but is there no one amongst those who profess to tread the path chosen by Gandhiji who can hold up the Truth before the eyes of our gods-that-be?

Inexperience and over-confidence—to the point of arrogance—on the part of the men at the top, has led to the degeneration and degradation of the present-day Congress. Today the Congress Government is controlled by a body of intriguers who have filled its ranks with intrusive elements of inefficient and corrupt self-seekers.

Where intrigue, inefficiency and corruption are rife, what question can there be of public confidence or mass-contact? We all still dream of Gandhiji's Ram Rajya and live in hope, hope for a change of heart amongst the ivory-tower dwellers. And, so long that hope lasts, there will be a majority vote for the Congress. There is no other reason for the Congress victory, let not Pandit Nehru delude himself.

Pandit Nehru has tried to analyse the causes for the decline in popularity of his beloved Congress. Regarding his conclusions, we can only say that had it been anyone else we would have called them childish, so superficial and outrageously beside the point they are.

"The Congress is unable to deliver the goods it promised," is the complaint all round. Prices are soaring, incomes are going down, in terms of purchasing power, particularly amongst the middle class. And it should be remembered that it is that strata of the nation that made all the sacrifices.

The Ministries at the Centre and in the States are infested by mediocrities and non-entities, who cringe and fawn on their chosen all-highest and in their turn behave with arrogance and gross irresponsibility where the public is concerned. Election promises are broken by *all*, without exception, in the Congress.

The wonder, therefore, is not as to why the Congress popularity is on the wane, it is, on the contrary, that the Congress still retains its hold at all.

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Ordinance Galore

Since a business concern has, under the Constitution, the right to close, the law hitherto, as enunciated by the High Courts of India, has been that claims for compensation to the workmen, unless there is victimisation or unfair labour-practice, are not admissible. That Law of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, has recently been reaffirmed by the Supreme Court with a painstaking thoroughness. It lays down that no retrenchment compensation is payable to the workmen, whose services are terminated on real or *bonafide* closure or when termination occurs as a result of transfer of ownership. The President of the Indian Union has passed an Ordinance, which travesties the considered judgment of the High Courts and Supreme Court combined. It provides that compensation is due to the workmen even where the closure is for unavoidable circumstances beyond the control of an employer. In other words, before a business is launched, the promoters have to lay by a good sum to recoup workmen in case it topples down, no matter what befalls the others concerned. This is discrimination, frowned at by our Constitution.

We regret the light-heartedness, almost the levity, with which Ordinances are being promulgated in disturbing succession. Only the other day, also in April 1957, the President passed an Ordinance setting at naught a decision of the Bombay High Court against the Life Assurance Corporation of India. To invoke at random what is only justifiable in extreme circumstances and this too in order to circumvent the highest judiciary of the land is to lead people lose faith in the inalienable integrity of Law. It makes for anarchy. It puts premium on the haphazardness of those responsible for preparing laws. Besides, the ruling oligarchy should have the fairness to concede that the judges are much better equipped by training and the tradition to hold the scales even between contending forces to determine the maximum good to the maximum number of people in society.

The Ordinance under review is open to criticism from another standpoint. Since we hold that it is not enough for the rulers to be above corrupt influences but what is as vitally important, the people must be imbued with a faith in their incorruptibleness, we would not mince matters. The Press Note refers to the Supreme Court judgment and says that 'since the... number of underakings particularly in Ahm... abad, Kanpur and West Bengal have ... down or put up notices of closure for one re... or another rendering unemployed large num... of workmen without any compensation.' E... dently, the Government makes no secret o... conviction that these undertakings have ... *malafide*. Why is it that so many organis... should have simultaneously taken into ... head to close down business they have ru... for so many years and thus throw over... their workmen? It is a question that ... being probed deep. The one factor sugge... of some reflections between 27th Nove... 1956, *i.e.*, the day when the Supreme C... judgment was delivered, and presumably ... time chosen for closure is the General Elec... which has returned the Congress to power. ... proceeding of the Calcutta High Court re... that the Congress was being handsom... financed to fight the election by a numbe... business organisations. Who is to decipher ... none of the offenders, the Government ha... view in the Ordinance, comes under the ca... gory? Nobody can be blamed if he were to ... that one or other of those organisations ... inspired to count upon Government protec... for which it considers an anti-social deci... Are they being given a short shrift now ... the fair is over and attempts made to cuit... the leftists of the Labour movement? The O... nance is obviously a surrender to these. T... have, in fact, being pitchforked to a pos... from which they will dictate terms to ... employer. This is bound to tell heavily ... the relation between labour and capital, p... cularly where the unions are controlled ... leaders, not the very scrupulous type.

The labour in our country, generally s... ing, is not intelligent and courageous enou... fix up what is good for him in the long run ... to thrash out the ignoble motives of those ... guide them. Even in countries, where ... average workman has much greater awa... of his rights in terms of his obligations, ... amazing to what extent he is exploited by ... leaders. The *Time* of America in its iss... 8th April (Pacific Edition) unfolds a pict... long-continued corruption and abuse.

Dave Beck, president of the 1,400,0... Teamsters Union, refused point blank, ...

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was within his rights, to answer a Senate committee's question about 'misconduct and misuse of Union funds.' But other leaders of organized labour, even if knowing that a good many people would avail themselves of the exposure of Teamsters' corruption to 'restrict the entire labour movement,' took courage in both hands to 'denounce and renounce' such a character, because, they would otherwise have to pay for associating with such 'phonics and criminals.' In America, they are contemplating to set up a machinery to check and balance the power of big labour. What, however, we need in our country is a machinery to control to rationalize the relation between labour and capital not by yielding to one or the other but by steady, unflinching efforts to keep either in its respective position suggesting legislation for the purpose. None more suitable than a Bench of the High Court can be imagined to discharge this solemn responsibility. In view of the Labour Appellate Tribunal having been abolished, it can as well be entrusted with the appeals against the awards of Industrial Tribunals.

Trends in Industrial Development

Under the new Industrial Policy of the Government of India, the industrial enterprises of the country have been divided into sectors of private and State responsibility. Although some of the industries have been included ordinarily in the private sector, the State has the ultimate responsibility for the development of these industries in case of inability of the private sector to develop these industries. The State can step into the field of industries normally allotted to the private sector if the private capital or initiative is found to be inadequate for the proper development of the industries in the private sector. But mere legislation is not enough in securing the desired result. The private sector in India has been admitted as an adjunct to the overall industrial policy of the Government and the private sector is to function under the supervision and authority of the State. There is no unchartered freedom of the private sector under the planned economy of India. But there has been some recent developments in the private sector in respect of industrial enterprises that call for serious consideration by the Government as to whether the purpose of the Industries Development and Regulation Act of 1951 is not being frustrated by the private sector.

An industry may belong to private ownership, but ultimately it is a national concern and the national interests call for State control in the last resort of the affairs of that industry. Some persons in recent years, or rather recent months, have been acquiring interests in some of the well-known industrial enterprises of foreigners. The Indian owners are not industrialists in the true sense of the term nor have they any industrial training or experience. They are just ordinary persons who by some or other means have been able to amass huge wealth and are now stepping into the industrial field of the country. The notable instance being the change of ownership in the Jessop Iron and Steel Industry and some of the industrial concerns of the British India Corporation. These newcomers lack the imaginative initiative which is essential for developing industries. Mere purchase or ownership of an industrial concern does not make an industry. An industrialist should have an industrial background, training and outlook in order to be an industrial magnate. These new-comers in the field of industrial enterprises are reported to be averse to any modernisation or rationalisation of their newly-acquired industries whose machineries are much too old and call for replacement with modern machinery. But the new owners think that because they have spent a large sum in acquiring the existing industrial concern, they must reap good profits from these industries at least for several years to come. So just at the moment they cannot think in terms of rationalization. But this attitude is harmful to the country's industrial development as this conservative outlook will in the near future retard the growth of industries because old machinery means higher costs and that would result in falling profits and employment. The Government of India should look into the process of transitions that are going on in the country in respect of changing ownership in foreign-owned industries. These industries mainly belong to the iron and steel group and as such they are vital to the interest of the country and the country cannot afford to indulge in costly experiments in the matter. What we suggest is that in case of a foreign-owned industry, the Government itself should acquire

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the enterprise if it is found vital to the interest of the country and if the owner is willing to dispose it of. The Industries Development and Regulation Act shou'd be suitably amended so that industrial enterprises cannot be run and acquired by persons unless they satisfy certain qualifications. The new Indian owners of foreign-owned industrial enterprises are more interested in earning profit than developing the industry for the interest of the country. The result in such cases is that certain sectors of the industrial concern receives attention and certain sections are tota'ly ignored simply because the new owner thinks that only the productive part of the machinery should be modernised or replaced with new machinery and the non-productive part need not therefore be rep'aced or modernised. But a factory should be viewed as a whole and the productive capacity of the factory cannot increase unless all the parts are modernised simultaneously.

Another point that has been brought to our notice in the fie'd of industrial development is the so-called industrial co-operatives. In most cases the setting up of an industry on a co-operative basis is nothing but the creation of patronage conferred on some former political agitator who is a supporter of the Congress Party. The person in question has no industrial training or background nor does he possess any qualification for running an industrial concern. But in order to keep him engaged in some way or other the newly-designed industrial co-operatives have been started. In this way large sums are being wasted because the persons in questions have not the qualifications to run the industry. In consequence mounting deficits are the outcome of such industrial co-operatives. Stil, however, the Government continue to render financial aid to such co-operatives which are a great hoax and in reality an economic patronage to political supporters. The money is, of course, raised by taxing the millions in the country and that is lost sight of when the Government extend such patronage in the name of economic rehabilitation or development. This is a pitfall of planned economy in a democratic set up. These planned expenditures on unplanned productive ventures end in fiasco and they increase the cost of planning.

The very system of extending state financial aid to private industrial co-operatives is questionable. This practice should forth- be stopped. The industrial co-operatives sh- be helped financially only by the State Fin- Corporations after going through the req- qualifications and resources of the borro- concern. State patronage with the help public money is an undesirable practice. T- are various agencies for the purpose of gi- financial aid to small industrial concerns they should be properly utilised instead direct State help.

It is often reported in the Press that t- is dearth of technicians, engineers and s- other persons for industries. But contradict- to such reports are also published by indivi- pointing out that although they possess requisite qualifications and applied to appropriate authorities, they were not pointed. The truth seems to lie on both si- There is no doubt dearth of highly trained specialized technicians or engineers; but i- also true that there is a large number engineers and technicians who remain un- ployed because the authorities have not tap- all the sources for securing the services of personnel. In a country where unemployment- mounting and where there are many engine- colleges and schools, it is quite inconceiva- that there can be dearth of suitable personn- engineering qualifications. What is the s- of the Government in arriving at such a clusion?

Just to give a simple example. M- students pass every year from Bengal Sch- Engineering College and also the Jadav- Engineering College. Can the author- vouchsafe that all these qualified persons employed every year? That is impossible- fact and by logic. The Press announcement- the effect that India has a want of tra- personnel calls for strict scrutiny. There even hundreds of such persons who remain employed and the Government publish reports in the Press only to represent that t- is no unemployment among the trained pe- in this country. But that is not the true p- of the employment position. Such repor- nothing but a political stunt.

Finance for the Tea Industry

In recent weeks much is being heard a- the financial needs of the tea industry. Th-

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industry is said to be facing a financial crisis both in view of block capital as well as working capital. Most of the bushes were planted before 1900 and their normal life being 60 years, these bushes call for replantation with immediate effect. But the tea gardens concerned have no block capital to finance such replantation and without replantation there will be falling tea acreage. The Plantation Enquiry Commission has estimated that replantation in an acre of land will cost about Rs. 3,000 and it has suggested for the establishment of a rep'antation fund with an annual contribution of Rs. 50 per acre for 60 years by each tea garden. But that is a matter for the distant future. The question is how to raise finance for replanting just at the moment for replantation?

There is no land mortgage bank or agricultural bank to finance such long-term block capital. The commercial banks in India supply only working capital to the tea industry. The commercial banks cannot be expected to supply the long-term capital needs of the tea industry. Other industries allow depreciation charges before declaring dividends; but the defect of the tea industry has been that it has not created any such replantation fund. During the Second World War, the tea industry enjoyed an unprecedented boom so much so that dividends were declared to the extent of 50 to 60 per cent of the capital invested. This high rate of dividend was not enjoyed by any other industry. Even in 1954, the tea industry's declared dividend was the highest in India and it was as high as 30 per cent. The average rate of dividend enjoyed by the tea industry is about 16 per cent as against the average rate of 7 to 8 per cent dividends in other industries of India.

This high rate of dividend payment in the tea industry has resulted in the depletion of capital stock. The Government should have been aware of this fact much earlier. Now they should take measures so as to restrict the dividend up to 10 per cent of the capital invested and not more than that. Had this measure been adopted earlier, the tea industry today would not have faced the crisis of financial drawback. The tea industry earns enough profits even during the time of so-called depression and if this excess profit is ploughed back into long-term block capital, then the industry would not require any external assistance for the purpose of replantation.

Jute Industry in Difficulty

For some time past the Indian jute industry has not been doing well for various reasons. Although the production of jute manufactures went up considerably in 1956 and the offtake was also satisfactory, yet from the financial point of view the industry rather faced a crisis. The main cause of this difficulty is the decline in exports. The year 1956 opened with good prospects when the stocks of manufactured jute goods stood at less than 64,000 tons and this was said to be the lowest stock held since the end of the war. That means in 1955 there were higher exports. Encouraged by this trend in export, particularly to countries belonging to the Soviet group, the Indian Jute Mills' Association unsealed 2½ per cent of the looms sealed in 1949. But this experiment proved to be costly and the prospects of export faded away early with mounting stocks in the early part of 1956. The stocks steadily rose to 138,000 tons and in consequence the mills had to reseal the additional looms unsealed earlier. In the latter half of the year, the Suez crisis, however, came to the rescue of the jute industry and as a result there was increased offtake. The domestic consumption also increased considerably and at the end of the year 1956, stocks were higher by only 32,000 tons as against an increase of output of 65,000 tons.

In 1956, the export of hessian exceeded 4 lakh tons and this was a notable gain for the first time in many years. The drop in exports to Argentine was more than compensated by higher exports to the USA. But although the export of hessian showed a marked increase, the export of sacking declined alarmingly by 36,000 tons. The result was that the overall exports of jute goods declined by 25,000 tons. The only redeeming feature of this otherwise falling export trade is that of the total exports, the USA's offtake was nearly 50 per cent and the burlap consumption in that country rose by 6 per cent in 1956. The export of jute manufactures is vital to India as it is the largest earner of dollar. The decline in export of the jute goods, therefore, is a matter of concern not only for the industry but also for the country as a whole, in so far as the question of earning

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foreign exchange is concerned. The rise in domestic consumption offers no solution for the decline in exports.

There are several factors which are responsible for the decline in the export of jute goods. The foremost cause is the development of jute manufacturing industry in many countries of the Far East, namely, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, China and Japan. These countries once were the biggest market for India's jute goods. The growth of jute manufacturing industries in these countries means the virtual loss of Indian jute goods market in these countries. The market in the USA is also not safe for India as Japan has become a formidable rival to India in respect of exports in jute goods to that country. Formerly India exported jute goods to the extent of about 70,000 tons to Pakistan. But with the development of manufacturing units in that country, the export of jute goods to that country has come to an end. Not only that, Pakistan today is exporting jute goods to the extent of more than 50,000 tons to markets in Europe and North America. The increased manufacture and use of paper bags are also ousting goods from industrial use.

Pakistan is now enjoying a boom in her jute trade. She is now making a concerted effort to expand the jute acreage as well as to improve the quality of jute by supplying new and improved varieties of seeds to the cultivators. She has withdrawn the restriction on jute cultivation and has also abolished the licence fee of Re. 1 per acre. In India, there is no fear of any carry over of raw jute stock. On the contrary, India is deficient in the production of her raw jute. In 1956, the production of raw jute stood at 42 lakh bales as against the total requirements of our jute mills to the extent of more than 60 lakh bales. This gap has to be filled by import from Pakistan which charges a higher price for export of raw jute to India and in consequence the cost of production of jute goods is considerably higher in this country. The shortage of raw jute supply from indigenous sources is a great handicap to India in the field of world competition.

India should strive to be self-supporting in the supply and production of raw jute, otherwise the manufacturing industry will not be free from the present difficulty. Under the Second Five-Year Plan, the target of raw jute production has been fixed at 55 lakh bales. B... the target should be revised upwards to not les... than 66 lakh bales. It should be remembered... that all the raw jute produced in India is no... fit for consumption by mills. The quality o... Indian jute should be improved. During th... last 12 years, the jute acreage in India has in... creased by about 200 per cent, yet this has no... brought self-sufficiency to India. Both extensive... and intensive cultivation of jute is required... India has limited culturable land area and that... is to be equitably distributed between the culti... vation of jute and paddy. The increase in jute... acreage should not curtail the paddy acreage... Intensive cultivation is, therefore, imperative as... that would raise the productivity per acre. The... improved cultivation is possible by the use o... improved seed, mechanical sowing by seed drills... a reduction of weed-growth by inter-row boring... and the application of chemical fertilisers. If... these methods are adopted, it is estimated that... the output of raw jute would go up by about... 20 per cent.

Makarios and Cyprus

The British Colonial Secretary, Mr... Lennox-Boyd, announced in the British House... of Commons on March 28 that Archbishop... Makarios, leader of the Cypriot independence... movement, would be released along with his... close comrades. The Archbishop would, how... ever, not be permitted to return to Cyprus. The... Government also announced its readiness to... offer immediately safe conduct out of Cyprus... to Colonel Grivas, leader of the EOKA, the... Cyprus nationalist organization, in order to... promote a rapid return to peaceful conditions... in Cyprus. The Colonial Secretary added that... the safe-conduct out of Cyprus would be ex... tended to any British subjects who were mem... bers of the organization and still at large, pro... vided they gave an undertaking not to enter... any British territory so long as the legal state... of emergency continued in Cyprus.

While the news was widely hailed by a... Cypriots it led to the resignation of a... important member of the Macmillan Cabinet... the United Kingdom. The Marquess of Salis... bury, regarded as one of the most influential men... in the British Cabinet, resigned his position as... the leader of the House of Lords and Lord... President of the Council as a result of h...

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opposition to the release of Makarios. The Earl of Home has succeeded Lord Salisbury.

Makarios was released from his year-long detention in the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean after he had made conditional appeal to the Cypriots to stop violent movement against the British. He stated that the EOKA would stop its activities only if the British "show . . . understanding by abolishing simultaneously the present state of emergency," however, he made it quite clear at the same time that he would not enter into any discussions with the British over the settlement of the Cyprus question until he was allowed to return to Cyprus.

Cyprus is another danger spot in the explosive situation in the Middle East. For nearly two years the Cypriote nationalists were waging a bloody war against British colonial domination and for union with Greece ('Enosis'). The unchallenged leader of the movement has been Makarios III—tall, black-bearded patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. The British Government has consistently been dodging the main demand of the Cypriotes for independence and union with Greece. However, the British efforts to subdue the Cypriotes by show of arms have completely failed so that they have now reopened the scope for a negotiated settlement by releasing Makarios from his enforced exile. Yet Makarios would not be able to return to Cyprus. Neither has the British Government agreed to lift the state of emergency in Cyprus. These can hardly appear reasonable. From its failure to crush the Cypriot independence by force the British Government should have learnt the lesson why such half-hearted measures are hardly successful, if ever.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Makarios arrived in Athens on April 17. Describing the scenes of popular enthusiasm on the Archbishop's arrival, A. C. Sedgwick, Athens correspondent of the *New York Times*, writes: "It was a demonstration of their passionate adherence to the cause of which he is a living symbol: the right of Cypriotes to choose their political destiny."

"Declarations on placards and slogans shouted and screamed by throngs lining the route from the airfield," he adds, "made the popular sentiment evident. They made it appear that the EOKA, the organization of armed partisans for Cyprus' liberation, held such popular favour that no leader in the Hellenic world could afford to denounce it."

Speaking to the crowd assembled to greet him Makarios asserted that the people of Cyprus had demonstrated their fidelity to the cause of self-determination by their "steadfast refusal to accept makeshift solutions." He approvingly referred to the recent resolution of the United Nations General Assembly calling upon the British Government and the people of Cyprus for an agreement on a peaceful, just and democratic solution." Referring to the Turkish opposition to the independence of Cyprus Makarios said that it was "British instigated."

The Gulf of Aqaba

A major danger-spot in the Middle East is the Gulf of Aqaba bordering the four States of Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. From 1950 until November, 1956, Egypt barred the passage of any Israeli ship through the Gulf. One of the major objectives of Israeli attack on Egypt in last October was the opening of the Canal to Israeli shipping. In the ensuing hostilities Israel drove out all Egyptian forces from Sharma el Sheikh which commanded the entry into the Straits of Tirar leading to the Gulf of Aqaba. Israel agreed to evacuate Sharma el Sheikh in March only upon the U.S. understanding that the Gulf would be open to Israel. In a policy declaration on February 11 this year the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, with President Eisenhower's support declared that the Gulf of Aqaba was an international waterway and Egypt had no right to bar any State the right of "innocent passage" (unless a ship is on a mission prejudicial to the State through whose territorial waters she sails the ship is considered in international law to be an innocent passage) to the ships of any country. Mr. Dulles further declared that he would establish the right of passage through the gulf by sending an U.S. ship through it to the Israeli port of Elath.

Following this declaration a United States tanker, *Kern Hills* (16,500 tons), passed through the Gulf of Aqaba on April 6 carrying oil from Iran to the port of Elath in Israel. The ship was chartered to an Israeli company. Thus technically the U.S. had not sent her to Elath, but everybody recognised the decisive role of the U.S.A. in the passage of the tanker. This

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move was designed to establish U.S. right of free passage through the gulf.

"There was added significance to the arrival as a symbol that an alternate oil route to the Suez Canal is now possible from Elath to the Mediterranean Sea. An eight-inch pipeline from Elath to Beersheba is almost ready for operation and plans are on the drawing board for a larger line. In either event the oil-flow would be relatively slight compared to what moves through the Suez when it is operating fully, but the alternative is considered useful, and, for the supply of Israel's own needs, of great importance," writes Russel Baker, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*.

The Arab countries—particularly Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon—were greatly perturbed over this renewed U.S. interference in the area in the interest of Israel. On April 11 Saudi Arabia announced that she would not let any Israeli vessel pass through the Gulf of Aqaba.

Earlier in a note delivered to the envoys of foreign powers on March 31, Saudi Arabia pointed out that the islands of Tiran and Sanafir at the mouth of the gulf were parts of her territory and the gulf's entrance was only nine miles wide, "about twelve miles less than those waterways considered to have universal character under international law."

"The Gulf of Aqaba cannot," it was added, "therefore, be considered an open waterway and any attempt at giving it international character will constitute encroachment on the sovereignty of Saudi Arabia and a threat to its territorial security."

On April 16, the Lebanese Ambassador to the United States delivered a verbal protest to the State Department against the passage of the U.S. tanker *Kern Hills* through "Arab territorial waters" to the Israeli port of Elath.

Jordan Developments

The developments in Jordan have a striking resemblance to those in Iran under Premier Mossadeq. In both the cases a pro-Western king acted to stage a coup against the popular forces.

The twenty-one-year-old King Hussein of Jordan staged a coup on April 14 to oust pro-Egyptian elements in his army and government. At the King's instance a new government was formed by Dr. Hussein Fakhri El-Khalidi in which, however, the ousted Premier Nabulsi was retained as Foreign Minister at first. But within a few days Nabulsi had to resign and he was put under arrest. The new government enforced a martial law on April 25 and brought into action an old anti-Communist law. The King also refused to accord royal assent to the decision of the former Nabulsi Cabinet to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

The background to the recent developments in Jordan is provided in the following report in the *New York Times*:

"When Hussein became King of Jordan in 1953, he was a boy of 18 with an English education (Harrow and Sandhurst), expensive hobbies (racing cars and airplanes), and flamboyant tastes (at Sandhurst his uniform decked with medals earned him the nickname 'brazen Hussy').

"At first Hussein paid little attention to affairs of state. Within a year and a half, however, the boy King became the target of a bitter tug of war between Britain and Egypt for control of his country. The British, who had created Jordan and provided it with an army and an annual subsidy, wanted King Hussein to line up with the pro-Western bloc of Moslem states that included Iraq. Nasser of Egypt wanted Hussein to join Jordan to the anti-Western Arab bloc comprising Egypt, and Saudi Arabia.

"Within Jordan there was sharp division. The Bedouins of the desert, who had formed the majority of the population before 1949, were apparently loyal to the British. But during the 1948-49 Palestine war, Hussein's grandfather, King Abdullah, had annexed part of Palestine and Jordan's Bedouins were now outnumbered by Palestinian Arabs, many of them refugees from Israeli territory. The Palestinians had one goal: vengeance on Israel and on the Western powers they considered responsible for Israel's existence. More sophisticated and more powerful than the Bedouins, the Palestinians soon dominated Jordan's politics. Their hero was Nasser, and they demanded that Hussein sever Jordan's ties to Britain and join the Nasser bloc.

"King Hussein, impelled partly by

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nationalism, partly by desire to keep his throne, yielded to the Palestinans for a long time. British officers in Jordan were ousted. Pro-Nasser men received top positions in the armed forces including Jordan's famed Arab Legion. Syrian and Saudi Arabian troops were allowed to enter Jordan last fall 'to protect' it in the event of Israeli aggression.'

"Last October, Jordan held parliamentary elections; the Palestinian-supported parties won a majority, and King Hussein appointed as Premier an anti-Western extrerist of Palestinian descent, Suleiman Nabulsi. Under Nabulsi both Nasserism and Communist influences flourished and the last ties with Britain were cut. But without the annual British subsidy, the Jordanian economy began to founder. And King Hussein evidently began to fear that the monarchy might soon founder, too.

"In February the King ordered his Permier to clamp down on Communist activity. Nabulsi refused. Hussein's anger was heightened by warnings from a man supposed to be Nasser's close ally: King Saud of Saudi Arabia. Saud urged Egypt, Jordan and Syria to resist Communism and to show some sympathy for the American Eisenhower Doctrine with its offer of economic and military aid to anti-Communist Arab nations. To Hussein and his supporters in the Government, the Eisenhower Doctrine sounded as though it might be a remedy for Jordan's troubles. And if King Saud could accept American millitary and economic aid, why colud not Jordan?

"Premier Nabulsi gave the answer in a fiery, anti-Western, pro-Soviet speech two weeks ago. 'If the United States handed me 100 million dollars and said, 'It is yours if you fight Communism,' I would reject it,' he said. He also indicated that he was (1) preparing to establish closer relations with Russia, and (2) planning a purge of Jordanian civil servants considered too loyal to King Hussein. Ten days ago Hussein fired Nabulsi.

"The anti-Western Palestinians moved quickly. Led by the Army Chief of Staff, Maj. Gen. Ali Abu Nuwar, a nationalist firebrand, they began secretly organizing an anti-Hussein rebellion in the Arab Legion. Eight days ago the Bedouin Legionnaires sent word of the conspiracy to the King. Hussein drove out to the Arab Legion camp and made a dramatic appeal for the army's allegiance. The Bedouins, traditionally loyal to the Hashemite dynasty to which Hussein belongs and bitterly resentful of General Nuwar who had discriminated against Bedouin officers, rallied to the King. The rebellion was crushed and Nuwar escaped to Syria.

"Last week Hussein and his supporters embarked on a tightrope policy of purging Jordan of the extreme pro-Nasser and pro-Communist forces while at the same time seeking to placate the powerful Palestinian rank-and-file. Hussein appointed a compromise Cabinet headed by a relatively moderate Palestinian, Hussein Fahkri Khalidi, and including Nabulsi in the post of Foreign Minister. In the army, the King replaced Chief of Staff Nuwar, with one of Nuwar's former school-mates, Maj. Gen. Ali Hayari. Bedouins received important promotions, however, and it was plain that the King was seeking to 'Bedouinize' his officer corps.

"To the country as a whole, Hussein pledged that the changes and purges in the government and the army did not presage any change in Jordan's basic policy of 'Arab unity,' 'positive neutrality,' 'anti-imperialism,' and opposition to Israel.

"But the Palestinians were evidently not placated and the political tension continued. Yesterday the new Chief of Staff, General Hayari, went to Syria on a pretext. Once on Syrian soil, he announced his resignation and claimed political asylum. General Hayari charged that King Hussein's palace was 'preparing a plot in co-operation with foreign non-Arab military attaches in Amman against Jordan's independence.' Hussein promptly appointed a tough Bedouin general to replace him. Nonethelass the resignation was a sign of mounting dissension in Jordan.

"Where do last week's developments leave the Middle Eastern situation? Obviously the course Jordan follows will have important effects upon relations among the Arab nations, upon Israel and upon the East-West struggle for the Middle East's allegiance.

"If Hussein makes good his attempt to halt the spread of Nasserism, in Jordan, and if he succeeds in halting Jordan's drift toward the Egyptian-Syrian-Communist orbit, it will be a real blow both at Nasser's prestige and at Russia's efforts to penetrate the Arab world. Both Cairo and Moscow are well aware of the

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danger. Last week in Cairo, hundreds of Egyptians demonstrated against Hussein and denounced him as 'a traitor to the Arab cause.' In Moscow, *Pravda* charged that Jordan's 'royal court supported by reactionary military circles and other anti-popular forces' was planning to hand Jordan 'to the imperialist camp.'

"Actually, however, there is little chance that Hussein will join up with the West. Even if he wanted to go that far—and there is no certainty that he does—he would risk a popular uprising of the Palestinian faction in Jordan. About the best that Washington can hope for at the present is that Jordan might join with Saudi Arabia's King Saud in an anti-Communist—although not pro-Western—course. In that event, Nasser would find himself with only one close Arab ally : Syria. To avoid such isolation Nasser might even decide to take an anti-Communist line himself.

"At the present time, however, there is no guarantee that Hussein will remain in power long enough to lead Jordan away from communism. Despite the allegiance of the Bedouins, his position at home is far from secure. If the pro-Nasser forces in Jordan could oust him, it would be regarded as an important victory for Nasser and, possibly, for Russia as well. If there were any large-scale fighting in Jordan, the Saudi Arabian and Syrian troops which are still stationed there would probably become involved. In that case, Jordan's two remaining neighbours—Iraq in the north and Israel on the west—would also be expected to intervene, Jordan might find itself partitioned, and the whole balance of power in the Mideast might shift abruptly."

Civil Liberties in the USA

The American Socialist leader, Mr. Norman Thomas, in an open letter published in the New York weekly *New Leader* took issue with Bertrand Russel for the latter having written an introduction to the British edition of the book *Freedom is As Freedom Does*, written by Corliss Lamont. In his introduction Earl Russel made a sombre appraisal of the state of civil liberties in the USA. In his reply to the criticism levelled by Norman Thomas, Earl Russel re-iterated his position with equal emphasis and the picture he drew of American civil liberties was equally horrifying.

Russel said: "You will doubtless agree that fellow-travellers share the guilt of communist crimes by refusing to admit them; but presumably you will not agree that anti-Communists equally share the guilt of admittedly [illegible] crimes committed by the police and the [illegible] courts in the United States."

Referring to the nefarious role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in crushing civil liberties of citizens in the USA, Earl Russel said that the organisation had been for the past forty years "with a disregard for truth and common humanity which should have aroused overwhelming public protest."

He added: "I say this deliberately and with a full sense of responsibility."

Referring to air of fear and suspicion in the academic institutions in the USA, Earl Russel said: "I do not think that you and those who think as you do have the vaguest idea of the general state of fear which exists in American universities among young professors and instructors and among intelligent students. I have frequent and numerous contacts with men of this kind, and it is pathetic to see their joy in breathing the air of free discussion without the dread that an unguarded remark will be reported by supposed friends to some authority with power to inflict ruin."

Civil Liberties Under Communism

The great British philosopher has drawn an appalling picture of the state of civil liberties in the USA. Despite the objections of the American socialist leader. Mr. Norman Thomas, the picture presented by Earl Russel must be accepted as a very close approximation of the reality. The recent suicide of Herbert Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt on April 4 as a result of the charges of Communist associations levelled against him by a committee of the Congress further highlights the degree of anti-Communist hysteria in the USA which did not spare even a top-ranking diplomat of a friendly power from the smearing campaign. The Canadian Government and people have almost in one single voice decried Mr. Norman's death under such tragic circumstances. A Labour Member of Parliament has described Mr. Norman's suicide as "murder by slander."

Yet in all fairness it must be agreed that

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as Earl Russel has also stated, infringements of liberty in the USA have not yet reached the proportions seen in the USSR and some of the satellite Communist States. The crimes of the Stalin era are now almost universally recognised and denounced. But the Communists in their typical manner, while criticising past crimes, continued to extol current Soviet crimes with the fullest equanimity. The crushing of the Hungarian revolution by the Soviet army has not been openly denounced by any major Communist Party, though the greatest uneasiness among party ranks in more than one party is clearly visible. Thus the British Communist Party rejected Peter Fryer's appeal for readmission though the Party could not produce even the most slender proof that Peter Fryer had said anything but hard truth about the massacre by the Soviet tanks in Hungary. But as the disillusioned Professor Levy remarked, you could not expect truth from the Communists. Professor Levy, a noted British scientist and one of the foremost Communist intellectuals in Western Europe, openly indicated the British Communist leadership headed by Harry Pollitt for deliberate suppression of truth about the terror in the USSR.

Referring to his visit to the USSR Professor Levy said: "What I saw and heard shook me to my foundations within the fortnight I was there. I got a bellyfull to last me the rest of my life."

There had been "great positive achievements, of course, coupled with a cast-iron bureaucracy—a form of gangsterism that battened on an unassailable socialist economic basis. All this did not spring out of Stalin's character or some cult of the individual. It was growing for years, it was part of the history of socialism, one we Marxists ought to know about it and understand it," he said.

By denouncing the current Communist theory that the crimes of the Stalin era were the result of the cult of Stalin and had nothing to do with "socialism" as such Professor Levy, following Togliatti, has hit right on the point. It is a familiar technique with the Communists to divert attention on a false target with a view to covering their misdeeds. When Communists got a kick in Hungary it was the US imperialists who were to blame. When intellectuals of the stature of Levy, Currie and Picasso questioned Soviet methods they were certainly bourgeous ideologists. But it is untarnished truth when Bulganin calls Imre Nagy names and describes him as a persistent anti-Communist, completely overlooking the fact that in the first days of Hungarian uprising when Gero and his bands completely lost control the Soviet bosses found none of the Communists better able to handle the situation than Imre Nagy, who was then named Prime Minister on the personal direction of the Soviet Communist leader Suslov. Contrary to Soviet estimation, however, Nagy was a real patriot and a strong man so that he refused to toe the line set by the Kremlin schemers. Therefore, he is now a "traitor" in Communist vocabulary.

Another frequent charge against the Soviet Union was that it had kept under detention many foreign nationals. While the detention of a few Chinese in the USA or a few Americans in China was greatly publicised, the Indian press, by and large, was silent on the millions of foreigners under enforced detention in the USSR. While the detention of Germans and Japanese might be sought to be justified though unconvincingly by the argument that they could not be released until a peace treaty was signed, the detainees were by no means restricted to the nationals of these two States. Twelve years after the end of war there were still more than 500 000 Polish citizens under enforced detention in the USSR. The Polish Government has recently secured an agreement that the number would be repatriated by 1958. The enormity of the Soviet measures is fully realized as one recalls that during all these twelve years Poland, as one of Europe's "People's Democracies," has always been faithful to Russia—both under Stalinism and de-Stalinisation. Of course, this is hardly to be unexpected from a country which in the name of friendship sends its tanks to suppress an internal uprising of a friendly people or murders the leaders of friendly Communist parties.

The Atomic Threat

The world is weary clamouring for an end to nuclear explosions. The Big Powers, however, are quite apathetic to the people's voice and are going on with their tests in the blind quest to develop newer and more devastating weapons with which they can maintain their

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world supremacy. The nuclear explosions in the Pacific is particularly dangerous to Asian lives. The Government of Japan has already launched official protests with the USSR and the United Kingdom.

While the Big Powers are as far away as ever in reaching agreement on the banning of atomic weapons and nuclear explosions a move is afoot in the West, particularly in the United States and Great Britain, to blunt the edge of the world movement for banning the atomic weapons by a cleverly designed propaganda differentiating between "tactical" and "strategic" atomic weapons. "Tactical" atomic weapons, they say, are less powerful and less harmful than "strategic" atomic weapons and by securing an agreement among the atomic powers that they would use only "tactical" atomic weapons in a future combat the major disasters resulting from the use of bigger "strategic" weapons may be avoided.

The utter hollowness of this proposition from the political as well as a military point of view, has been ably demonstrated by Professor Sailendranath Dhar in an article in the *Vigil*, April 20. Shri Dhar strikes the point right on the head as he writes: "The distinction which is sought to be drawn between two classes of atomic weapons rests as a matter of fact on a number of assumptions, which . . . cannot fail to evoke distrust in the lay mind . . . The idea that 'tactical' atomic weapons possess a smaller range of destructiveness provides no comfort to the mind of the ordinary citizen, unable to enthuse over civilian casualties being counted in millions instead of in billions."

It would, however, appear that behind this innocuous classification of atomic weapons there is hidden a definite plan to make Asia the testing ground. Some time back the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, held a symposium on the military strategy in a nuclear age. The participants included Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard, Prof. P. M. S. Blackett and Mr. Dennis Healy, M.P. The discussions have been published in a book entitled *On Limiting Atomic War*.

From the book it appeared that experts regarded weapons with a range of 500 to 1,000 miles as "tactical." "How nice!" as one commentator points out. "No need to drop a 10-megaton bomb. Ten 1-megaton bombs, or a hundred bombs a tenth of a megaton each would do just as well with the same objective or even a shower of 'tactical' guided missiles. The result—large-scale destruction and fatal nuclear radiation and residual radio-activity and mass extermination of the population—would be the same.

Now where are the weapons going to be used? The British strategists specifically exclude Europe—Western Europe with its "dense population in such small and crowded territories"—from the use of atomic weapons. The USA is similarly extended by the 1000-mile range limit inasmuch as no point in the USA is within 1,000 miles from any point of the Soviet Union which alone is likely to use atomic weapons against that country. There would, however, be little difficulty in bombing the USSR with atomic weapons from any of the numerous Western military bases girdling the country. But the USSR possesses the power of equivalent retaliation. So that the only region offering ideal ground for using atomic weapons is Asia. And the strategists do not seek to hide this fact.

"If our forces," they say, "are being equipped with tactical atomic weapons—as they seem to be—the most likely place in which these weapons would, in fact, be used if the Communists attack are Asia and the Middle East."

Joint Electorate in Pakistan

The Pakistan National Assembly by a vote on April 24 passed an official resolution providing for a common electorate for all religionists in Pakistan. About six months ago the Assembly in its Dacca session had approved the measure for Eastern Pakistan; the present decision extends the measure to the whole of Pakistan.

An opposition amendment moved by the Christian minority member Mr. C. E. Gibbon was earlier lost, 14 for the amendment and 24 against it. A Hindu member Shri S. Kripalani abstained.

Replying to the debate the Finance Minister, Amjad Ali, appealed to the members not to rouse religious passions on the electorate issue. Mian Iftikaruddin (Independent) asked Muslim Leaguers (who were the champions of separate electorate both in undivided India and in Pakistan as well) not for the creation of 'Hindus in Pakistan, having succeeded in attain-

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Pakistan out of Hindustan by insisting on separate electorate.

When the first electorate bill was passed in Dacca in 1956 both the Muslim League and the Republican Party of West Pakistan were opposed to joint electorate. Whatever the reasons, a section of the Republican Party has now thought it fit not to oppose the extension of joint electorate to West Pakistan. The Act signifies a victory for the progressive forces for Pakistan though Suhrawardy's intentions for bringing up this measure seem partly to distract attention from East Pakistan's demand for autonomy. However, the passing of the electoral Act is another blow at the nefarious two-nation theory of Muslim League and would be welcomed by all well-wishers of Pakistan on this side of the border.

Colour Bar in Britain

The existence of colour bar in Britain and the British dominions was the subject of a book by Anthony H. Richmond of the University of Edinburgh. This admirably balanced and thoroughly documented book was published in 1955 in the Penguin series. One should have hoped that after such a scientific presentation of the "colour problem" in Britain would lead the authorities to take some steps in the direction of improving relations with the "coloured" people. Nothing significant seems, however, to have been done.

The continuation of colour bar even in high institutions in London was highlighted by the recent resignation of Lord Altrincham from the Victoria League—an institution founded to foster friendship between the peoples of the Commonwealth and the Empire and enjoying royal patronage . . .

Lord Altrincham succeeded to his father's title in 1955 but refused to take his seat in the House of Lords on the ground that it was wrong to do so merely by inheriting a title. Editor of the Tory magazine, *National and English Review*, he also opposed the Suez war.

In his letter of resignation addressed to Admiral Sir Cecil Harcourt, Chairman of the Victoria League, Lord Altrincham complained of colour bar in the students' hostel run by the League. "I have been clinging to the hope," he wrote, "that you would turn the existing establishment into a proper hostel for students from every part of the Commonwealth without distinction of colour; or that you would raise money for establishing such a hostel, and that meantime you would withdraw your name and support from what is an insult for all that the League stands for. Nothing, however, has been done.

"India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Ghana are full members of the Commonwealth, yet coloured students are not admitted to a hostel run by a League whose purpose is to promote friendship and Commonwealth unity. And one of the reasons you have given me for maintaining this iniquitous state of affairs is that you do not wish to alienate the South Africans. Instead of being true to our principles and setting an example to our compatriots (whose attitude towards coloured people in this country is not still all that it should be) we are allowing ourselves to be influenced by a nation whose theory and practice of race relations is condemned by liberal opinion throughout the world and by nearly every Christian community."

Lord Altrincham added that the state of affairs was all the more regrettable as the Queen and the mother Queen were patrons of the League. "It is unfair and inappropriate," remarked Lord Altrincham, "that the Royal family who sympathises the Commonwealth ideal if human brotherhood and equal partnership should be associated—even nominally and unintentionally—with a hostel based on the principle of apartheid."

How did the Chairman of the League react to this damaging indictment by one of the leading Conservatives? The Chairman, Sir Cecil Harcourt, justified the existing practice of excluding coloured students from the hostel by referring to lack of accommodation. He explained further that no "coloured Commonwealth country" donated to the League, so they had to give preference to students from "white dominions."

Lord Altrincham's public denunciation has served to focus public attention on the problem of colour and though the authorities of the hostel refused to budge an inch from their obstinate position, even people from unexpected quarters came forward to denounce the practice in the hostel.

A group of students from South Africa and Rhodesia who were occupying the hostel, in a

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letter to the *Times*, London, expressed their disagreement with the stand taken by the hostel authorities with regard to the coloured students.

"No special difficulties," they say, "are involved. These premises are, indeed, generally fully occupied, but the signatories believe that coloured people from the Commonwealth should be allowed to take their place in the queue along with the rest of us."

Reporting this episode, *Bombay Chronicle's* London correspondent, Shri P. T. Chandra, adds that Lord Altrincham was determined to carry on his campaign till the League stopped its colour bar.

The New Cabinet

With the publication of the names of the new members of the Lok Sabha in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary* on April 5, the 2nd Lok Sabha came into being. The final party position (six seats are yet to be filled) is: Congress 36, Communist 27, Praja-Socialist 19, Jan Sangh 4, People's Democratic Front (Andhra) 2, Scheduled Caste Federation (Bombay and Mysore) 6, Independents 42, other parties 23; nominated 3. Total 491.

On April 17 the new Central Cabinet was announced. There was no surprise in the third Cabinet headed by Pandit Nehru. Except Shri A. C. Guha almost all the members of the last ministry who were re-elected were included in the new ministry also. Two ministers—Shri Ashoke Sen and Prof. Humayun Kabir—have been taken from West Bengal but there is no one in the Cabinet from West Bengal. Shri Krishna Menon has been allotted the Defence portfolio. Shri S. K. Patil is the only addition to the Cabinet.

The *Economic Weekly* refers to the absence of any significant addition in the new Ministry and remarks, "It is in the rank of the Deputy Ministers, however, that one has to seek the clue, if any, to Pandit Nehru's principle of selection, the result of his search for new talent and his success in infusing fresh blood. On all three counts, progress has been dead slow. The otherwise dynamic Prime Minister seems to believe in maturing slowly and leaving the deputies to stew, preferring the electorate to do the pruning. Promotions from the ranks of the deputies have been so few that one cannot help questioning the wisdom of the initial choice."

Commenting upon the latest ministerial reorganisation at the Centre, the *Economic Weekly* writes: "Ministers may not change, even the changes of portfolios may be few, but ministries change with bewildering rapidity and along with the list of the new Ministers has been issued a press communique announcing the organisation of ministries and fresh allocation of the business of the ministries in striking contrast to the 'No Change' Cabinet. Many of these changes were necessary and necessary because the earlier changes, not so long ago, were uncalled for and entirely irrational. In this respect, the metaphor of musical chairs has to be modified. The Ministerial changes give the impression of an unstable equilibrium. Equilibrium is maintained all right, but it calls for constant readjustments whenever important Ministers change or are forced to change their portfolios. The departure of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari from the Commerce Ministry a little while ago, for example, led to a wholesale change in this important ministry and the dislocation then caused has only now been repaired. Again, to put the Finance Minister in charge of a spending Ministry like that of Iron and Steel, even as a stop-gap arrangement was so absurd that it had to be ended some day, and this has now been done. In the process the Production Ministry has vanished altogether, though not the Minister-in-charge who has now been given a different portfolio."

India and the West

It is slowly dawning on the trained observers of the U.S. press that there is some danger in the continuous harrying of India by the war-mongers and bloc protagonists in U.S.A. The following extract from C. L. Sulzberger's report to the *New York Times* of April 3 is an indication:

Even those in Washington most angered by Nehru's tendency to lecture us while exercising Communist transgressions and his own violation of principles he preaches admit that the West has an immense stake in Indian democracy's success. For India is the only *massive* Asian nation that remains non-Communist.

A curious competitive coexistence exists between New Delhi and Peiping. The Russians, recognizing the importance of this con-

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test, are pouring vast material, technical and financial aid into China. We, likewise, are investing a considerable amount in efforts to help Nehru's democratic revolution—much as we tend to dislike his personality.

If, during the coming generation, India can succeed in modernizing its antiquated plant, educating its illiterate masses and becoming self-sufficient, the cause of freedom will have achieved a triumph. Ultimate repercussions in other Asian nations, even iron-bound China, might be boundless.

However, the chances of Indian success in this competition with China are being hampered by an arms race with Pakistan. Part of India's budget is supported by our economic generosity. But another part is drained off by New Delhi's determination not to lag behind Karachi military. Pakistan's material comes from us.

American policy of arming Pakistan tends indirectly to weaken disastrously the Indian economy. It has also provoked another neighboring land, Afghanistan, to make an unhealthy weapon deal with the U.S.S.R. on the assumption such equipment is required because of a frontier argument with the Pakistanis.

Therefore, by our policy, we encourage indirectly a sterile military spending race. None of the South Asian countries can afford this. And India's new Five-Year Plan—upon which we ultimately base such hopes—is going down the drain.

This situation allows Moscow two political choices. The Russians have already offered India a $125,000,000 credit. They may suggest still larger amounts in an effort to gain controlling leverage on India's economy. Or they may withdraw proposed help in the hope of stimulating collapse and possible disintegration of Asia's largest democratic nation.

By our well-intended policy of arming Pakistan we are unwittingly helping to sabotage India's social revolution—upon which we bet so heavily. Clearly the time has come to think this through more carefully.

It would be short-sighted folly if, for the sake of strengthening one ally's limited fighting potential, we helped destroy Asia's most important non-Communist revolution—and, by so doing, lost Asia itself.

A Victim of Calumny

"Cairo, April 4.—Mr. Herbert Norman, the Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, plunged to his death from a seventh floor window of the Swedish Embassy.

"A Canadian Embassy statement said he 'apparently took his own life' in a state of depression over American allegations last month that he was a Communist.

"Mr. Norman's body struck a Swedish Embassy car parked outside the building from which he fell.

"An Egyptian police officer said Mr. Norman committed suicide by jumping from the attic of the home of the Swedish Minister, Mr. Carl Eng.

"Mr. Norman entered the apartment of the Minister, who was away at the time, and wrote two letters—one to his wife and the other to Mr. Eng.

"The letter to his wife said: 'I have no hope for life.'

"In the letter to the Minister, he apologized to Mr. Eng for using his building to take his life.

"Police guarding the body said Mr. Norman had told his driver to park his car outside the Embassy while he took a walk. He then entered the Swedish building, took the lift from the seventh floor and jumped from a window.

"The Canadian Embassy communique said: 'The Canadian Ambassador had always been an extremely conscientious public servant and recent unpleasant publicity and accusations had greatly distressed him.'

"Mr. Norman was 48 years old and was appointed to Egypt in August, 1956. He is survived by Mrs. Norman.

"The Canadian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Pearson, said in Ottawa, on March 15, that Canada would make a 'strong protest' to the U.S.A. over a report released by a U.S. Senate committee which contained 'slanders and unsupported insinuations' against Mr. Norman.

"Mr. Pearson told the House of Commons that a 1951 Canadian security check of Mr. Norman gave him a clean bill on accusations that he was a Communist.

"The following day the U.S. State Department in Washington repudiated the Senate subcommittee allegations against Mr. Norman.

"Mr. Pearson said in Ottawa today that Mr.

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Norman died as a result of nervous collapse brought on by overwork, overstrain, and 'a feeling of renewed persecution.'

"Mr. Pearson said, Mr. Norman was deeply and understandably depressed by 'the resurrection by one or two persons in Washington of certain old charges affecting his loyalty and which were disposed of years ago.

" 'The reacon for these renewed attacks may be obscure but the tactics used degrade only those who adopted them'."

Public Relations

Of late Pandit Nehru appears to be much concerned with the Congress reverses in the last general election. His diagnosis is that the main cause of such reverses is the progressive deterioration in the relationship between the Congress and the public. He naturally stresses the importance of reviving the public relations by all means. He rightly realises that in a democracy it is the concern of the people that counts ultimately in the administrative machinery of the country. But the trends in the last general election have deeper causes which are rooted among the Congressmen as well as in the general administrative set up of the country. The administrative machinery is not up to the mark and it is much too obvious. Corruption and dishonesty rule the administration that today rules the country. The Party in power has failed to root out the corruption and dishonesty among the Government departments and naturally the Congress party stands to blame. Mere pious wish is not enough unless it is backed by a strong determination and ruthless action.

The Ministers are supposed to be the mentors of public opinion and on them devolves the duty and responsibility of carrying the public and their opinion with them. But barring a few, most of the Ministers today are averse to face the public because they themselves directly or indirectly encourage dishonesty and nepotism. This inferiority complex is pushing the Congress farther and farther away from the people and the country. They are viewed more as alien to the sentiments and interests of the country. The Congress Party today requires a thorough overhaul and the old guards who were once leaders in the struggle for independence of the country could not maintain the same degree of integrity of character. The fight for independence is quite different from the administration which is replete with many pitfalls allurements in every stage of administrative machinery. The result is that the body politic today is rotten. Of course, the opposition parties are no better and the people today stand between Scylla and Charybdis and they have chosen the lesser evil not because of the fondness for the party but because of the fondness for a stable administration in the country, which the Congress can offer.

Another cause is that most of the erstwhile leaders of the Congress Party are now engaged in the shameful struggle for official loaves and fishes. The ideal that once kindled in them a sense of sacrifice and service is today lost in the lucrative sinecures of positions in the Government. They have turned their face from real service to the country to secure positions in the Government. The result is that there is none today in the ruling Party, except ing Pandit Nehru and a few others, who would feel the urge to maintain any public relations. They are so much concerned with official sinecures that they find neither time nor interest in pursuing the task of maintaining public relations. Most of them today are bereft of the sense of courtesy which costs little but gains much. Being puffed up with their official positions they have come to forget that they are ultimately the servants of the people and that the goodwill of the people that will return them to power in the next general election. The general grievance of the people is that once the election is over, the Congress seems to forget the people and they never come to the people nor maintain any contact within the course of the five years unless and until the next general election arrives again. Pandit Nehru advises the Congressmen to regard themselves as the servants of the people; but they just think the opposite and they regard themselves as the lords of the people and the country. It is a common weakness of democracy that it tends towards bureaucracy and officialdom. Notwithstanding all its merits, democracy, particularly in a country like India, has come to mean government by the mediocre people who have failed to rise up to the occasion in rebuilding the country and the nation. When again become administrators, bureaucracy rules

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nation and permanent services stand for representative government.

The most glaring cause of this degeneration of the Party that once stood for what was India is the bad selection of personnel in Government positions in the post-independent era. Many of those who were opportunists in the British regime came to prominence overnight in independent India and today they control some of the key positions in the administrative set-up of the country. The result is that such people have not the courage to face the people and so public relation for them is a dead thing. In West Bengal, there are some in the Ministry today who have not the guts to face the public at all because of their misdeeds in the past. The Congress is slowly, though perceptibly, dying in West Bengal and for that the leaders of the Party are responsible for their narrow and reactionary outlook in elevating such persons to the ministerial *gaddi*. Such artificially propped-up persons are more a liability than an asset to the ruling Party. But strange it is that the leaders either cannot sense the public opinion or deliberately ignore it. The West Bengal Ministry today consists of some members who not only took no part in the country's struggle for independence, but, on the contrary, their leanings were definitely against such struggle. But now they occupy important positions in the Government. How can these people be expected to maintain public relations when they are compelled to abhor the people who all along resent their inclusion in the Ministry.

Another thing that should not be lost sight of in this connection is that the Congress Government behaved itself in certain petty matters in such a way that they alienated themselves from the goodwill of the people and indirectly strengthened the opposition parties. As for example, the folly of the Congress Government in the all-India bank dispute in refusing to accept the verdict of the Tribunal cost itself the Nadia seat to Parliament. In other words, in some cases the Government were so very unimaginative that by their blunders they made a gift of seats to the opposition parties. Intransigence on the part of the party in power in a democracy makes it unpopular. So mere preaching will not cure the Congress of its present malady. The Prime Minister instead of thinking so much over the fate of foreign affairs and making himself progressively unpopular among the foreign Powers, should devote a little more of his time towards Indian problems and that is the surest way to revitalize the Congress Party and the Government as well.

Hereunder we attach the recent statements made by Pandit Nehru and Dr. B. C. Roy on the question of "public contact":

"April 28.—The great importance of 'public contact and public approach' in a Democratic Government has been stressed by Prime Minister Sri Nehru in a recent letter to all his colleagues in the Government.

"The letter, which is believed to be the Prime Minister's first communication to his colleagues after assumption of office by the new Cabinet gives an idea of his grave concern at the decline in the popularity of the Congress.

"In the letter which is a critique on the public behaviour of persons holding high offices, like Governors and Ministers, the Prime Minister has warned against pomp and show and the tendency to continue certain practices which might have been suitable to British time but are not appropriate now.

"Expressing concern at some developments that have taken place in the course of the last few years the Prime Minister has pointed out in the letter that Ministers, both at the Centre and in the States, have gradually drifted in a certain direction which takes them away from the public, both practically and psychologically. In a democratic Government the factor of public contact and public approach is of great importance and any barrier that comes in the way is very harmful.

"To some extent, it is inevitable that Ministers who are heavily occupied with their work, have necessarily not much time or opportunity for public contacts. Yet some measure of contact should be maintained so as to prevent a feeling of isolation and separateness which tends to grow up among people who function exclusively in offices. 'I do not mean to imply that our Ministers have isolated themselves but there is such a tendency and I would like this to be realised and checked,' the Prime Minister adds.

"Security arrangement, flying of flags on cars, travelling in saloons and appointment of 'red-coated' *chaprasis* are some of the practices

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which have been severely criticised by the Prime Minister in the letter. There are trivial instances, but often it is the trivial instance, he says, that leaves an abiding impression on the mind of the public and gradually creates a wrong psychology. 'The main thing is that we should, while naturally preserving a certain dignity and decorum, avoid any show that attracts attention.'

"'I would suggest that even Governors should consider this matter and reduce some of the pomps and ceremonies that is a part of their high office. I realise that there must be dignity and ceremonial about the Head of the State'."

"Darjeeling, April 28.—Addressing the first meeting of the West Bengal Council of Ministers held at Raj Bhavan here today the Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy is understood to have emphasised the need for the Ministers maintaining a close contact with the people personally.

"Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, who presided over the meeting, drew their attention to the difficult task before them. He, it is learnt, urged the Ministers to personally go into every bit of details concerning any particular problem irrespective of what might have been the views of officials.

"The meeting was held after Sri Siddhartha Sankar Roy, Judicial Minister-designate, had taken the oath of office and of secrecy at a simple function held at Raj Bhavan. Dr. Roy, it is understood, expressed his keen desire to bring about a change in the relationship between employers and employees which at the moment appeared to be somewhat disturbed. According to talks in political circle Dr. Roy seemed to be very keen in reorientating the present labour policy of the Government in the State if that was necessary in the interest of labour-management relationship. After the meeting Dr. B. C. Roy met some of the Ministers under the shade of a big tree just outside Raj Bhavan and discussed with them some specific questions. During this discussion too he is reported to have emphasised on the Ministers maintaining a personal contact with the people for ascertaining their needs and grievances."

Investigation Scandal

A number of Calcutta Corporation officials and several councillors were recently arrested by the police over what has become infamous as "Tubewell Scandal." Sometime ago it had been reported, with subsequent confirmation, that one or two contractors in league with a group of Corporation officials and councillors had used old tubewell pipes recovered from derelict tube-wells in the installation of new tubewells and had fraudulently charged the Corporation for new pipes. The arrested councillors include one from the Communist Party and another from the Praja Socialist Party.

Referring to an aspect of the investigation work in connection with this case, a correspondent writes in the Calcutta weekly *Vigil* of April 27:

"Investigation Scandal" appears to be more appropriate a name than what is known as the Calcutta Corporation "Tubewell Scandal." The Chief Secretary of the Government of West Bengal received the complaint in July, 1956, last and the police investigation was taken up in August, 1956, under the authority of a high ranking police officer. What happened in course of these last eight months nobody could know and the matter appeared to be dropped or hushed up. The value of time in a criminal procedure was also strongly ignored in the present case. Rewarding undeserving officials at the cost of promising men of character undermines the morale of the Administration and public cause suffers. In spite of some good work to the credit of our police administration scandals are not scarce in their own house. For example, about a year back it was learnt that by systematic submission of false pay bills in the name of persons who did not exist, more than a sum of Rs. 50,000 was drawn by Lalbazar Police Headquarters from the Government Treasury. As usual, investigation was taken up and what has happened up till now nobody knows. Were these false pay rolls signed by the Assistant Commissioner? Is the Deputy Commissioner of Lalbazar Headquarters, the appropriate officer to pass pay bills? These are very simple questions which automatically come to the mind. But, above all, what has become the fate of the investigation? To return to the story of the tubewell scandal. However, efficiently the latest phase of the enquiry has been carried out, presumably by a new set up, people suspect that the investigation work has long been being strung by political wire-pulling. Is it true

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Doctors' Strike in Calcutta Medical College

The members of the medical staff at the Calcutta Medical College and Hospitals went on a two-day strike as a protest against the alleged misconduct of the Secretary of the College. The gist of the matter as far as it could be ascertained from the reports appearing in the press, the doctors had a long-time grievance against the Secretary who was a non-medical retired army man but with pre-eminent integrity of character. For some reason or other the members of the medical staff fell foul with him from the outset. The doctors particularly resented the Secretary's calling in the police to investigate charges of corruption among the staff in the hospital. The immediate reason for the drastic action taken by the doctors was the alleged rude behaviour of the Secretary to one of the doctors. A preliminary enquiry by the Superintendent (who is also Principal of the College) found the Secretary guilty on that count and the Secretary was asked to apologise which the latter refused to comply with. Then followed the strike by the doctors.

After two days—during which the patients in their critical conditions were left to the mercy of fate—the strike was called off on the personal intervention of the Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy and the Secretary, who still refused to budge, was removed. A few days later on a three-man enquiry committee was announced to investigate into the affairs of the Medical College. The members are Dr. Sarkar, Principal and Superintendent of the Medical College and Hospitals, Chairman, Dr. R. N. Chaudhuri, Director, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, and an Assistant Secretary of the State Ministry of Health, members.

This episode touches off a number of points which require to be cleared in public interest. First, the grave charges made in the press that the police were not allowed to investigate fully the charges against top-ranking doctors of the College must be answered fully. Is it again a fact that even on preliminary investigation gross irregularities were disclosed in the administration of the hospital? If so why no action had so far been taken? Is it also a fact that a number of doctors in the hospital had formed a ring against the Secretary, now deposed, because of his stern handling of corruption? Why again could the Government not intervene before the strike?

The doctors of the Medical College by resorting to an all-out strike to remedy an individual grievance took an unprecedented step out of all proportion to the evil designed to be removed. A hospital is not a workshop. Even in a workshop workers do not resort to strike for such flimsy reasons. If the doctors were genuinely dissatisfied with the Secretary's conduct they had many other means of registering their protest. They did nothing of the sort but resorted to the drastic step of an all-out strike callously disregarding the interest of the patients and the public in whose interest they supposedly work. Degeneration of trade unionism can hardly go any further. Of course, as in many other cases, in this case also the doctors are not solely to blame. When an enquiry was made about the Secretary's rudeness in all fairness the recommendations of the enquiry should have been implemented without delay. After all no man has any right to be rude to another. Characteristically enough, the Government moved in, but only after the situation had degenerated beyond control.

Kerala

The way the Communist Government of Kerala celebrated their victory, is typical. We subjoin below commentary and answer by Congress and Communist:

"Ernakulam, April 7.—The Congress General Secretary, Mr. Shriman Narayan, said here today : 'It is astounding that one of the very first acts of the new Government in Kerala is to commute the death sentences of confirmed murderers and the release of so-called political prisoners who were not under detention but were prosecuted and punished for serious acts of arson, violence and murder.'

" 'This,' he said, 'is not the way in which the Communists should begin to function under a constitutional democracy. I do hope the new Government will not go on repeating such performances day after day,' he added.

"Mr. Narayan was surprised that although the Communist Ministers intended to take a lesser salary, they had announced an 11-member Cabinet and had taken out two out of the five Independents who had joined their party.

"Mr. Narayan said : 'If they (Communists)

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utilize the Government machinery and power for bringing about totalitarian conditions in Kerala, the people of the State as well as the Union Government will have to take serious notice of the whole situation.'

"The Congress General Secretary said, the functioning of the Communist Government in Kerala would be watched with interest because it was the first experiment of working out the Communist policy and programme under a democratic set-up. Since they (Communists) had already declared they would function under the existing constitutional framework, they would be judged not merely by their professions but by their practice.

"Mr. Narayan expressed his regret at the policy statement of the new Communist Government in Kerala last Friday, which had stated that the present policy, of the Union Government would have to be modified to enable the State to augment its revenue from taxation.

"Mr. Narayan said they were fully aware of the 'tactical' line of the Communists. 'Merely trying to sponsor dramatic and theatrical measures and then blaming the Constitution or the Union Government will not be helpful,' he declared.

"Mr. Narayan who was addressing the members of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee said that while the Congress did not desire to hinder, in any way the enactment of progressive measures including land reforms by the new Government, he was confident that the people would not be led away by mere political propaganda of the Communist Government in Kerala.

"Mr. Shriman Narayan said in Calicut yesterday that it was no use trying to find fault with the electorate of Kerala for the Congress reverses in the State. 'We have deep faith in their robust commonsense and patriotism. We have to remove our own shortcomings and serve the people with great devotion'."

"Bombay, April 8.—Mr. A. K. Gopalan, the Communist leader, in a speech at a meeting here today referred in detail to the Congress General Secretary, Mr. Shriman Narayan's charges against the Kerala Government.

"Mr. Gopalan said that the Congress General Secretary had criticized in strong terms the commuting of death sentences on people, who had been, according to him (Mr. Narayan), prosecuted and sentenced for serious acts arson and violence and murder.

"Mr. Gopalan said that the Communists would not condone any killings. These people he continued had been spared the gallows but other punishment.

"'Let us have change of heart and try reform those who might be accused of violence and other things.' Besides, he said, had any similar 'political offences' been committed by men like Bhagat Singh? Were they murderers? asked.

"Mr. Gopalan said that the speech of Mr. Narayan displayed 'hatred, envy and jealousy' the Communist Party. In spite of this, he add the Communist Party sought the help, guidance and 'friendly criticism' in its efforts for the betterment of the people of Kerala and rest India.

"Mr. Gopalan said that the Communist Par would seek to amend the Constitution if, there the progress and development of Kerala, or in other part of the country, would be facilitated.

"Mr. Gopalan asked if the progress of people of Kerala or of other parts of the cou was desired, and if anything impeded progress ought not such obstacles be removed the interests of the people and their progress

"The Congress, Mr. Gopalan said, amended the Constitution many times on plea to facilitate progress.

"The Communist Government, he said, endeavour to put into execution policies had the backing of the people and if attempts were made to scuttle them, then the people themselves will demand change of attitude policy on the part of those who sought to their implementation.'

"Mr. Gopalan said that there was scope change in taxation policy in Kerala. The tax policy could be adjusted to suit the poorer more than it did now. The party's representation on many local bodies in the State had 'fully' worked out plans to make the burden local taxation bearable to the poorer classes at the same time secure greater resources for development work. Similar measures he said, could be devised to ensure industrialization and proper tapping of natural resources of the State."

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THE ECOLOGY OF BANGALORE, INDIA

An East-West Comparison

By NOEL P. GIST,
University of Missouri, U.S.A.

[The following paper was read at the first session of the Fifth Annual Conference on Asian Affairs held at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, on October 12-13, 1956, under the chairmanship of the present writer. Professor Gist's description of the ecology of Bangalore is interesting in that Bangalore's ecological pattern differs markedly from that of the cities in the Western world, especially in America. Here in the USA, the central zone is the business zone, surrounded by the area of transition including slums and sub-standard houses. The zone farthest away from the center in American cities is the residential section for well-to-do people. Indeed, the farther away he is from the center of the city, the higher is the status of the suburbanite on the socio-economic scale. In Bangalore, we do not find such a pattern. This may or may not mean anything significant, but it is an interesting contrast.

Next, Professor Gist's conclusions regarding Bangalore, I suspect, would not be applicable to cities such as Bombay and Calcutta, where suburbanites do correspond in status to the suburbanites of America. —Dr. Haridas T. Mazumdar, Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa]

Ecological research in American cities has revealed rather striking uniformities of ecological patterning, sufficient at least for certain tentative theories concerning urban ecology. It would be a fallacy, however, to assume that these theories are necessarily applicable to societies that differ strikingly from the United States in history, stage of technological development, socio-economic organization, and cultural interests.

Observations made in a few Latin American cities, for example, reveal ecological patterns quite different from those characteristics of many American cities.[1] The classical urban pattern in these cities may be summarized as follows: high-status and high-income residents live near a central plaza, which is the social and institutional heart of the community; low-status and low-income residents locate near the periphery; economic establishments tend to be dispersed throughout the city, rather than highly centralized; and suburban growth from residential decentralization is limited.

1. See Theodore Caplow, "The Social Ecology of Guatemala City'," *Social Forces*, 28 (December, 1919), pp. 113-33.

Ecological segregation in one form or another appears to be almost universal, but the particular form in which such segregation occurs is highly variable, and changes in segregative patterns are affected by broad ideological, political, economic and technological changes. Probably all communities approaching urban status also manifest some form of centralization of institutional functions. Such centralization usually reflects developments in communication, transportation, and economic organization, especially the growth of large bureaucratic structure. But it should not be assumed that Western forms of centralization have necessarily occurred in technologically and economic underdeveloped countries.

Bangalore, Its History and Growth

With these observations in mind we shall examine the ecological structure of Bangalore, the capital city of Mysore State, South India. As the largest metropolis in Mysore State and the seventh largest city in India, Bangalore has well over three-fourths of a million inhabitants. In recent years its growth has been rapid; during the 1941-51 decade the population almost doubled. Industrialization is proceeding at a rapid pace, and mechanized mass transportation is replacing some of the older forms.

From 1809 to the late 1940's the city was divided into two separate administrative units: Bangalore City on the west side, which was independently administered, and the Civil and Military Station (Cantonment), under British jurisdiction. With the merger of the two divisions after India's independence, the larger municipality assumed integrated administrative functions as the Bangalore Municipal Corporation.

Until the second decade of the present century the growth of Bangalore municipality was comparatively slow, and the number of inhabitants was less than the number in the Cantonment. By 1921, however, the two administrative divisions were about equal in size (118,000 each). Thereafter the Municipality outdistanced the Cantonment in population

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growth. In the 1941 census the Muicipality had a population of a quarter of a million compared with about 160,000 for the Cantonment. There is no doubt that the spatial arrangement of institutions and people were greatly influenced by this dual administrative organization and the presence of British military and civil personnel.

Since the terrain upon which Bangalore is located is comparatively level, without any sharp topographic contrasts to seriously limit or restrict the character of land usage, the ecological structure must, therefore, be interpreted mainly in terms of *social* factors that have operated to give the city its distinctive patterning. These factors have never functioned in a competitively *laissez faire* environment; in recent times, at least, planning procedures have been systematically applied with the result that the city's ecology has been considerably affected. Large parks in the central part of the city, mainly in the Cantonment, are patently products of municipal planning.

But the scope and degree of planning have, nevertheless, been limited. Certainly there is no rigidly planned economy, nor have tight restrictions been imposed specifying the location of economic establishments. Presumably most establishments related directly to the economy have been relatively free to compete for favorable sites and to locate without much interference from the government.

The rapid growth of Bangalore in recent decades has had the effect of increasing the overall density of population, especially in the old Municipality. In 1941, before the merger, the Municipality had nearly 19,000 persons per square mile as compared with a density of about 12,000 persons in the Cantonment. Between 1901 and 1941, the metropolitan area increased by 35 per cent (from 9.8 to 13.2 square miles), but the population increased by 258 per cent and the density by 164 per cent. This rapid growth of population without a corresponding increase in occupied area has greatly accentuated the piling up of people in the metropolis. Actual increase in density has been considerable for all sections, but the range in density for different areas has been even more impressive. In 1941, the most sparsely settled section (which included a fashionable residential center and the palace grounds) was 6,485 persons per square mile, but in the most densely settled area the corresponding density figure was 135,310, or twenty times as great.

The Ecology of Business

Bangalore has a major retail and wholesale district, near the largest municipal market (Central Market), in the old Municipality, but the area has limited resemblance to the central business district of an American city. Central Market itself is a commercial nucleus, a center of buying and selling, mainly of articles for household or personal consumption. Within the vicinity of the Market are streets lined with shops specializing in such merchandise as silk, cotton, and leather goods; silverware, hardware, and musical instruments; drugs, jewelry, and household furnishings; supplies, books, and hemp products. In the district are also numerous small boarding and lodging hotels, pawnbrokers' establishments, lawyers' offices, and offices of various merchants' associations. Shops carrying the same type of merchandise tend to cluster together, creating small districts or sectors more or less specialized in character. One may find, for example, clusters of shops dealing with silverware or brassware, or other clusters of shops selling bicycles or drugs.

This district is by no means limited exclusively to retail merchandising. As in American cities, wholesale establishments are located conveniently near the retailers. Some of the retail and wholesale merchants receive certain kinds of merchandise directly from small-scale manufacturing enterprises located in the same area. On side streets, for instance, are weaving and ribbon manufacturers who supply near-by retail shops with finished articles. Certain merchants, notably dealers in indigenous drugs and silverware, perform dual functions of manufacturer and distributor, fabricating and selling commodities in the same building.

A wholesale distict is located about one-fourth mile to the west of Central Market, along a major arterial thoroughfare and not far from the south-western boundary of the city. Wholesaling activity here is confined mainly to agricultural products such as grain, vegetables, ginger, garlic, and fruits, which are piled on the sides of streets or under shelters, to be dispersed of to retailers. Even in this area open-air retail vendors operate sidewalk businesses along with the wholesalers. Hence, there is no clear

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areal differentiation based on the nature of economic functions.

Nearly a mile north of Central Market, beyond the perimeter of the shopping district, is a "big business" street (Kempe Gowda Road) on which are concentrated banking and insurance firms, films, film distributing companies, offices of out-of-town newspaper correspondents, a large transportation firm, and the Bangalore Chamber of Commerce. Within a distance of about two or three blocks on this street are seven large motion picture houses, the largest concentration of theaters in the city.

About a half mile south of Central Market, and likewise beyond the major shopping district, is another area devoted mainly to banking and the financing and management of co-operatives. In this district there is a variety of co-operative institutions, including several co-operative banks, a land mortgage bank, a grain merchant's co-operative society, a house-building society, and government departments dealing with various co-operative enterprises.

Some two miles north-east of Central Market, in the Cantonment, are two important business areas. One of these, strung along the south side of Mahatma Gandhi Road for a distance of three or four blocks, and including portions of two intersecting streets, specializes mainly in luxury goods and services. Here are offices of airlines, movie theaters, photographers' establishments, expensive jewelry stores, a department store, a large artcraft shop, book stores, radio and automobile sales houses, apparel shops, and pharmacies.

The other area, a few blocks north of Gandhi Road, is adjacent to Russell Market, which is similar to, but smaller than, Central Market. The main shopping avenue in this area is Commercial Street, three blocks long, where almost everything, ranging from luxury items to household necessities, may be purchased. Many of the shops in this district are operated by Muslims, for the district itself is next to the principal Muslim residential section.

Ecological theory based on American studies has emphasized the importance of large-scale organizations, particularly business and industrial chains, in the centralization of functions in the central business district. Large corporate enterprises are commonly "headquartered" in the American central business zone, although operations may be widely scattered. Furthermore, the department store has been an important feature of the central business district of the large or medium-sized city in the United States.

Most business in Bangalore is conducted in small shops. The chain-store type of merchandising organisation has never developed to any extent, although a few enterprises, such as, a small department store, a book store, and several banks, are links in regional chains of fairly small dimensions. Perhaps, the nearest approach to the department store carrying products for mass consumption is the municipal market, dealing mainly in fruits, vegetables, flowers, hardware, inexpensive clothing, baskets, and the like. But in the market place the stalls are privately managed. The nature of business is, therefore, not such as to foster the growth of complex bureaucracies so characteristic of the American metropolis. Hence, the centralized office building housing an army of bureaucratic functionaries, including clerical staffs to do paper work, is almost non-existent.

The distribution of banking and insurance in Bangalore differs considerably from the prevailing patterns in large American cities. In this country banking and insurance tend to be rather highly centralized. There is decentralization, to be sure, but outlying banking institutions are commonly branch banks whose parent establishments are in the central business area. This also is the prevailing pattern for insurance, although there seems to be a trend toward decentralization.

In Bangalore, there are four principal clusters of large banks, with a few banking houses located somewhat apart from these clusters. None of these major banks is in the heart of the major business district, although there are numerous small-scale money-lending establishments in the area. One cluster of major banks is about a half mile north of Central Market; another about a mile south of the Market; a third in the Gandhi Road shopping area; and a fourth in the retail district near Russell Market. The Imperial Bank of India, for example, is located two or three blocks south of Gandhi Road, in a spacious setting on the edge of an attractive residential district. Another, a comparatively small bank, British-owned, is located on the second floor of a building opposite the

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municipal offices, about a mile east of Central Market.

The distribution of hotels likewise represents a departure from the highly centralized pattern characteristic of American cities. There are numerous small hotels in the major business district and near the central railroad station, but the luxury hotels are some distance from concentrations of business or transportation facilities. For these hotels spacious and attractive surroundings appear to be more important considerations than proximity to business activities. No doubt attractiveness of location is important because many hotel residents are permanent or semi-permanent guests rather than transients. The West End Hotel, Bangalore's well-known hostelry, is located at least a mile and a half from Central Market, and almost as far from the railway station, in a spacious semi-rural setting. The British apparently liked it this way.

The foregoing observations concerning the ecological patterning of business enterprises point up two facts relating to inter-cultural comparisons: First, ecological centralization of business is much more marked in the average American city than in Bangalore. Second, commercial areas of comparable size in an American city tend to be strikingly similar in their institutional characteristics, whereas each of the areas in Bangalore, described here briefly, is more or less specialized and therefore somewhat distinctive. This distinctiveness, born of specialization, is in part the result of Bangalore's political and military history. But the distinctiveness of business areas also reflects the differential buying power and cultural interests of the population. For example, British personnel resided mainly in the Cantonment, and the luxury goods enterprises in this area, especially those on Gandhi Road, were largely maintained by them.

The Ecology of Industry

Although Bangalore is in the emergent stage of large-scale industrialization, much of the industrial output is still from small, independent industries, many of the cottage type. The smaller industries are widely scattered, mainly over the western part of the city, some of them near the railroad yards. As noted earlier, within the major business district, or in its vicinity, considerable manufacturing is carried on as an adjunct to the wholasale and retail establishments in the area. Indeed, manufacturing and selling is sometimes combined under one roof. A number of machine shops, including those with lathes and grinding equipment, have sprung up in the vicinity of Binny Mills, a large British-owned textile factory employing some seven thousand workers and located a short distance west of the principal business district. In this area also are builders and repairers of bullock-carts and wheels, transportation vehicles used by wholesale dealers who are located close by. About a mile southeast of Central Market is the bamboo bazaar and near it a slaughter house and a number of welding, forging, and weaving establishments.

But the larger industries tend to be rather highly decentralized. The extent to which decentralization of manufacturing has occurred depends on the kind and size of the particular industry. Three major textile mills are located near the western periphery of the city; a large tobacco factory is situated on the north-eastern edge. Others similarly located with reference to the peripheral settlement area include a porcelain factory, a lamp works, and brick and tile works, all on the west side. The major exception to this ecological pattern is the government soap factory located in the central area occupied by public buildings.

Recent industrial developments are even more decentralized in location. Plants manufacturing airplanes and telephones are located five or six miles east of the municipal boundaries and a factory producing electrical equipment is even farther removed on the west side. Henceforth, all large-scale manufacturing will be located in a peripheral zone reserved by the Imrovement Trust Board for industrial development.

Ecology of Public Institutions

In American cities most public buildings are usually located in or near the central business zone. Most of the public buildings in Bangalore are some distance from the main centers of commercial activity. The municipal building (City Hall), for example, is located on Narasimharaja Square, about a mile east of Central Market. Nearby is Town Hall (with auditorium). The main post office, the telephone and telegraph office, and the central police station are a mile and a half north-east

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Central Market. Each of these organizations, of course, has sub-offices in other sections of the city. The Public Library is in the center of Cubbon Park, at least a mile from a business district.

Most of the city's major hospitals, on the other hand, are concentrated in a medical center on the south side of Market Square, within hailing distance of Central Market. This appears to be the reverse of the pattern in American cities, where hospitals tend to be decentralized, or at least distributed rather widely over a metropolitan area. Clinics and dispensaries in Bangalore, however, are rather widely scattered, and there are a few hospitals removed from the central medical center.

The location of public and semi-public institutions definitely indicates the role of municipal planning, especially in the Cantonment. A number of institutions are located within, or at the edge of, spacious Cubbon Park; these include the University, the City YMCA, Occupational Institute, the state government secretariat, and several cultural institutions. A mile or two south of Central Market, beyond the hospital area, is another cluster of cultural, religious and educational institutions. Farther on, in Basavangudi, is the Indian Institute of Culture, a well-known intellectual center. Some institutions are removed from the city: Far to the northwest, beyond the municipal boundaries, is the Indian Institute of Science; to the southeast, also beyond the city, is a large mental hospital. Several agricultural experiment institutions are also located on the fringe.

Whether or not this planning represents the most efficient use of public institutions it is difficult to say. In some instances, such as the case of a public library set in the center of a large park, it apparently does not.

Residential Segregation

Urban econologists have taken account of the tendency of people to select residential sites in cities on the basis of racial, cultural, religious, or ethnic preferences or prejudices, to choose residential locations that are symbolic of wealth, power, or social prestige, or to gravitate to low-income and low-prestige areas whose costs of occupancy are within the limits of their purchasing power. Ecological literature concerning American cities contains abundant examples of such segregative tendencies.

These tendencies are exhibited in Bangalore, as in western cities, except that caste preference or prejudice forms an additional basis for residential segregation. The importance of any of these factors depends, in the main, upon the values attached to them by particular individuals or families, although low-purchasing power may override actual social preference in the selection of a residential location.

Viewing the ecological patterning of Bangalore in perspective one may discern "natural areas" that are occupied predominantly or exclusively by members of a particular caste or religion, and areas in which there is a mixed occupancy of people with different social affiliations and backgrounds. These segregative tendencies probably reflect the strength of communal sentiment, but they may also reflect prejudices against particular groups, especially low-caste or religious groups. By and large, the segregative tendency is probably stronger among the uneducated than among families on the higher income and educational levels where caste or religious interests and loyalties, if they exist, become secondary or even unimportant factors in selection of a residential site.

Data are not available to indicate the residential locations of all Hindu castes of which there are upwards of a hundred in the city. Even where a number of castes are considered collectively— "depressed" or "scheduled" castes, for example,—the broader categories conceal segregative tendencies of particular castes. Residential locations of "depressed" castes in the city therefore do not tell us anything much about the locations of, say, the Adikarnataka, Korama, and Koracha castes. But since the various depressed or untouchable castes have a social position and style of life that are fairly comparable, we are able to secure some idea of these ecological position in the Community. It is clear that the depressed castes manifest a tendency toward segregation, with some areas having more than half the residents in this class of castes. No doubt within these larger areas would be smaller areas in which occupancy by particular depressed castes would approach one hundred per cent.

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It is interesting to note that areas of highest occupancy by depressed castes are on or near the city's outskirts. This is the reverse of the situation in the United States, where the major "depressed caste"—Negro—lives mainly in the deteriorated sections of the inner zones of cities. Undoubtedly there is more pronounced segregation of American Negroes than of depressed castes in Bangalore. Only five districts in Bangalore had no low-caste residents, but most of the white residential areas in American cities are occupied exclusively by Caucasians.

Members of the Brahmin caste, at the other extreme of the social hierarchy, show similar segregative tendencies. This is evidenced by the fact that 14 census districts have less than 1 per cent Brahmin residents, whereas in four districts more than half the inhabitants are Brahmins. There is a strong tendency for the Brahmins to concentrate in the western part of the city in the original Bangalore municipality. In general, areas occupied heavily by Brahmins are attractive residential districts, among the most attractive in the city. But not all Brahmins live in fashionable districts, whatever may be their position in the social hierarchy. Some of them, in fact, live in physically deteriorated houses under conditions of congestion.

Of the religious minorities in Bangalore none is perhaps as tightly segregated as the Muslim "community." There are four important Muslim concentrations, most of which represent extreme congestion.

Segregation of religious groups, however involves something more than mere religious differences; it is segregation based on a whole complex of beliefs and behaviour patterns that differentiate Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Parsees, and other groups one from the other.

Europeans, Indian Christians, and Anglo-Indians are heavily concentrated in the Cantonment. Europeans by virtue of their comparatively superior incomes tend to live in areas of high-quality houses, or at expensive clubs and hotels. Indian Christians are widely distributed according to their purchasing power, the affluent living in areas having superior housing accommodations.

Anglo-Indians show a marked tendency to develop their own community life and therefore to reside in areas occupied by others of the same racial mixture. Most of them are concentrated in the south-eastern portion of the Cantonment in districts locally known as Richmond Town, Langford Town, and Austin Town. As a culturally marginal group which, in the past, chose to be identified with Britain rather than with India, but whose members were often socially unacceptable to both British and Indians, the Anglo-Indians developed a "birds of a feather" consciousness which was manifest in residential segregation. To what extent they actually preferred to live apart it is difficult to say, but since they were *persona non grata* to the British and to many Indians as well, particularly Hindus and Muslims, spatial isolation was a logical outcome of their social isolation.

The Slum

The familiar ecological picture of an American slum is a zone centering around, or adjacent to, the central business district, with perhaps radial extensions of deteriorated areas along transportation routes or waterways, or around manufacturing establishments. Ecological theory has interpreted the American slum as an "area in transition," the result of part of a continuous process of invasion and succession by population, industry, and business. This invasion is most spectacular in expanding cities where competition for favorable locations is intense. The unstable character of the area is reflected in physical deterioration and, commonly, social disorganization. For the most part it is the city's low-rent area and for this reason tends to be the port of entry for impoverished immigrants.

Bangalore presents no such picture. The central business district around Central Market has never experienced an areal expansion comparable to the pattern so common in American cities. Consequently there has been no significant ecological invasion by business of adjacent residential districts; hence no "zone of transition." Until the past thirty years or so the population and economy grew slowly. Only in recent years has rapid economic expansion occurred, and it has been mainly industrialization. Although the residential areas surrounding the central business district and the more important secondary business centers are characterized by high density

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by various manifestations of social and personal disorganization, they are by no means the areas of poorest housing, nor are they occupied by the lowest-income groups.

The most conspicuous slums, at least in the physical sense, are located elsewhere, some of them on or near the periphery of Bangalore. Unoccupied fringe areas are often settled by immigrants who cannot afford to pay rents charged in the inner zones, even if they could find housing accommodations, which is not always the case. Furthermore, by settling on the periphery they may retain their communal solidarity if there is a considerable migration of persons representing a particular caste. It is therefore, easier and cheaper for them to erect mud huts on the fringe than to find rental housing in areas already occupied. There are several such areas, all of them located outside the immediate vicinity of the business districts. Some of these settlements have been surrounded by the expanding city but continue to exist at points intermediate between the outer fringe and the central zones of the city. This pattern of outlying slums appears to resemble more closely the ecological configuration of Latin American cities than of cities in the United States.

Upper Class and Middle Class Districts

The residential areas of highest prestige are not on the outskirts, as is usually the case in American cities, but are somewhat centrally located. Probably the most fashionable district in the city is on or near High Ground, a slightly elevated area in the north-west sector, about two miles north of the central business district but well within the city. Just south of High Ground, north of the "big business" district on Kempe Gowda Road, is another high-income residential area, presumably somewhat less fashionable than the High Ground district. Still another, Basavangudi, is about a mile south of Central Market. Many of the homes in these areas are spacious and luxurious. Most of the middle-class residential districts are well within the city limits.

Residential Decentralization

Suburban developments beyond the settled portions of Bangalore simply do not exist. Wealthy or well-to-do families have shown little inclination to shift to fringe areas. No doubt inadequate transportation in the past tended to discourage residential location very far from the center of activities, but even with modern transportation facilities available—automobiles and buses—there is still little evidence that Bangalore residents are interested in Suburbia as a way of life. Since residence in certain areas within the city (High Ground for example) is a symbol of prestige, high-status families presumably prefer to be identified with residential localities that support or enhance their own claims to status. Certainly the suburban mode of living does not have the popular appeal it enjoys in the United States.

Nor have workers shown any marked tendency to develop industrial suburbs adjacent to the outlying manufacturing establishments. Even Hindustan Aircraft and the Indian Telephone Industries, located five or six miles beyond the city's boundaries, have not become the nuclei of satellite factory towns. The thousands of workers who are employed in these industries reside in Bangalore and commute by bus, work train, or bicycle. These industries are relatively new, however, and it may be that in time they will act as a magnet for suburban developments of workingmen's homes. At any rate, the absence of any marked pattern of suburbanization gives the city a compactness that is not characteristic of most American metropolises.

This is not to say that fringe residential developments are completely absent. Public housing programs, mainly for working class or lower white collar families, are located on or near the city's edge. Housing construction under private auspices likewise tends to assume this pattern—extensions of the outer edges of metropolitan settlement rather than the development of detached satellite communities. Basavangudi, a new upper-class district on the south side of the city, is a case in point.

Conclusions

The present ecological structure of Bangalore bears the heavy imprint of the city's historical past. That past was characterized by limited industrialization, slow economic growth, divided political authority, and extensive planning, especially in the Cantonment. Today there is an upsurge of industrialism. Bangalore is the industrial boom town of South India. A planned economy is in prospect, both for the city and

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the nation as a whole. There will undoubtedly be continued population growth, and rapid growth at that.

What effect, if any, will these changes or others have on the basic ecological structure of the city? Will industrialization, along with developments in trade, transportation, and communication, evolve a pattern similar to the Western configuration? Will communal segregation (caste and religion) decline in the wake of measures taken to strengthen political and economic democracy? Only a self-assured prophet would attempt to provide specific answers to these questions.

A possible clue to future ecological changes may be found in Latin American cities. Dotson[2], Caplow[3], and Hayner[4] observed a tendency for the classical pattern to change under the European value systems. The most industrialized metropolis of Latin America, Mexico City, has exhibited rather striking changes in the direction of ecological configurations similar to those of cities in the United States of Western Europe. It is possible, then, that the impact of industrial technology, large-scale economic organization, modern transportation, and Western status values will bring about similar changes in the ecological structure of Bangalore.

There is reason to believe that industry will become increasingly decentralized and that industrial districts will eventually emerge. In fact, the Improvement Trust Board has already delineated several fringe districts for new industrial developments, and all of these areas [illegible] well beyond the borders of the city. What [illegible] not so clear are possible trends in the ecol[illegible] of business. Fundamental changes in the org[illegible] nization of trade, such as the growth of la[illegible] scale chain enterprises, would likely make [illegible] greater centralization of controls and [illegible] stimulate the growth of a central business a[illegible] But such changes will likely come slowly. I[illegible] a long time Bangalore will be a city of s[illegible] shops.

Nor is it clear what the trend will be in p[illegible] terns of residential segregation. The removal [illegible] caste barriers penalizing the untouchables [illegible] scheduled castes, together with a general [illegible] provement in their economic position, may m[illegible] it possible for them, as well as other minor[illegible] groups, to achieve a more favourable ecolog[illegible] location. But the ties of caste, family, and re[illegible] gion are strong, and existing ecological patter[illegible] so deeply imbedded in custom, that changes w[illegible] probably come slowly for most of the group[illegible] Possibly the most effective force making for [illegible] distribution of the various castes, ethnic [illegible] religious groups will be slum clearance a[illegible] public housing programs in which occupa[illegible] will be selected on the basis of need rather th[illegible] social or cultural attributes.

The foregoing observations demonstra[illegible] clearly a fundamental problem of ecolog[illegible] theory as well as of sociological theory [illegible] general. It is the hazards involved in deriv[illegible] ing theories of society based upon observed data from a single society or culture area. Gener[illegible] ization derived from a single culture tend[illegible] give American sociology a rather narrow pro[illegible] cialism which seriously limits its usefulness outside our national boundaries.

2. Floyd and Lillian Ota Dotson, "Ecological Trends in the City of Guadalajara, Mexico," *Social Forces*, 32 (May, 1954), pp. 367-84.
3. Caplow, *op. cit.*
4. Norman S. Hayner, "Mexico City: Its Growth and Configuration," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50 (January, 1945), pp. 295-304.

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EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, Ph. D. and SONYA RUTH DAS, D. Litt. (*Paris*)

While race and health improvement is an essential condition to the solid physical foundation of a community or nation, educational progress or intellectual development is the integral and component part of its social progress. Education has, however, a three-fold function in India's rising new civilization: First, the implementation of the provision of the Constitution for free and compulsory education of the children and social education of the illiterate adults. Second, the dissemination of the doctrine of "plain living and high thinking," which is both ideologically and economically an absolute necessity for a country already over-populated. Finally, like spiritual, ethical and aesthetic values, intellectual value is also an integral part of human nature as well as of Hindu culture. Through incessant search after knowledge, the Indo-Aryans not only laid the foundation of science, philosophy, art and literature, but even realized the ultimate reality of the universe in terms of both a Spiritual Being (Vedantism) and a Moral Principle (Buddhism), which are among the highest moral and spiritual values of mankind. Intellectual value should, therefore, remain a supreme end of India's rising civilization not only to the Hindus and the Buddhists, the ethnic and cultural descendents of the early Indo-Aryans, but also to all those peoples who have made the great land of India their home and have become an integral part of her population.

Introduction

In spite of her glorious intellectual past, India has passed through many long periods of the "Dark Ages," except under such rule as that of Emperor Akbar. for about 1,000 years, due to a number of causes, such as foreign invasion, alien rule and colonial policy. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, especially under the impact of the West, there has, however, been a revival of intellectual activities as expressed in renaissance, religious reform, political, industrial and educational movements. The foundation of modern education was laid by the Education Despatch of the India Office in 1854. At first, education was a Central subject directly under the Government of India, but the Government of India Act of 1919 introduced the system of provincial autonomy and made education a provincial subject.

The progress of education under Provincial Governments is best indicated by the increase in number of the institutions and the scholars from 208,108 and 8.38 million in 1921-22, respectively, to 269,535 and 16.08 million in 1946-47, *i.e.*, 22 and 92 per cent on the eve of Partition of India. Due to the cessation of a large part of territory as Pakistan, these figures declined respectively to 164,007 and 13.57 million, *i.e.*, by 39 and 16 per cent; but the latter figures in their turn increased again respectively to 290,264 and 26.50 million, *i.e.*, 77 and 95 per cent in 1951-52. In fact, national independence gave a new impetus to the development of education in India, as indicated by the percentage increases of 37 in institutions, of 33 in enrolment, and of 45 in expenditure in the course of five years (1948-49 to 1952-53), as indicated in the table below:

Progress of Education in India, 1948-53

Year	Institutions (1000)	Enrolment (million)	Expenditure Rs. Million
1948-49	227	21	920
1949-50	281	24	1030
1950-51	284	26	1150
1951--52	291	27	1230
1952-53 (Approx.)	311	28	1340
Percentage increase	37	33	45

Source: *India, 1954, Annual Review*, The Indian High Commission, London, pp. 122.

Another effect of India's national independence was the reconstitution of the Department of Education into a full-fledged Ministry of Education in 1957. Although education is a State subject, the Central Government has a three-fold connection with the education of the States: (i) The Central Government is directly responsible for the administration, including education, of some of the States and Territories (*e.g.*, Part C States and D Territories); (2) although most of the universities are under State Governments, the Central

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Government has taken direct charge of the Universities of Aligarh, Banaras, Delhi and Visva-Bharati; and (3) the Central Government is also directly responsible for the maintenance of national character and uniform standard of education all over the country. This authority or Government control is, however, partly delegated to universities; boards of secondary and intermediate education: local bodies, such as district boards, municipal boards, cantonment boards; and also philanthropic and religious organizations.

The present conditions of the recognized educational institutions and of the scholars are best indicated by the following table. The facts are evident and require scarcely any explanation, except for the fact that India has a population of 361 million but, in education, is far behind most of the countries in Europe and America.

Recognized Educational Institutions in India, 1951-52

Type of Institution	Number of Institutions	Enrolment (in thousands)	Expenditure (Rs. Million)
Universities	30	26	46.6
Boards of secondary and intermediate education	12	..	7.5
Arts and science colleges	579	347	83.3
Professional and special education colleges	311	71	52.0
Secondary schools	22,500	5,648	334.0
Primary schools	214,862	18,901	401.5
Pre-primary schools	331	23	1.5
Vocational and special education schools	51,999	1,484	54.4
Total	290,264	26,500	980.8

Source: *India—A Reference Annual, 1954,* Government of India, p. 268.

There is a great difference in number between boys and girls in educational institutions in India. In 1921-22, out of 8.37 million scholars in British India, only 1.41 million or 17 per cent were girls as compared with 6.96 million or 83 per cent boys. In 1951-52, out of 26.49 million scholars, 6.68 million or 25 per cent were girls and 19.81 million or 75 per cent boys, showing an increase in the proportion of girls from one-sixth to one-fourth in the course of a generation. This difference will very soon be wiped out as soon as the provision of the Constitution granting free and compulsory education for boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14 comes into full force.

The numbers of boys and girls in different stages of education are shown below. The table indicates that the proportions of girls are lower in higher stages of education.

Boys and Girls in Recognized Educational Institutions, 1951-52 Shown by Stages
(in thousands)

Stages of Education	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
Pre-primary	19	14	33
Primary	13,374	5,466	19,240
Secondary	4,378	891	5,269
Professional and Technical	1,215	263	1,478
Collegiate (1)	426	52	478
Total	19,812	6,686	26,498

Source: *India—A Reference Annual, 1954,* Government of India, p. 276.

(1) Comprising intermediate, under-graduate, research and professional and technical education.

The present educational structure comprises: (1) Primary schools which use the regional language or mother-tongue as the medium of instruction; (2) Middle schools which impart instruction in the regional language and English, or only in the regional language; (3) Secondary schools which afford facilities for education up to Matriculation or an equivalent standard; (4) Intermediate colleges that are affiliated to boards or universities; (5) Degree colleges that are affiliated to universities; and (6) Post-graduate and Research Institutions.[1]

A provision of Rs. 1,610 million has been made in the Five-Year Plan for the expansion of educational facilities at the Centre and in the States. The Plan contemplates that, in addition to meeting special responsibilities in the field of higher and technical education, the Central Government will assist only in the selected programs of national importance in the field of elementary, secondary, and social education. In respect of elementary education, the States will receive help in carrying out pilot pro-

1. Source: *India—A Reference Annual, 1954,* Government of India, p. 269.

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of basic education including a scheme to set up model basic institutions in selected areas, such as pre-basic and basic schools, a post-basic school, a teachers' training school, and post-graduate teachers' training college. The Plan has, therefore, set aside about 7 per cent of the total expenditure for educational expansion. Of this amount, Rs. 415 million is being spent by the Centre and Rs. 1,195 million by the States.[2]

1. Primary and Basic Education

The elementary education is still imparted in India mostly by primary schools, although they are being rapidly replaced by basic schools, which intend to embody a bias towards some crafts. This elementary education is being supplemented by social education or education of illiterate adults for intelligent citizenship.

Primary Education

Primary education, as imparted by the *pathsala* among the Hindus, has come down from time immemorial, and as imparted by the *maktabs* among the Moslems, has come down from the Moslem period, both of which had existed when the British took charge of India's educational system by the middle of the 19th century. In spite of some improvement in the secondary and higher education, the primary education lagged behind. In 1882, the Government of India appointed, especially under the influence of the Christian missionaries, the first Indian Education Commission to inquire into the condition of primary education. The Commission recommended the entrusting of primary education to the care of the newly-created self-governing bodies, such as district and municipal boards, and the secondary education to the grants-in-aid for their development. Even this and other similar subsequent measures have failed to bring about much improvement in primary education. One-half of the primary schools were conducted by one teacher; three-fourths of the schools were privately owned; and four-fifths of the schools were located in rural areas.[3]

The first attempt to introduce free and compulsory education in India was made by G. K. Gokhale in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General in 1910-11. A second attempt for the same purpose was made by the Provincial Governments between 1919 and 1930, most of which enacted acts authorizing local bodies, district boards and municipalities, to introduce, with the previous sanction of their Governments, compulsory education and even to levy an educational cess for the purpose, if necessary. Because of the optional clause, the results attained were rather meagre. Finally, in 1944, the Central Advisory Board of Education drew up a national scheme of free and compulsory education known as the Sargent Plan, for all children between the ages of 6 and 14 (instead of 6 and 10 as before), the scheme to be achieved in 40 years, which was subsequently reduced by the G. B. Kher Committee to 16 years.[4] It was not until the attainment of national independence that the Constitution of the Indian Union accepted the free and compulsory education of all children between the ages of 6 and 14 as the basic principle of its Republic and the foundation of her political, economic, and social democracy.

The compulsory education of the children in a country of 360 million population is a gigantic task, as indicated by the following official appraisal:

"It has been estimated that a national system of education providing education for 100 per cent children of the age-group 6 to 14; Secondary education for 20 per cent of those coming out for the first stage; University education for 10 per cent of those passing out of high schools; Technical education on a modest scale and other minor items, will require an annual expenditure of nearly Rs. 4,000 million when it comes into full operation. In addition nearly Rs. 2,000 million will be necessary to train 2.7m. of teachers who would be required for Basic and High Schools only, and Rs. 2,720m. for buildings."[5]

(1) Basic Education

Both the concept and scheme of Basic education originated with Mahatma Gandhi, who published it in his weekly journal *Harijan* in 1937. The cardinal point of basic education is "learning through activity." The tangible results achieved by the child create self-

2. *India—A Reference Annual, 1955*, Government of India, pp. 332-33.
3. *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1932-37*, Part II.
4. Bureau of Education, Pamphlet No. 60 "Education in Free India", 1947-48, Ministry of Education, Government of India.
5. *India in 1952*, The High Commission of India, London, p. 83.

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confidence, which is, in fact, the basis of personality. Both the principle and scheme laid down by Mahatma Gandhi were discussed and finally accepted by an Education Conference held at Wardha in October 1937, and the following resolutions were adopted: (1) Universal free and compulsory education for 7 years from the age of 7 to 14; (2) the mother tongue as the medium of instruction; (3) adjustment of education throughout this period to some form of manual and productive work or handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child. The Conference appointed a Committee to work out the details of the syllabus of the basic education and the Committee made its report in December, 1937, with a complete outline of the scheme of basic education.

The Indian National Congress accepted the Basic Education Scheme and appointed an All-India National Education Board under the title of the Hindustan Talimi Sangh to give effect to it. In 1937, when the Indian National Congress came into power in 6 out of 11 provinces, attempts were made to give effect to this programme under the title of the Nai Talim (New Education). Early in 1945, another National Education Committee met at Wardha to review the whole situation with regard to the Basic Education.

The Basic Education, as adopted by the Government of India, falls under two categories: the junior and the senior. To these must also be added the pre-basic education, which has made tremendous progress in most of the advanced countries in recent years, and a beginning has also been made in India.

Pre-Basic Education: The development of pre-basic or nursery education is a most significant phenomenon in India. Pre-basic education means "learning while playing." Due to better nourishment and care, the child develops much earlier and quicker today than before. In India, nursery education has made its appearance and in 1951-52 there were 331 nursery schools with 33,000 children. Thus, a beginning has been made and it is bound to grow steadily, though slowly, all over the country.

Junior Basic Education: The Government of India has advised the State Governments to make adequate provisions, as early as possible, for free and compulsory basic education for all children between the ages of 6 and 11, irrespective of caste, creed and social status. The instruction imparted in the junior basic schools is of the same standard as in the primary schools, but it has a bias towards basic crafts such as agriculture, spinning and weaving, fruit preservation, vegetable gardening, carpentry, leather work, book craft, domestic craft, etc. The basic school must have at least two acres of land for gardening with necessary facilities for irrigation. The Central Advisory Board of Education has recommended that at least eight years of basic education should be provided for every child, the first stage of junior basic education covering five years. It is expected that within a short period of time all primary schools will be replaced by junior basic schools.

Senior Basic Education is complementary to junior basic education and covers all children between 11 and 14 years of age. Like that in junior basic education, the instruction in senior basic education has also a bias towards crafts. Of all the children completing junior basic schools, 80 per cent go to senior basic schools and the remaining 20 per cent go to the junior department of the high schools, where they are trained for receiving higher education at the universities.

Basic Education Training: One of the recommendations of the Planning Commission was the development of pilot projects in Basic Education. On the initiative of the Ministry of Education, each State has, therefore, set up a scheme to demonstrate in a selected area some methods of basic and social education. The main features of the scheme are: (a) A post-graduate college for the staff of Basic Training Colleges and administration personnel, a full-fledged Basic School for practice and demonstration; (b) a basic training college for primary school teachers; (c) five well-planned community centres; (d) an integrated library service for the area; (e) a Janata College for training village leaders; (f) a share of grant for improving primary and basic schools in selected areas. In all, sanction was given by State Governments for 3,000 teachers and 200 Social Education workers under this scheme.

Among the most important basic training institutions in India, mention may be made of the Nai Talim Bhavan at Sevagram; the Jamia Millia Teachers' Training Institute, Delhi; and Sarvodaya Vidya Bhavan, Santiniketan; and

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Maha Vidyalaya or Bihar Community College. There are a few training schools under private auspices such as Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya at Madras and Vidya Bhavan at Udaipur. In addition, all the States have set up their own basic training schools and post-graduate basic training colleges.

Social Education

Social (Adult) education originally meant imparting instruction in literacy to India's illiterate masses, but has recently undergone complete changes and now implies fundamental education as defined by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Like the basic education for children, the social education for adults also aims at developing intelligent citizenship and is thus closely related to primary education. This definition has been accepted by all the States and has thus become the objective of the Indian Union. Among the special features of social education the most important would be the development of school-cum-community centres, Janata (People's) College for training social education workers, production of special literature, and audio-visual aids.

Like the education of children, the education of adults should also begin on functional bases; and both age and sex as well as the social, political, and economic objectives should be taken into consideration. The concept of social education has been extended to include new items such as (1) Literacy; (2) a knowledge of the rules of health and hygiene; (3) training for the improvement of the adults' economic status; (4) a sense of citizenship with an adequate consciousness of rights and duties; and (5) healthy forms of recreation suited to the needs of the community and individual. Though rather sophisticated, these tenets would be helpful to the directors of the adult education. The implementation of social education has been undertaken both by the Central and State Governments.

There are various types of adult education centres, which provide both short terms and comprehensive courses. The short courses provide mostly education in literacy, but in some of the States there are more elaborate courses for health, sanitation, civics and training in leadership. Education through audio-visual aids forms an important part of social education. Mobile vans are equipped with projectors and films, gramophones and magic lanterns. Programmes are broadcast from A.I.R. (All India Radio) both for rural and industrial areas. Facilities for education and training in the visual arts and crafts, agriculture, music and dancing, and other similar subjects, are being provided in schools and colleges. The Central Government has arranged for the training of teachers in basic education, arts and crafts, music and dancing at Jamia Millia in Delhi and at Visva Bharati at Santiniketan.

Social education has recently been enforced by several factors, of which the following are the most important:

(1) Translation into regional languages of Hindi pamphlets for neo-literates since 1949-50, especially such treatises as *History of India, History of the World*, and *Story of Life*. Attempts are being made to publish about 25 books of literature of good quality.

(2) The establishment, in co-operation with the Ford Foundation, of four literary workshops for producing reading material especially suitable for neo-literates.

(3) The establishment of a Group Training Centre in Fundamental Education at Mysore with the help of UNESCO for training leaders in social education drawn from different countries.

(4) Publication of social education literature, which the Government of India started in March, 1950 and which has already published 155 pamphlets.

(5) The establishment of the Social Welfare Board under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. The Board aims at stimulating and co-ordinating the activities of various bodies working in the field of Social Welfare.

2. Secondary Education

Like the primary education, secondary education was also largely carried on by private enterprise. The movement of national education by the beginning of this century resulted in the foundation of several national educational institutions, such as the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College by the Arya Samaj at Lahore, the Gurukul (education in the tradi-

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tions of the Aryan) by Swami Shraddhananda at Haridwar, the Central Hindu College by Mrs. Besant at Banaras, and the Brahmacharya Ashram by Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan. There were also founded the National Council of Education and a National College in Calcutta as well as several other higher educational institutes in other places. The three permanent effects of the National Educational Movement which have been left behind are: (1) A Technical School at Jadavpur near Calcutta, which has now become the College of Engineering and Technology; (2) the revival of arts and crafts which have become parts of the national economy; and (3) the realization by the peoples of the importance of the mother tongue as the medium of education, at least in the primary and secondary education. Although the national education movement went much beyond, it centered around the secondary education for all practical purposes.

Secondary education, as it exists today, may be divided into three classes: First, the general education which is a connecting link between the primary or basic education and higher education, and for which there were 22,500 institutions with 5,648 000 scholars in 1951-52, as indicated before (See Table No. 2); secondly, vocational education, which prepares the scholars for certain services or occupations in life and for which there were 51,999 institutions with 1,484,000 scholars; and finally, special education, such as those for the handicapped and visual arts and crafts, and similar other education. Although the number of such institutions and scholars is rather limited, they perform very valuable service to society.

General Education

General secondary education is imparted by the secondary schools, of which there were 12,693 in 1948 and 18,497 in 1953, showing an increase of 45 per cent in the course of five years. Secondary schools are of two different kinds: (1) the middle schools in which education is imparted mostly in regional languages or mother tongue, and in some of these schools English classes are also added; and (2) the high schools, where education is imparted both in regional language and in English from the very beginning, but gradually higher classes are continued in English and regional languages are minimized or even dropped. In most of these English high schools, education is continued for ten or twelve years and ended in a final examination called Matriculation.

The middle school education, even though supplemented by some classes in English, leads the students mostly to normal school education for teachership. After matriculating from the high school, the students can enter a university for a three-year degree course or a four-year degree course. The courses are divided into the intermediate stage and a degree stage. As has been said of the English high school, as it had existed for a long time and as it still exists in many parts of the country even to-day, that it begins instruction in primary education, prepares for higher education, and introduces the younger generations into the international cultural movement and is thus a complete system of education in itself, although it has to neglect the regional language. Secondary education has been undergoing profound changes, as indicated below.

The Secondary Education Commission was appointed by the Government of India in 1952 and its report was submitted in 1953. The essential points of the recommendations are the following: (1) Education at the high school stage should commence after four or five years of primary or junior basic education and should comprise such diverse subjects as language, social studies, general science and crafts; (2) Regional language should be the medium of instruction, while the national language and a foreign language should also be taught at the middle school stage; (3) there should not be less than 200 working days in the year. There should be 35 periods each of 45 minutes' duration per week; (4) In matters of public examinations and promotions, school records should be taken into consideration; (5) Multipurpose schools should be opened to encourage technical education at an early stage; (6) There should be boards of secondary education, boards for teachers' training and State Advisory Boards. The report of the Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education to examine the recommendations was accepted in 1954 and the implementation of important provisions was expected to begin soon.

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Two important developments in connection with secondary education deserve mention: First, in co-operation with the Ford Foundation, a team of four foreign and four Indian educationists was deputed to make a detailed and comparative study of two problems highlighted in the Secondary Education Commission Report, namely, methods of teacher training and the construction of curricula in schools. The team visited Denmark, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States for the study and submitted its reports; Second, the institution of headmasters' seminar-*cum*-camps in the field of secondary education. The first session of such seminar-*cum*-camps was held at Taradevi, Simla, where about 50 headmasters from 35 States met and drew up a programme of reforms. Such meetings will be continued hereafter.

In the meantime the question of implementing the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission received serious consideration by the Central Government, which proposed the following schemes: (1) Establishment of 500 multipurpose schools with about 1,000 new units of courses; (2) Assistance to 500 additional schools for improving their teaching; (3) Improvement of 3,000 school libraries; (4) Introduction of crafts into 2,000 middle schools; and (5) Training of teachers. It has been recently decided that secondary education should be a self-contained and complete stage; instruction should be continued up to the age of 17 to be followed by a three-year course leading to Bachelor's Degree.

Vocational Education

Closely connected with secondary education and, in fact, an important part of it, is the vocational education or instruction and training in specialized services or occupations. The growing unemployment amongst the educated classes has, since the beginning of the present century, brought home to the Indian public the defect of purely academic education. Most of the provincial governments had to appoint committees to investigate the causes of, and recommend remedies for, unemployment among the educated classes. But very few of the recommendations had been implemented.

In 1938, the Government of India requisitioned the services of Messrs. Wood and Abbot from the Board of Education, England, "to advise them on certain problems of educational reorganization, and particularly on the problems of vocational education." The main recommendations of their report were the following: (1) Universities and technical institutes for the education of managing and directing grades of personnel in organized and large-scale industries; (2) Senior commercial schools for upper grades on the business side, and senior technical schools for upper supervisory grades mainly in non-manipulating industries; (3) Junior technical schools for lower supervisory grades in the manipulative industries; (4) Industrial schools for independent workers in small-scale industries; and (5) Trade schools for craftsmen and operatives in organized industries, and rural middle schools and higher secondary schools with agricultural bias for cultivators and farmers. Since the publication of the reports, a new type of schools called the polytechnic schools, combining general and technical education on a higher level, has come into existence and now forms a part of the Delhi University.[6]

Special Education

Of the various systems of special education, mention may be made of only a few:

(1) *Education of the handicapped*: Schools for the handicapped may be classified as: (A) schools for the physically handicapped (blind, deaf and dumb); and (B) schools for the mentally handicapped. There are 50 institutions for the blind and 42 for the deaf and dumb. For the mentally handicapped, there are only two institutions, one in West Bengal and the other in Bombay. In all the States, general education is imparted to the blind through the regional languages in accordance with the Braille Code. Students are given vocational training in crafts, such as tailoring, knitting, weaving, carpentry, etc. Music is also taught in all the schools.

(2) *Audio-Visual-Education*: The Ministry of Education has set up a National Board for Audio-Visual Education to co-ordinate the work done in this field and to advise the Central and State Governments. Programmes

6. A. N. Basu: *Education in Modern India*, Calcutta, 1947, pp. 116-117.

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suitable for rural areas are broadcast from all the stations of All India Radio. Several State Governments have introduced musical and dramatical entertainment as an integral part of social education.

(3) *Propagation of Hindi*: A Five-Year Plan for the development and propagation of Hindi has been drawn up by the Ministry of Education. The Plan aims at making Hindi the official language of the Union within the stipulated period of 15 years. A new section for Hindi has been opened in the Ministry. A Central Hindi Organization (Hindi Shiksha Samiti) has been formed to advise the Ministry on the question of development and propagation of Hindi. A Board of Scientific Technology was set up in 1950 to prepare dictionaries of scientific, administrative, and other technical terms in Hindi. A library of Hindi books is being built up gradually.

3. Higher Education..

The higher education may be classified under three headings; (1) university education: (2) technical education; and (3) arts and culture. The number of the people at present engaged in higher education, directive services, and research and investigation, is very insignificant for India's vast population. The Government of India has fully realized the importance of higher and specialized education to the reconstruction of the social, political, and economic life of modern India and has undertaken the development of education in all these aspects and on a vast scale.

University Education

The foundation of university education was laid by the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras in 1857. They were followed by the rise of a university at Lahore (now in Pakistan) in 1882, and of another at Allahabad in 1887. These older universities, as they are now called, have made great progress both in number of courses offered and in character of education. The development of these and the subsequent universities has been influenced by several factors: First, the University Commission of 1902 and its following University Act of 1904, authorizing the universities, among other things, to inspect and control their affiliated colleges and thus helping them in the better administration of the universities rather than mere increasing their number. In fact, between 19 and 1916 not a single new university came i existence in India. Secondly, the Calcu University Commission of 1917-19, and following University Act of 1920 requir among other things, a two-year intermedi course as a condition to the admission to university education. The recommendati of this Commission were followed by the rise eight universities during the period of e years (1920-27). Finally, the attainment national independence which stimulated rapid development of university education a the establishment of thirteen universities in t course of eight years (1947-54) as indicated the table below:

(Table—*see next page*)

Types of Indian Universities: It evident that there are three types of univ sities in India: First, *Affiliating Universi* which do not teach but only examine t students of the colleges of arts and science, which there were 579 in 1951-52. They prescri the courses of studies, organise examinatio issue certificates or grant degrees to success students, thus preserve uniformity, efficien standard, and quality of education. Secon *Residential Universities*, which teach a examine and also require residence in t university. Most important of these univ sities are the Hindu University at Banar the Moslem University at Aligarh, and Visva-Bharari at Santiniketan. There are present six other residential universities India. The residential universities had le existed in ancient and medieval India, such Banaras, Ujjain, Taxila and Nalanda. T best examples of this type of universities modern times are Oxford and Cambri Residential universities offer opportunities the students to come in close contact with t professor. Finally, *Teaching Universities*, w both teach and examine without requir residence. Freedom from residence in university makes it convenient for most of students, especially women, to live with t parents or husbands, and to take advantage university education and to appear for exami tion, whenever required. Most of the

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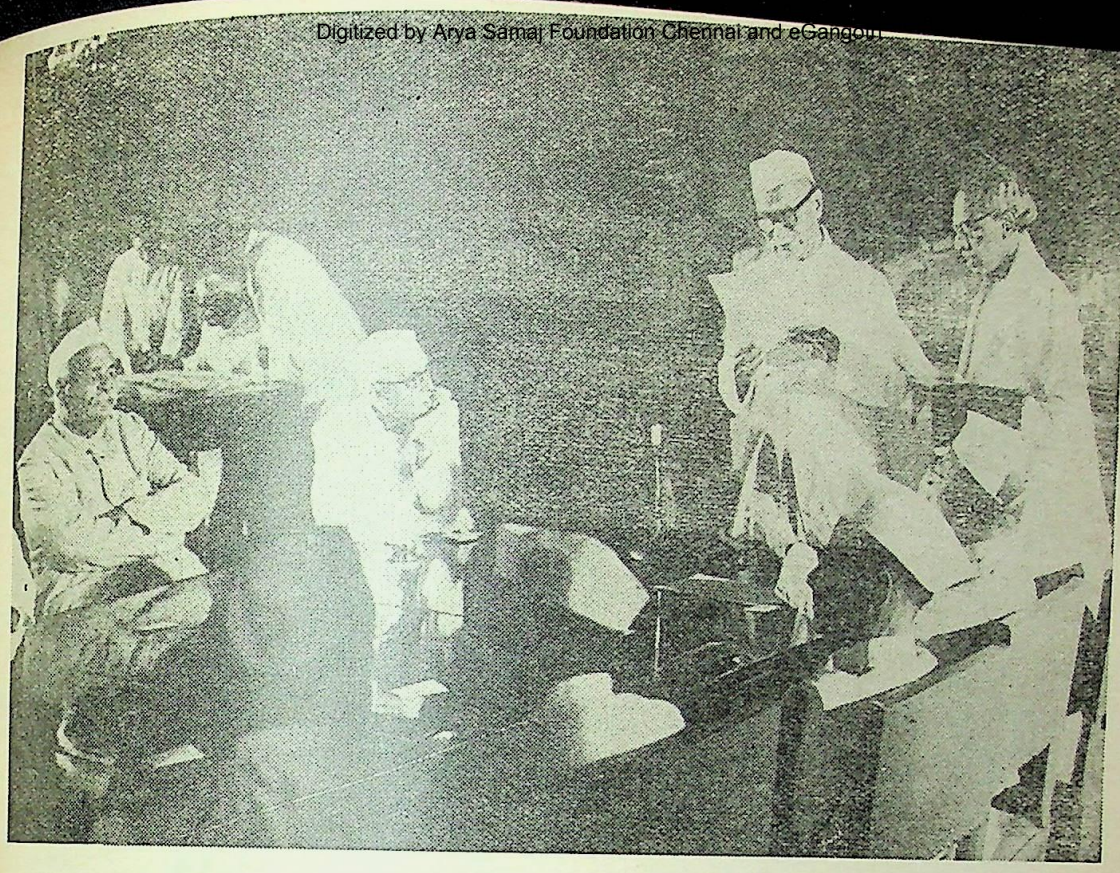

President Dr. Rajendra Prasad administering the oath of office to Shri V. K. Krishna Menon as Minister of Defence at a ceremony held in New Delhi

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru greets Dr. Heinrich von Brentano, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, on his arrival in Delhi

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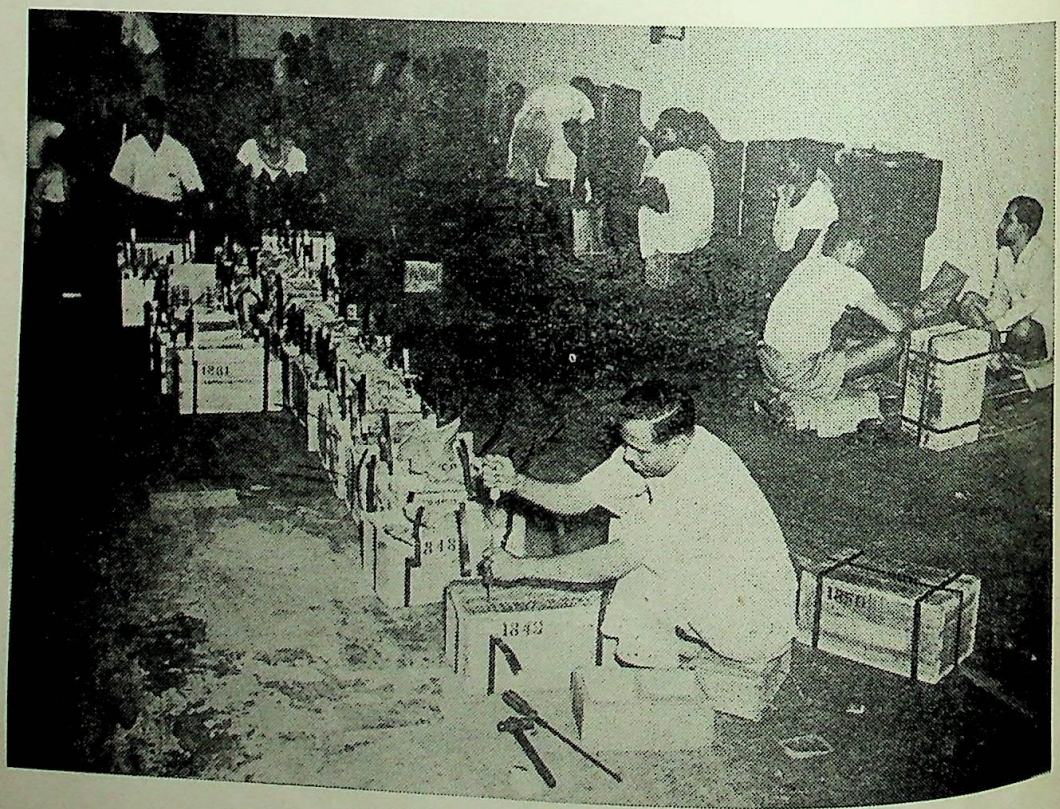
Front view of the Government of India Mint Building at Alipore, Calcutta



Work at the Mint to produce new decimal-series coins

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Growth in Number of Universities in India 1857—1954

Name	Location	Character	Year
1. Calcutta	West Bengal	Teaching and affiliating	1857
2. Bombay	Bombay	Teaching and affiliating (reconstituted)	1857
3. Madras	Madras	Teaching and affiliating (reconstituted)	1923
4. Allahabad	U. P.	Teaching, unitary and residential (reconstituted)	1857
5. Banaras	U. P.	Teaching and residential	1887
6. Mysore	Mysore	Affiliating and teaching	1922
7. Patna	Bihar	Teaching and affiliating	1916
8. Osmania	Hyderabad	Teaching and residential	1917
9. Aligarh	U. P.	Teaching and residential	1918
10. Lucknow	U. P.	Teaching, unitary and residential	1920
11. Delhi	Delhi	Teaching, unitary and residential	1920
12. Nagpur	M.P.	Teaching and affiliating	1922
13. Andhra	Andhra	Teaching and affiliating	1923
14. Agra	U. P.	Teaching and affiliating	1926
15. Annamalai	Madras	Teaching, unitary, and affiliating	1927
16. Travancore	T. and C.	Teaching, affiliating and residential	1929
17. Utkal	Orissa	Affiliating	1937
18. Saugor	M.P.	Teaching and affiliating	1943
19. Rajputana	Rajputana	Affiliating and teaching	1946
20. Punjab	Punjab	Affiliating and teaching	1947
21. Gauhati	Assam	Teaching and affiliating	1947
22. Poona	Bombay	Teaching and affiliating	1948
23. Roorkee	U. P.	Teaching, unitary and residential	1948
24. Jammu & Kashmir	Kashmir	Affiliating	1948
25. Baroda	Bombay	Teaching and affiliating	1949
26. Karnatak	Bombay	Teaching and affiliating	1950
27. Gujarat	Bombay	Affiliating	1950
28. S.N.D.T. Women's University	Bombay	Affiliating	1951
29. Visva Bharati	West Bengal	Teaching unitary and residential	1951
30. Bihar	Bihar	Affiliating	1952
31. Sri Venkatesvara	Venkatesvara	Teaching and residential	1954

U.P.—Uttar Pradesh; M.P.—Madhya Pradesh; T. and C.—Travancore and Cochin; S.N.D.T.—Shrimati Nathubai Damodar Thackersay.

Source: *India—A Reference Annual, 1954*, Government of India, p. 272.

universities of modern times are of this type, such as the Universities of Paris, Berlin, London and New York. All these types of universities are needed for higher education in India.

University Education Commissions: In addition to the influence upon the growth in number of the universities as described above, these University Commissions have further effects upon higher education in general. A word must therefore be added:

The University Commission of 1902 was appointed by Lord Curzon and its recommendations were given effect to by the University Act of 1904, which granted, among other things, power to the universities to inspect and control the working of the affiliated colleges and to

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undertake the work of teaching and research. The Education Resolution of the Government of India announced a policy of instituting teaching and residential universities at Dacca (now in Pakistan), Banaras and Aligarh.

The Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19, of which Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, India's greatest educationist and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University was the prime-mover and Sir Michael Sadler, well-known British educationist, the president. The Commission recommended, among other things, two years additional education in intermediate colleges for all students intending to enter a university and the appointment of independent boards at the head of all secondary and intermediate institutions, and the creation of three years first degree courses.

University Education Commission of 1948 with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as chairman, was appointed by the Government of India to report on university education and suggest improvements. Some of the recommendations made by the Commission were: (1) Students should be admitted to the universities only after they have completed 12 years of pre-university education; (2) the academic year should not constitute less than 180 working days exclusive of examinations; (3) there should be three terms, each of about eleven weeks duration; (4) more attention should be given to the subjects such as agriculture, commerce, education, engineering and technology, law and medicine; (5) existing engineering and technological institutes should be regarded as national assets; (6) three years' study for the first degree should not be judged by a single examination and examinations should be held at a number of stages. The recommendations of the Commission were generally approved by the Central Advisory Board of Education. To improve and expand the facilities for post-graduate research at the universities, grants amounting to about Rs. 4.5 million have been made to eight universities.

Partly to implement the recommendations of the University Education Commission and partly to guide the educational movement in the right direction, the Government of India has undertaken several steps: First, although education is a State subject, the Government of India has extended financial help to the Universities of Aligarh, Banaras, Delhi, and Visva-Bharati; Secondly, the Central Government established the University Grants Commission in 1953 to act as an expert body to advise the Government on problems connected with the co-ordination of facilities and the maintenance of standards in universities and to take necessary actions. Finally, the Central Government has appointed a Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education to review the progress made in implementing the recommendations of the University Commission and to suggest further steps to be taken by the Government and Universities in this connection.

The Inter-University Board acts as an advisory body and provides a forum for discussion of university problems. It helps Indian universities to obtain recognition for degrees and diplomas in other countries. For the development of higher education and research, the Planning Commission has made a provision of Rs. 32 million for the planning period.

Non-University Institutions: Apart from the universities, there are a number of institutions that offer undergraduate, graduate, and post-graduate research and training facilities. They are classified under the following headings together with their numbers: (1) Humanities 10; (2) Scientific research 78; (3) Engineering and technology 14; (4) Agriculture 13; and (5) Medicine.

Academies and institutes have been established often with the help of the Government to help higher education in Pali and Sanskrit such as the Magadha Research Institute of post-graduate studies at Nalanda and the Mithila Institute of post-graduate studies and research at Darbhanga. In addition to these universities there are also a number of post-graduate institutions and linguistic organizations which provide facilities for research in education and culture and receive grants from the Government of India for this purpose. Most important of these institutes are: (1) The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Foona; (2) The Asiatic Society at Calcutta and (3) The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture at Calcutta.

Scholarship Schemes: With the object of training personnel required for manning the post-war development schemes of the Government of India, Overseas Scholarship scheme was started in 1945. Since then the scheme

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undergone modifications and, in 1952-53, only 25 persons were selected for scholarships of this kind. But since then, several other scholarships and fellowships have been created, such as Federation of British Industries Scheme; Indo-German Industrial Schemes; scholarships to Scheduled castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Classes; scholarships to students from Asia, Africa, and other Commonwealth countries; grants of fellowship to French students; and United Nations and Unesco (United Nations Educational Service and Cultural Organization) Fellowships.

Technical Education

In India, technical education forms a distinct subject and is not included in the University education. Nevertheless, technical institutes began to appear by the middle of the last century and one of the engineering colleges at Roorkee celebrated its centenary and became a university in 1948. On the recommendation of All-India Council for Technical Education, a program of the development of Technical Education was prepared in 1947-48. The Council has, on the recommendation of the Seven-Man Committee, especially appointed by the Council to present to the Planning Commission a Five-Year Plan of Development on Technical Education, drawn up a new program of improvement and expansion of Technical Education at all levels. The Plan contemplates: (a) development of facilities for post-graduate course, advanced training and research; (b) improvement of instructional facilities in engineering and technology at the undergraduate level.

The All-India Council also recommended the setting up of an Administrative Staff College and of a National Institute of Management. A sub-committee is already at work preparing a detailed scheme for the establishment of the former and is examining such questions as location of the college. A second sub-committee is preparing a similar comprehensive report on the setting up of the National Institute of Management. The Council has set up a Board of Assessment to examine standards of technical or professional qualifications. On the advice of the Council the Central Government has decided to establish School of Town and Regional Planning in Delhi as a joint enterprise of the Government and of the Institute of Town Planner (India).

Art and Culture

Since the earliest times, art and culture received royal patronage, which was continued both under Hindu rule and Muslem rule, but under British rule, it was taken over by the Indian Princes. Since the attainment of national independence, the Government of India has undertaken the patronage of art and culture and, on the suggestion of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, decided to establish a National Cultural Trust to promote art and culture through the agencies of national academies, namely: (1) An Academy of Letters for Indian languages, literature, history and philosophy; (2) an Academy of Arts, graphic, plastic and applied; and (3) an Academy of Dance, Drama, and Music.

(1) *The Sangeet Natak Akademi* (Academy of Dance, Drama, and Music) was constituted by a resolution of the Ministry of Education and inaugurated in January 1953. The chief objective of the Academy is to foster and develop Indian dance, drama (including films), and music and to promote through them the cultural unity of the country, as well as to co-ordinate the activities of the regional organizations, promote research, set up training institutions, sponsor festivities and cultural exchanges in the fields of dance, drama and music. The Academy has set up regional academies in the States and inaugurated the National Music Festival in March, 1954, including 43 programs and 60 eminent artists as well as the National Drama Festival for over a month when 21 dramas were played in 14 Indian languages including Sanskrit.

(2) *The National Sahitya Akademi* (National Academy of Letters) was inaugurated in March, 1954. It is a national organization for the development of Indian letters in order to set high literary standards, to foster and co-ordinate literary activities in all Indan languages, and to promote through them the cultural unity of the whole country. The supreme authority of the Akademi vests in the Central Council, which consists of 72 members, including a chairman, a treasurer, five nominees of the Government of India, one representative of each of the 14 National Languages, 14 re-

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presentatives of Indian universities, and eight nominees of the Government of India chosen for their eminence in the field of letters, and two representatives each of the *Sangeet Natak Akademi* and the *Lalit Kala Akademi*. The main objective is to make the people conscious of the unity of Indian literature though written in many languages. The first task of the *Akademi* is to publish a national bibliography of Indian literature. It is to be followed by the publication of a bibliography of all the books published since January, 1954, and a translation of books from other languages. The Government iof India has also announced the prizes of Rs. 5,000 for the most outstanding books published in each of these 14 languages since independence.

(3) *The Lalit Kala Akademi* (National Academy of Art) was set up by a resolution of the Ministry of Education in October, 1953, and inaugurated in August 1954. Its primary function is to encourage and promote study and research in the fields of painting, sculpture, architecture and applied arts. It will also co-ordinate the activities of regional or State activities, promote co-operation among art associations, encourage exchange of ideas between various schools of arts, publish literature on art, and foster national and international contacts through exhibitions, in exchange of personnel and art objects.

Publication: The *Akademi* has begun its publication program by bringing out a portfolio of contemporary paintings. The first issue of the Akademi's official journal, called *Lalit Kala*, was out in July 1955. Among other things an important program of the *Akademi* is a detailed country-wide survey of the surviving folk arts and crafts and the working conditions of the craftsmen.

Exhibition: The first National Exhibition of Art organized by the *Akademi* was inaugurated by the President of India on March 22, 1955, in Delhi. The *Akademi* has instituted awards for the best exhibits, the highest being a gold plaque and a cash prize of Rs. 2000.

(4) *Other Cultural Activities*: Among other cultural activities of the Government, mention must be made of the following: (1) The initiation of scholarships, each of the value of Rs. 250 per month for young workers who have already received their basic training and shown outstanding promise in different fields of cultural activities; (2) The setting aside of a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 for 1954-55 to assist distinguished men of letters, who might find themselves in straitened circumstances; (3) The inauguration of the national gallery of modern art; and (4) the establishment of the first mountaineering institute at Darjeeling in honor of Shri Tenzing Norkey, the conqueror of Mt. Everest, on May 29, 1953.

4. Research and Experiment

Research and experiment are a part of advance education in modern times. Both have long been known in India, especially in connection with such subjects as agriculture, forestry, fishery, mining and tropical and other medicine, and some definite results have also been achieved, such as improved varieties of sugarcane, cotton, wheat, and breeds of dairy cattle. Research work has been established in different parts of the country and in various departments of the Government.

Agricultural Research

The importance of research to agricultural development was first realized by the Government of India from the reports of the Famine Commission of 1880. In 1889, Dr. Voelker was deputed by the Secretary of State for India to advise the Government of India on the utilization of modern science to agriculture in India. His report of 1891 became the basis of the Government policy on agriculture. The Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa and the All-India Board of Agriculture were founded in 1905.

The greatest event in the agricultural development of India was, however, the appointment of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1926-28), one of the recommendations of which was the creation of Indian Council of Agricultural Research in 1929. The Council's Advisory Board consisted of experts representing the States, the universities, and scientific bodies and the Governing Bodies was composed of States Minister of Agriculture and the representatives of Parliament and commercial interests. The Governing Body is assisted by a Board of Research and a Board of extension. In 1951, the Council was completely re-

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organized to enable it to discharge its responsibilities more effectively, especially in the field of extension work. Steps have been taken to set up an extensive service on a national basis to bring about a better co-operation between the research workers and farmers. Central Committees for important commodities, viz., cotton and sugarcane have been established in order to promote improved production and marketing.

The work of the Council is supplemented by those of the newly-created Ministry of Food and Agriculture, which maintains a number of research institutes. The research and extension activities of the Ministry are carried out through the agencies of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the Central Research Institutes, and the Central Committees. During the year 1952-53, more than 300 schemes were developed and a sum of Rs. 4 million was earmarked for new schemes and for the extension of certain old schemes. The most important of these schemes was the method of rice culture in Japan which was very successfully carried out in Bombay State.

Central Research Institutes: The Indian Agricultural Research Institute at Delhi conducts research in basic problems of all-India importance, such as soil fertility and improved varieties of seed which can resist drought, disease, insects and pests and adapt themselves to different types of soil and climate. The research activities at the Institute were intensified in 1952-53 and new projects taken in hand under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation agreement: (1) The Central Rice Research Institute at Cuttack carries out field trials and research on the agronomy, mycology, entomology, botany and chemistry of rice; (2) The Central Potato Research Institute is engaged in evolving improved varieties of potatoes capable of giving high yields; (3) The Central Vegetable Breeding Station at Kulu continues its investigations on self-fertilised seeds and the manipulation of agricultural practices to secure increased production; (4) The Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun was opened in 1914 and is engaged in research on silviculture, botany, entomology, the seasoning and preservation of wood, timber mechanics, cellulose and paper chemistry, and on minor forest products; (5) The Indian Veterinary Research Institute at Izzatnagar was established in 1890 as a small bacteriological laboratory. It has six main research divisions and four auxiliary sections. In addition to research, the Institute undertakes the manufacture of vaccines and provides training for students. The Institute has been recognised by the F.A.O. as an international training centre; (6) The Indian Dairy Research Institute at Bangalore trains students for a diploma course in dairying, and conducts research on dairy problems. (7) At the Indian Lac Research Institute in Namkum, fundamental and applied research on the entomology and chemistry of lac is carried out.

Commodity Committees: The Indian Central Committees for cotton, jute, oil seeds, sugarcane, coconut, arecanut and tobacco operate and subsidise a number of research schemes at various research stations and substations. Of these Committees, most important are: (1) Cotton Committee; (2) Jute Committee; (3) Oilseed Committee; (4) Sugarcane Committee; (5) Coconut Committee; (6) Areccanut Committee. Besides these institutions, there are 22 agricultural colleges affiliated to the various universities. Some of these have well-equipped research sections.

Extension Services: The beginning of an extension organisation for bridging the gap between research workers and farmers was made in 1952. A delegation consisting of Joint or Deputy Directors of Extension from the States together with two officers of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research visited the U.S.A. and Japan to study the extension services in these countries. An agreement concluded between the Ford Foundation and the Government of India in January 1952 provided for the setting up of five Extension Training Centres and 15 Intensive Development Blocks in different States of India.

Industrial Research

The Industrial Research Planning Committee appointed in 1944 by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research to organize Indian research on a national basis made its report on August 11, 1945, and recommended the setting up of a central research organization to be called the National Research Council, with an authority to initiate immediately a

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five-year program of development of scientific and industrial research. The plan envisaged the building and equipment of a national chemical laboratory, a national physical laboratory, certain specialized research institutes, an effective strengthening of the existing research organizations, the setting up of a network of research laboratories in all provinces and major Indian States, and the training of a sufficient research personnel by the award of scholarships tenable in India and abroad.

The functions of the Council are as follows: (1) To organize and maintain laboratories; (2) to establish and maintain specialized research institutes; (3) to stimulate pure and applied research in universities by grants-in-aid and by scholarships and fellowships; (4) to provide for the immediate problem of the dearth of technical and research personnel by the inauguration of scholarships available in India and abroad; (5) to stimulate and encourage research activities by industries; (6) to co-ordinate research activities of all the existing research institutes and departments of the Government and undertake planning of research programs on a comprehensive basis; (7) to function as a National Trust for Patents; (8) to set up a Board of standards and Specifications; (9) to function as a clearing house, encourage deserving scientific and technial societies, and foster the growth of new ones on appropriate lines.

Because of close relation between pure research and industrial application in some cases, it is often hard to keep the distinction: (1) The Board of Scientific Advice took up some scientific work which was co-ordinated with official agencies in 1932. This was replaced by the Industrial Research Bureau in 1934; (2) The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research also helps in the formation of industrial research associations, such associations have already been formed by the Ahmedabad textile industry, Bombay silk and art silk mills, Calcutta jute mills and Sri Ram Institute for industrial research. Recently most of the scientific and industrial research has been combined and consolidated.

Scientific Research

State assistance to scientific research is a thing of recent origin in India. Until recently such research was mostly undertaken by universities and other private institutions. There have, however, been a large number of scientific organizations which have been long established in India in different fields of activites.

Learned Societies: The first in the field of learned society was the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1784; the Survey of India in 1800, the Geological Survey in 1851, the Botanical Survey in 1889 and the Zoological Survey in 1916. But the inauguration of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Sciences in 1876 was followed by the rise of a number of learned societies. Between 1820 and 1948, some 28 such societies were in function in various parts of the country.[7]

Scientific Societies: Of the outstanding scientific recognized societies, mention must be made of the following:

(1) The Indian Science Congress Association, inaugurated in 1914, provides a common forum for the scientists of the country. Since its foundation, the Indian Science Congress has grown in importance. Under its auspices, Indian and foreign scientists meet every year to discuss common problems and exchange ideas.

(2) The National Institute of Sciences (1935) has been recognized by the Government of India as the premier scientific organization and a link between scientific academies, societies, institutions and Government scientific departments and services. It occupies a status analogus to that of the Royal Society of London or that of the National Academy of Washington.

(3) The Government of India set up the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research in 1940 and made it an autonomous body in 1942 with a view to establishing, maintaining and managing the laboratories and institutes devoted to scientific and industrial research.

The Council is administered by a Governing Body with Prime Minister as its Chairman

7. Of these societies and associations most important were those on Agriculture and Horticulture (Calcutta, 1920); Anthropology (Bombay, 1886); British Medical (Bombay Branch, 1886); Indian Chemical (1924); National Institute of Sciences (Delhi, 1935); Mining and Geological Institute (1906); Indian Science Congress (Calcutta, 1914); National Academy of Sciences (Allahabad, 1930); etc.—Source: *India 1953*, Government of India, 1953, pp. 221-22.

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and the Minister of Natural Resources as its Vice-President. Non-officials representing science, business, and industry, as well as the representatives of the Ministry of Finance, are also members of the Governing Body. The Governing Body is advised by a Board of Scientific and Industrial Research consisting of some eminent scientists, mostly non-officials.[8] The Board is also assisted in turn by a number of research advisory committees.

(4) The Department of Scientific Research was created by the Government of India in June 1948, to supervise and co-ordinate scientific research undertaken in the States and private institutions. Subsequently, the Department became a part of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, which was established by the Government of India in 1952.

National Laboratories: With the achievement of national independence in 1947, the question of industrial advancement became more important and it was also realized that the standard of living must be improved by pressing science into the service of manufacturing industries. Since August 15 1947, the Research Board, representing the National Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has established the following national laboratories at the estimated cost of about Rs. 28.4 million up to March 31, 1952: (1) Central Glass and Ceramic Institute, Jadavpur, Calcutta; (2) Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad; (3) National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur; (4) National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi; (5) National Chemical Laboratory, Poona; (6) Central Road Research Institute, Delhi; (7) Central Leather Research Institute, Madras; (8) Central Electro-Chemical Research Institute, Karaikudi (South India); (9) Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow; (10) Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee (Uttar Pradesh); (11) Central Food Technological Institute, Mysore; (12) Central Electronic Engineering Institute, Pilani; (13) National Botanical Garden; (14) Central Salt Research Station, Bhavanagar (Proposed).

Independent Research: In addition to Government Research Institutes, there are also several private institutes devoted to pure research: (1) Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeo Botany, Lucknow; (2) Bose Research Institute, Calcutta; (3) Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta; (4) Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore; (5) Raman Laboratories of the Indian Academy of Science, Bangalore; and (6) Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay.

The Council also helps in the formation of industrial research associations similar to those that are being set up in Great Britain. Such associations have already been formed by the Ahmedabad textile industry, silk and art mills of Bombay and leather manufacturers and tanners of South India. Of the other researches initiated by the Council or otherwise, mention may be made of the following:

(1) *Subsidizing Research*: The Council encourages fundamental and applied research in the universities and other research institutes through grants-in-aid. At present there are over a hundred research schemes in progress in these institutions.

(2) *Engineering Research*: With a view to initiating and co-ordinating research on different engineering subjects, the Board of Engineering Research was inaugurated in 1950. The Board is assisted by five expert committees such as those of Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical and Radio Engineering, Aeronautic Engineering and Hydraulic Engineering.

(3) *Nuclear Research* is of recent origin in India and the pioneer work was undertaken by the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research founded in 1945. The Institute undertook both research and training on nuclear physics. It is financed by the Government.

(4) *Atomic Energy Commission* was set up in August 1948. Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1948, the Commission deals with all matters connected with the development and production of atomic energy. The Board of Research on Atomic Energy and the Cosmic Ray Committee assist the Commission in carry-

8. These research committees are on the following subjects: (1) Glass and Refractories; (2) Chemical Research; (3) Physical Research; (4) Fuel Research; (5) Vegetable Oils; (6) Cellulose Research; (7) Bio-Chemical Research; (8) Pharmaceuticals and Drugs; (9) Plastics; (10) Essential Oils (11) Atmospheric Research; (12) Metals Research; (13) Mining Research; (14) High Altitude Research; (15) Leather Research, etc.—Source: *India in 1953*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, p. 223.

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ing out the educational and research program. The Commission has been responsible for setting up the Indian Rare Earth Limited in Travancore which is owned both by the Government of India and of Travancore-Cochin.[9]

Calendars Reform Scheme: In India there are at present 30 calendars in vogue. It has been recognized that there should be a single and uniform calendar all over the country. Early in 1953, the Government of India set up a Calendar Reform Committee under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. Attempts are being made to prepare an All India National Solar Calendar on a scientific basis to which the Lunar Calendar, which is essential for religious purposes will be adjusted. It has been decided that a locality 82.5 degrees east of Greenwich on the same latitude as Ujjain, should be selected as the central Indian station for all calculations. The Committee has also recommended the establishment of a central astronomical observatory equipped with modern instruments.

9. Source: *India in 1953*, Government of India, Delhi, 1953, pp. 221-26.

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THE DRAGON'S TEETH

By J. C. BOSE

It must have been not a very happy moment when Vincent Smith wrote:

"India, beyond doubt possesses a deep, underlying fundamental unity far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect."—*Oxford History of India.*

Right from the days, since when Clive instructed the Board of Directors of the East India Company to 'encourage' in respect of the Army what he called 'rivalship between the Gentoos and Musalmans' to obviate the danger of 'cabals of any alarmning nature being formed,' British rule made no bone of its pleasure to see to it that this unity did not help the people to consolidate into one strong united Nation.

As Bengal faced in the first decade of this century the flash and steel of a well-posted, terribly efficient administration, and was writing a page of history no less decisive as it was glorious, forces beyond the schedule of bars and bayonets were at work to thwart, waylay and circumvent the national struggle. The major one that beats the others hollow in its sinister purposefulness is Separate Electorate. It constitutes, possibly for all time, a standard of what since the days of Pericles Imperialism has sought to pass its divide and rule under the debasing counterfeit trusteeship. It completely disrupted India, built anew in modern times on the basis of a synthesis of the East and the West.

On 1st October, 1906, His Highness Aga Khan headed a deputation of some Mahomedans to wait upon Lord Minto, the Governor General, praying for a separate electorate for the Moslems:

"Now in 1906," says Aga Khan in his *Memoirs*, "we boldly asked the Viceroy to look facts in the face; we asked that the Moslems of India should not be regarded as a mere minority, but as a nation within nation, whose rights and obligations should be guaranteed by statute."

I doubt if the word 'nation' was anywhere used. Minto said in reply:

"The Mahomedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded."

Morley in sponsoring the India Bill of 1909 spoke of the difference between the Moslems and the Hindus as "a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of belief that constitute a community." In any case, Minto said to the deputationists, "I am entirely in accord with you." What modicum of unity Britain gave India by one Rule, one Law, one coinage, one postage and facilities of travel, adventitious

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aided by the English lauguage acting as the *lingua franca* of India's new-born intelligentsia, the unity England boasted as having given India which no other conqueror ever gave the conquered, was wrecked here and now.

"Here were critical years," I cite this authority of Aga Khan, none more competent to say, "in that vast complex process, which brought about in little more than forty years the partition of the Indian sub-continent into two separate States, Bharat and Pakistan."

On the question of the *bonafides* of the deputation, it is enough to say that Mahammad Ali, who supported Separate Electorate, characterised it as "a command performance" and compared the deputationists to the undertrial prisoner in the dock, who, when asked by the Judge if he had a counsel to plead for him, said, 'No, but I have friends among the Jury.' The two architects exchanged notes; Morley wrote to Minto:

"It was your early speech about their extra claims which started the Mahomedan hare."—*Recollections.*

It gives us beyond controversy an authoritative clue to the genesis of Separate Electorate. Nothing more revealing, however, is Lady Minto's *Journal*. She writes:

"This has been a very very eventful day, as someone said to me, an epoch in Indian history. In the afternoon a tea-party was given for the Deputation in the garden of the Viceregal lodge; was also attended by members of Council. We talked to many of the delegates as most of them speak English and it was touching to hear their appreciation of the sympathy and understanding shown them. This evening I have received the following letter from an official—'I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very very big thing has happened today—a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year; it is nothing less than pulling back sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition.' Mr. Morley after receiving an account of the proceedings wrote, 'All you tell me of your Mahomedans is full of interest, and I only regret that I could not have moved unseen at your garden party. The whole thing has been as good as it could be'."

I quote Lady Minto at some length, because in these few lines she has built up a structure complete in harmony. In what concept Britain understood 'statesmanship' in her relation with India cannot afford to be glossed over and is an abiding possession of history. The then Indian leaders were hiccups of gratitude for the Morley-Minto Reforms. To Pundit Madanmohan Malaviya, the President of the 1909 Lahore Congress, Minto was 'the liberal-minded Viceroy,' who 'had taken a statesman-like note of the signs of the times and the needs of the country.' Later on, as the wearers came to feel where the shoe pinched, there were oblique glances at Minto, but Morley continued to be 'the high-priest of liberalism.' It is unfortunate, historically, that the tendency lingers. Jawaharlal Nehru writes as late as 1945 that

"Morley resisted separate electorate but ultimately agreed under pressure from the Viceroy."—*The Discovery of India.*

Would Morley, who resisted Edward VII to bitter extremes for the token observance of a clause of Queen Victoria's Proclamation in the matter of admitting Indians 'freely and impartially' to high offices under the Crown, would Morley, whom Churchill calls "an autocrat and almost a martinet at the India Office" accommodate the conservative Minto on so vital a matter were he not inwardly at one with him? What otherwise explains his exultation that 'the whole thing has been as good as it could be.' Morley congratulates Minto in his personal correspondence:

"It stamps your position and personal authority decisively. Among other good effects of your deliverance is this, that it has completely deranged the plans and tactics of the critical faction* here. I hope that even my stoutest Radical friends will now see that the problem is not quite so simple as this."

The self-same Morley shrieked with righteous indignation in the House of Lords that a monostrosity like separate electorate was being incorporated into the statute of India against his grain and in the compulsion of circumstances.

"Some may be shocked," he says, "at the idea of a religious register, of a register framed on the principle of a religious belief. We may wish, we do wish—certainly I do that it were otherwise. We hope that time with careful and impartial statesmanship will make things otherwise."

* Sir Henry Cotton, Ramsay Macdonald and others were heckling Morley on the policy of playing off the Mahomedans.

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In the context of the extent of Morley's shock as now laid bare, the point for determination remains if such a hope, as he expressed, does at all fit in with the trend of his thoughts. Supposing his own disclaimer that "if this chapter of Reforms led directly or necessarily up to the establishment of parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it" was a claptrap to wheedle the diehards, what Churchill says from his very intimate association with Morley cannot be passed over. Churchill says in *Great Contemporaries* that

"Morley felt no sense of contradiction in declaring his hostility to anything like Home-Rule for India."

"Statesmen," says Morley in his biography of Gladstone on the point of Gladstone's uneasiness over the manifestly unjust Opium War in China, 'can have no concern with paternosters, the Sermons on the Mount or vademacum of the moralist." Is this too his excuse and apology? The added piquancy is in the truth that Morley, the intellectual child of John Stuart Mill, Morley, the author of *Cromwell*, *Burke*, etc., was loath to have himself stultified in the eye of posterity and therefore breathed some hot sanctimony into his speech. He did not, besides, reckon a Minto with wife to trot out 'my husband's statesmanship.' 'Honest John' is, however, honest in one respect and is to be complimented for his forthright assessment of separate electorate.

"We are," he writes Minto, "sowing the dragon's teeth."

Morley at least, therefore, contemplated a result as fatal as what ensued from Cadmus having sown dragon's teeth at Boetia in Greece, from out of the two rows of which soldiers sprang up and fought each other till the city was razed to the ground.

The next dose of the promised 'careful and impartial statesmanship' is the Montford Reforms. Montague announced on behalf of the British Cabinet that the policy of His Majesty's Government was that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration with a view to progressive realisation of responsible government, the expression 'responsible government' being substituted for self-government of the original draft, under pressure from Lord Curzon, the then Foreign Secretary. Montague, as he toured India for an on-the-spot study, wrote Lloyd George to beware of any extension of separate electorate, which had proved the ruin of democracy in India.

"Division by creeds and classes," says the Report of Montague and Chelmsford, "means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the cure from this system to national representation is ever to occur."

But the conclusion is pre-conceived, predetermined and as inexorable—'much as we regret, we are convinced that the present system must be maintained.' Joseph Addison in his *Coverly Papers* gives us the picture of a young man writing his father home. Amid the many things he was writing about, he was so intensely thinking of his new-found flame that he concluded the letter by the sentence 'and you see she, my dearest dear.' Montague not only maintained separate electorate but maintained it with vengeance by eventually extending it to Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. In fact,

"The very idea of India," says Joshiah Wedgwood in the House of Commons during the passage of the India Act, 1919, "vanished from the Bill to be replaced by disunited communities of Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and the English."

We pause to reflect that Montague and Chelmsford jointly held that for India to become a self-governing national unit with separate electorate as the linchpin in the whole administration was an impossibility. And having committed themselves to this in print, the moment of absent-minded frankness, they loudly proclaimed that self-government was the aim of British rule in India. Next it is interesting to see how one duplicates the other even linguistically. Morley wished us to wait 'till time with careful and impartial statesmanship would make things otherwise' and Montague 'until conditions alter, even at the price of slow progress towards the realization of common citizenship.' Are they not like Macaulay's *Steele* inculcating what was right

† Ramsay Macdonald's Cabinet, with Baldwin as leading member warmly supporting, declared in 1931 that the promise of self-government was implicit in the 1917 Declaration of Montague.

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doing what is wrong, so far as our political destiny was concerned?

Contarini, the hero of Disraeli's fiction *Contarini Fleming*, tells his father that he has left the school, because he wanted to be taught some ideas but was given instead 'words and only words.' The father disapproves of the son's action, because, ideas, he says, may be correct or incorrect, but 'words rule men.' I cannot resist this imagery when I recall how hypocrisy cloaked every form of exploitation; how every concession was hedged in by alien conditions and reserve, residuary power as to neutralise its efficiency; and how, in short, ideals preached were not lived up to, unless forced by the stress of circumstances.

Asquith as British Prime Minister eulogised Morley for the Reforms as "a step, which will avert the serious danger which has been confronting us for the last few years."—Speech at the House of Commons on the India Bill, 1909.

With regard to Montague, his sister claims that her brother's one solid contribution to the Empire is that he kept India absorbed in her own affairs so that she might not tune herself up to the mighty forces at work in the First Great War.—Introduction to *The Indian Diary* of Montague.

Lady Minto speaks of Ripon as a school boy who has started in a race with his fellows and is running loyally ahead, unaware that they have stopped and that the world is laughing at his useless zeal. Montague, after the war was ended, was thrown into a far worse plight. In between Morley's and Montague's Reforms there was for Bengal particularly one big dose of careful and impartial statesmanship.' In the name of annulling her Partition, Lord Hardinge excluded Bengal of some districts to make them over to the newly-created province of Bihar and Orissa. In other words, Hardinge made the whole of Bengal a Moslem zone what Curzon intended the new province of East Bengal and Assam to be. In still more explicit terms Lord Hardinge consummated the process by which the nationalists, *i.e.*, the 'seditious opposition' could not form a majority in Bengal.

While contemplating to undo the Bengal Partition in the manner he did, Hardinge had in his sleeves a Muslim University at Dacca. He was designing to make it devote to emphasize the study of Islamic culture and civilization and making it function on the basis of separate representation to the Senate and the Syndicate, etc., what was primarily intended was to foster a spirit of divisiveness between the Hindu and the Moslem right from the plastic youthful of life. It is again difficult to ignore the family-likeness between the Dacca University formed out of its nucleus, the Dacca College, and the Aligarh University out of Aligarh College. In loyal lineage to Principal Beck of the Aligarh College, who weaned away Syed Ahmed from the Indian National Congress to help grow pro-British and anti-Congress shibboleths in the Moslems of India, Principal Archibald of the Dacca College drafted the Address of Aga Khan's Deputation and otherwise rendered a yeoman's service to usher into existence the Muslim League at Dacca. In the concrete, the Dacca University cumulatively destroyed Bengal's composite culture; 'the independent sovereign nation of Pakistan.' as Aga Khan claims, 'was born at the Aligarh University.'

For a subject-people under the British Crown, the lesson of history is, there is nothing to choose between a Curzon and a Hardinge. By remorseless gearing Hindu representation in the truncated Bengal was reduced to 30 per cent under Hoare-Willingdon autonomy—the Lucknow Pact fixed Moslem representation in Bengal at 40 per cent. It is significant that the same old Aga Khan, raised in flattering succession from K.C.I.E. to G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I. and a His Highness with a salute of eleven guns to boot, was duly at his post in the Round Table Conference to help England add one more feather to her cap of Morley-Minto brand 'statesmanship'. The Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare (now Lord Templewood) chuckled in the House of Commons that he could not imagine of any 'land-slide' by which Bengal would run counter to British interests.

The authors of Montford Report say:

> "We can see no reason to set up communal representation for Mahomedans where they form a majority of voters."

It was a still-born suggestion and the Congress leadership, which by now passed to the new-school politics, cared not a straw to pursue it. Was it at all any thought for that leadership to consider how the imperialistic designs bore

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on Bengal? With every instalment of Reforms as other provinces retired for the time being to enjoy a bivouac, Bengal heard the clang of one more nail driven to her corporate, national life. Far be it from me that I should belittle the leadership, which has reared up Indians into a Nation by 'bringing together bone to bone and infusing breath into them, so that they lived and stood upon their feet an exceeding great army.' History will yet scan that leadership a bit hard, because it failed most abysmally to read aright the malignance of separate electorate, which crushed Bengal and then led to the fratricidal division of India. There is a sense of strange irony in an attitude of 'neither acceptance nor rejection' of the separate electorate and then split hairs over its inevitable consequence.

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LOTUS AND INDIAN ART

By S. K. ASAWA

Indian artists represented their ideas with the help of symbols, and the lotus-flower is the main symbol of Indian art. Primarily, the lotus-flower appears to have symbolized for the Aryans from very remote times the idea of superhuman or divine birth; and secondarily, the creative force and immortality. The traditional

Fig. 3. Manjusri sitting on a lotus and dispelling ignorance with his uplifted sword of knowledge

Hindu and Buddhist explanation of it is that the glorious lotus-flower appears to spring not from the sordid earth but from the surface of the water of the lake. It thus expresses the idea of supernatural birth, and the emergence of the first-created object from the primordial waters of chaos. As an emblem of pure birth the lotus-flower is instanced in the Vaisnavite 'Bhagavad Gita.'

As an emblem of divine birth, the lotus-flower is the commonest of motifs in Buddhist art and literature. In the Buddhist paradise of Sukhavati, the goal of popular Mahayana Buddhists where no woman exists, every one is born as a god upon a lotus-flower. The Western notion of the beatitude of 'Lotus-eating' is possibly a memory of this old tradition of divine birth, and divine existence.

A form of this myth of divine birth is probably the myth which invests Buddha with the miraculous power of imprinting the image of a lotus-flower on the earth at every step that he took. The lotus was especially identified with the Sun. This association rested doubtless upon the natural observation that the flower opened when the sun rose and closed at sunset. This suggested to the primitive mind the idea that the flower might be the residence of the sun during its nocturnal passage through the under-world, or that it might be the re-vivifier, resurrector, or regenerator of the fresh or refreshed sun of the next day. The large multi-rayed flowers would also contribute to this association. It is probably from this association with the sun that we find the lotus-flower in the Gandhara sculpture, and often subsequently, taking the place on Buddha's footprints of the 'wheeled disk of the sun with its thousand spokes.' This possibly was the origin of lotus-marked footprints.

As regards its application in the religious art, lotus figures, with the rise of that art in India, are found on all the Buddhist monuments which came into being in different parts of the country from about 200 B.C. onwards. In its simplest form the expanded lotus is very frequent as a circular ornament in the sculptures at Sanchi, Bharhut, Amaravati and

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Gaya. It is also found in the rock-cut temples of Western India. In these temples the lotus-flower is introduced as medallion on pillars, panels and ceilings. Very elaborately carved half lotuses sometimes appear used thus, or, in Ceylon, as so-called moonstones—semi-circular stone slabs at the foot of staircases.

Fig. 2. Prajnaparamita sitting on a lotus

Lotus growing on stalks also occurs in the sculptures of Gandhara and Mathura. They are also figured in elaborate floral designs on the pillars of Sanchi and panels of Amaravati.

Figure 1 shows the beautiful application of lotus-flower in one of the pictures of the splendid shrine of Borobudur in Java. The Shrine of Borobudur is the most magnificent monument of Buddhist art in whole Asia and is ascribed to *circa* A.D. 750 to 800. This figure represents a group of Indian women drawing water from the village tank. One of them bending over the lotus-covered water is just filling her vessel, watching it intently as she draws it up with her left hand, while the right hand is raised to grasp it when it comes within reach. Some with their vessels filled and balanced truly on their heads are already moving off with queenly steps, and wending their ways towards the village shrine. Others are approaching the water with their empty vessels. And one apart from the rest has placed her vessel on the ground, and, leaving her household cares awhile kneels at the feet of the master listening with rapt attention to the master full of tenderness and divine compassion; such words were never spoken before. How marvellously the artist has depicted his ideas and what an atmosphere of purity, freshness and womanly grace breathes through it all!

The lotus is further found from the earliest times conventionalized either as a seat or as a pedestal on which divine or sacred beings rest in a sitting and standing posture. The oldest and the most striking example of this use is exhibited in the figure of the Hindu goddess Lakshmi in the Buddhist sculptures of Sanchi, Udayagiri and Bharhut. This picture of Lakshmi is very frequently repeated on the gateways of the great stupa of Sanchi. She is portrayed sitting or standing on a lotus and holding up in each hand a lotus-flower which is watered by two elephants from pots raised aloft by their trunks. This ancient type is found all over India even at the present day. It also occurs among the old sculptures at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon.

After Buddha began to be represented in sculpture, from about the beginning of our era, his image constantly appears sitting cross-legged on a lotus-flower. In this form it occurs at Rajgir, in Bihar, in Kanheri caves near Bombay, and often in the Gandhara monuments of the north-west. From the latter region this type spread beyond the confines of India, reappearing in Nepal, Burma, China, and Japan. Even when the seat is not actually the flower itself two, three or four lotuses are carved on the front. Such lotuses are even found delineated on a foot stool on which Gautama rests his feet instead of sitting cross-legged. The number of petals of such lotuses varies from four to six.

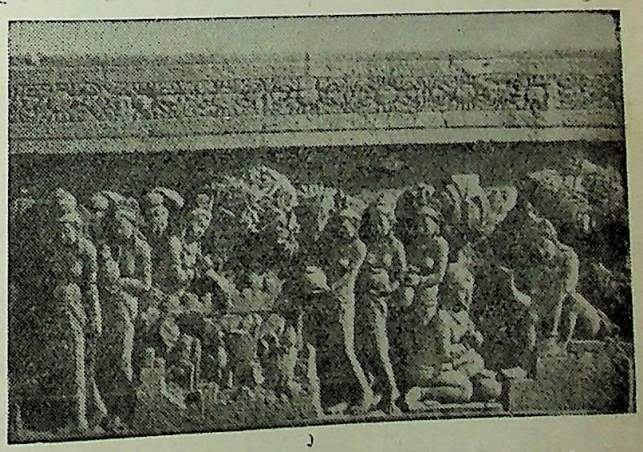

Fig. 1. A group of Indian women drawing water from the village tank which is covered with lotus leaves

The beautiful stone figure of Prajnaparamita from Java Fig. 2, now in the Ethnographic Museum at Leyden is a wonderful realisation of Indian artistic ideas and worthy to rank as one of the most spiritual creations of any art, Eastern and Western. Seated on a lotus-flower, the symbol of purity and divine birth in the pose of a Yogini, Prajnaparamita is making with her

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hands the *mudra* or symbolic sign of spiritual instruction. Her face has that ineffable expression of heavenly grace which Giovanni Bellini, above all Italian masters, gave to his Madonnas. Prajnaparamita, as the consort of Buddha, was regarded as the mother of the universe. A book is placed on the lotus-flower, the stalks of which are twined round her left arm. The date of this sculpture is unknown but from the style of the execution it must be attributed to the former period of Buddhist art in Java.

Fig. 4. Dharmapala standing on a dead body over a lotus-flower

The use of lotus seat has been extended to images of 'Bodhisattvas' not only in India but in Buddhist countries beyond its borders. Thus Manjusri is represented sitting in this way not only in Sarnath near Benares, but also in Java and Tibet. Manjusri (Fig. 3) is the Buddhist analogue of the Hindu Brahma or Visvakarma. What a suggestion of majesty and restrained power there is in Manjusri dispelling ignorance with his uplifted sword of knowledge and sitting on a lotus-flower. This is from a gilt copper statuette in the Calcutta art gallery, which is interesting as a historical landmark. The inscription on it shows that it was made to commemorate the death of a learned Pandit and dedicated to a Nepalese shrine in the year A.D. 1782. The full inscription translated is as follows:

"Blessing! Hail! Khagamaju! On the occasion of the death of Buddhacharya Ranta Traya this image of Manjusri was made in the *samvat* 902, month Kartik, 10th day of the waning moon. Bliss."

The lotus seat and pedestal have almost an universal application in connection with the figures of Hindu mythology. Thus Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu appear seated on a lotus seat with their respective wives Saraswati, Parvati and Lakshmi. Also Agni, god of fire, Pavan, god of wind, Ganesh, god of wisdom, Vishnu's incarnation Rama and demon Ravana are all found represented on a lotus-flower. Vishnu in addition holds regularly a lotus-flower in one of his hands.

The device of lotus-flower in the hand seems to have symbolized not merely divine birth but the possession of the life everlasting, and the preservation and procreation of life. Such was it with the goddess Shri and her derivative—the Buddhist Tara, both of whom have the title 'Garlanded by lotus.' In the mystical Vedic 'Satapath Brahmana' the lotus-flower was a symbol of womb. The lotus-flower is also seen in the hands of Avalokita—the consort of Tara, Maitreya and other divine 'Bodhisattvas.' The lotus in the hand is the metaphysical significance and denotes the preservation of the life of the Law and the re-vivifier of the same.

Among the Tibetan saints the lotus is the special emblem of the founder of the order of Lamas. Images of divine symbols such as seven treasures are also figured usually upon lotus-flowers.

Figures of lotus-flowers are also found in the cave temples of Aurangabad and on the walls of Ajanta and Ellora. The lotus-flower is also found on the pillars of Asoka's time. Figure 4 shows another beautiful application of the lotus-flower. In this Dharmapala is represented standing on a dead body over a lotus-flower. What tremendous energy and divine fury are concentrated in the statuette of Dharmapala, a manifestation of the supreme Buddha as a defender of the faith, trampling under foot the enemies of religion.

When the influence of Buddhism waned we found Hindu sculpture reverting to more conventional and symbolic types. Because of this the lotus was used to represent even more ideas. During the tide of Buddhism, India had sent streams of colonists, missionaries and craftsmen from the sea ports of her western and eastern coasts to all over Southern Asia, Ceylon, Siam, and far distant Cambodia. Through China and Korea, Indian art entered Japan about the middle of the sixth century, *circa* A.D. 603. Indian colonists from Gujarat brought Indian art into Java, and at Borobudur, in the eighth and ninth centuries, when Indian art achieved its greatest triumph. In all these monuments and sculptures the lotus occurs very frequently as a symbol of various ideas such as purity, divine birth, beauty, duty and greatness.

In fact, the lotus-flower has symbolized all the noble and bright ideas and feelings which can rise in the human heart and mind, and no doubt it proved to be a most useful boon for Indian art which is essentially idealistic, mystic, symbolic and transcendental.

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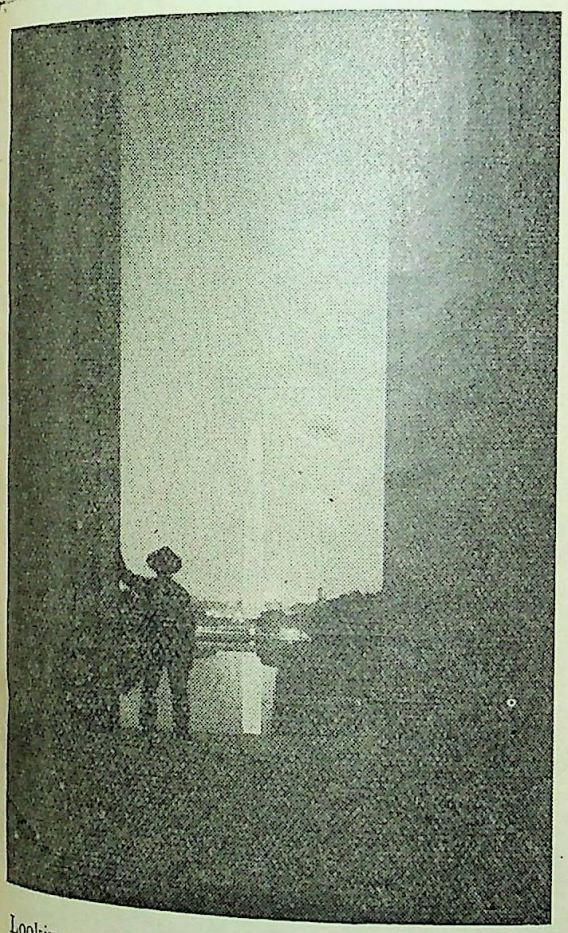
AMERICA LIVES IN THE LINCOLN TRADITION

If Abraham Lincoln could revisit Washington, D.C., where he lived while serving as Congressman from the State of Illinois and as President of the United States, he would marvel at the progress the national capital and the country have made in various fields of endeavour. Amid all these changes, however, Lincoln also would find something familiar in the country—the principles of freedom and equality which he championed, and which Americans have cherished during the intervening century.

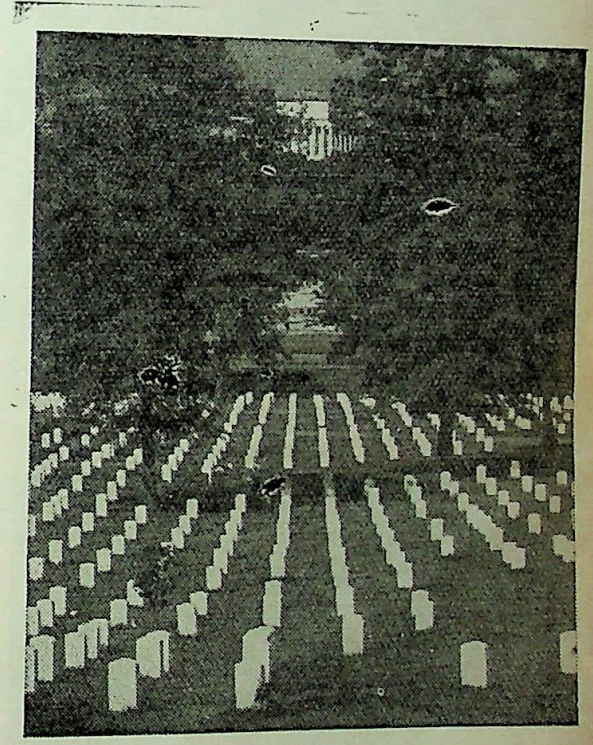


Looking east from the Memorial, Lincoln's statue faces the tall white shaft of the Washington Monument and directly behind it, the domed National Capitol

Over the years a grateful people has paid tribute to the memory of this distinguished statesman and humanitarian in many ways, notably by naming cities and towns, universities and schools, highways, mountains and parks in his honor. The State of Nebraska named its capital city after him.

But it is a marble shrine in Washington, D.C., the Lincoln Memorial, that best expresses the epitome of this Nation's reverence for Abraham Lincoln. It is to this shrine that some two million people come yearly, from all over the world, to pay a personal tribute, to feel a sense of closeness to a great and simple man. It is from this shrine that people come away with a sense of exaltation, of encouragement, and sometimes of inspiration.

This Memorial, a marble structure erected in Potomac Park, was dedicated on May 20, 1922. The building, designed by Henry Bacon, American Architect, is 188 feet long, 118 feet wide and 80 feet high. Bacon was a devotee of the grand style in architecture, an ardent lover of the art of Greece. From the time he was commissioned to design the Memorial, it was the all-absorbing interest in his life. A part of every week for ten years found him in Washington, watching over every stone that was laid, trying every experiment that could possibly lead to perfection.



The Lincoln Memorial faces Arlington National Cemetery across the Potomac River

Referring to the Memorial, Daniel Chester French, the sculptor of the heroic-size statue of Lincoln which dominates the interior of the building, wrote: "Many people say they are unable to associate Lincoln with a Greek Temple, as they believe the Memorial to be, but to me nothing else would have been more suitable, for the Greeks alone were able to express in their buildings, monuments and statues the highest attributes and the greatest beauty known to men. The Memorial tells you, as you approach it, just what manner of man you are come to pay homage to, his simplicity, his grandeur and his power."

French's statue of Lincoln is 19 feet high, and

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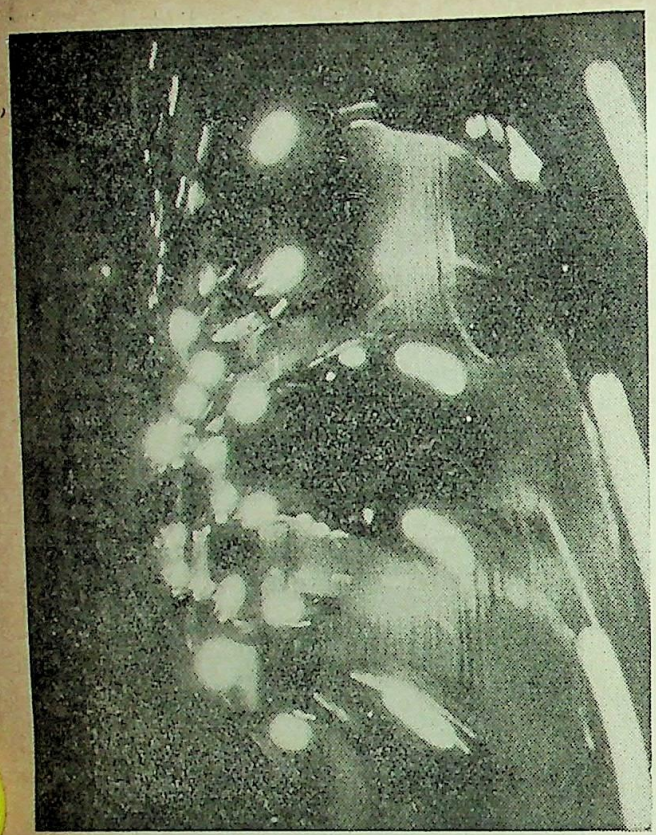
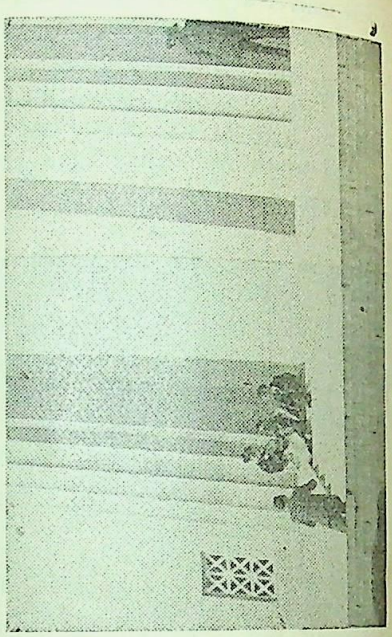
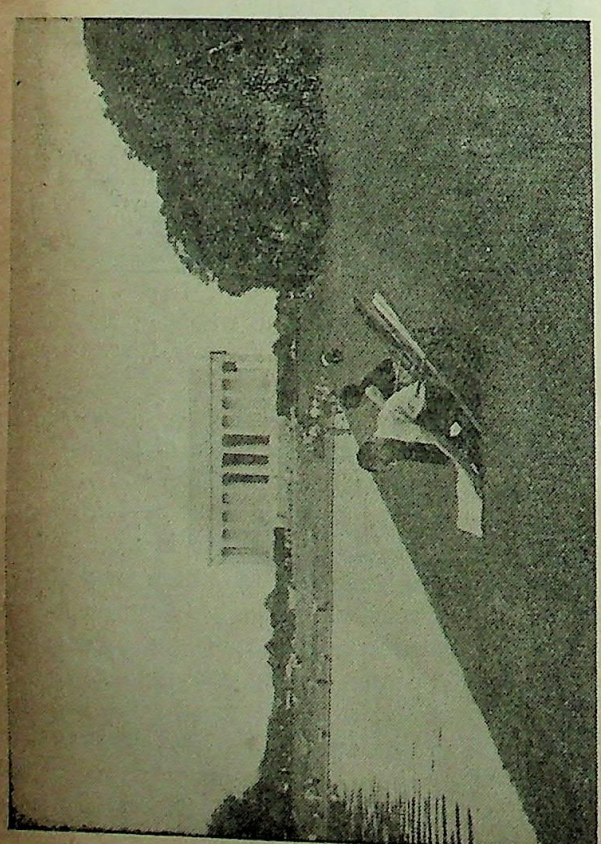
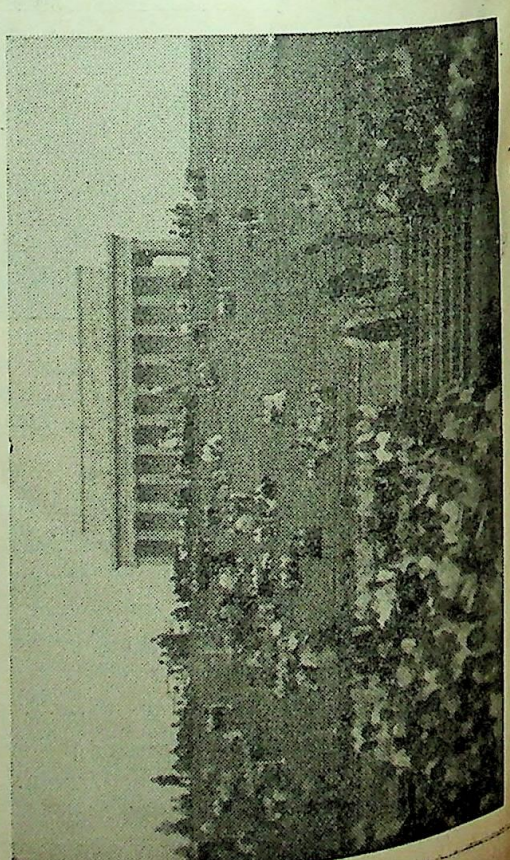


Rush hour traffic speeds past Lincoln Memorial as people drive home from work





The park area around the Lincoln Memorial is used by people who enjoy their leisure time here



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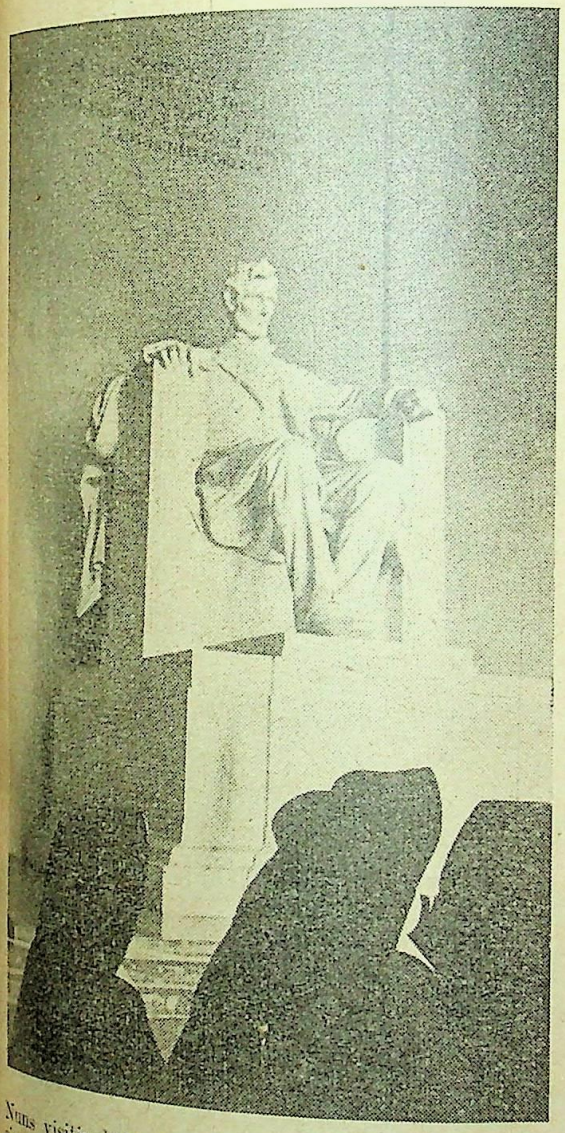
portrays the President seated in an armchair. When he was first commissioned to do the statue, the sculptor wondered how he was going to portray his Lincoln. The statue should have the calm of the best Greeks, and still retain the intense personality of the subject. The sculptor concluded that the site definitely demanded a seated figure, largely because of the many vertical notes of the Memorial's colonnade—a vertical figure would be ineffective because of the repetition. In keeping with a classic building, the curule chair was decided upon, the formal dignified chair of Roman antiquity. The pose in such a chair would bring out the largeness and breadth of Lincoln, and the figure and the chair would become a spacious and integrated whole. It would have, at the same time relaxation and solidity.

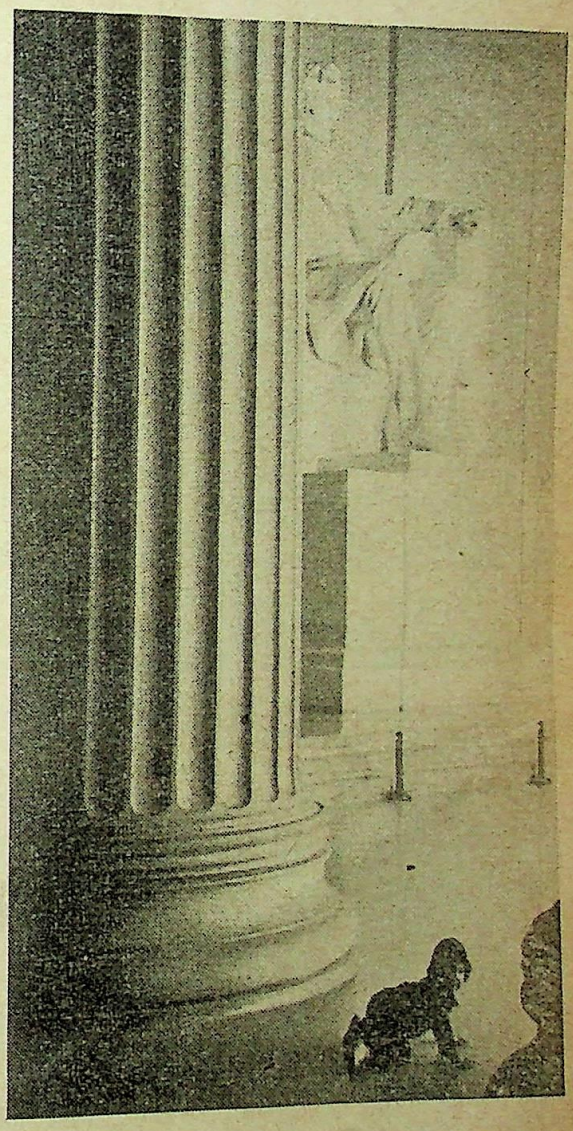
Because these two dedicated artists, Bacon and French, worked together in complete sympathy to bring this dream of a grand memorial to Lincoln to its fruition, there is today beside the Potomac River, one of the noblest memorials in the world and one of the most satisfying.

The unity of the country which Lincoln preserved despite the ordeal of a civil war (1861-1865) has grown stronger in the century just past. This unity found strength and vigor in newcomers from many parts of the world who sought opportunity, freedom and security and contributed their skills, talents and arts to the economic and cultural growth of the nation.

The park area around the Memorial is used by people who set up beach chairs and read their newspapers; by little boys who sail boats and play ball, and by other visitors who just relax on the green lawns. Increased leisure time for the average



Suns visiting Washington, D.C., view the heroic-size statue of the 16th President of the United States (1861-1865)



One of the nation's 169 million citizens enjoys his freedom as his parents and other visitors pay silent tribute to the Memorial

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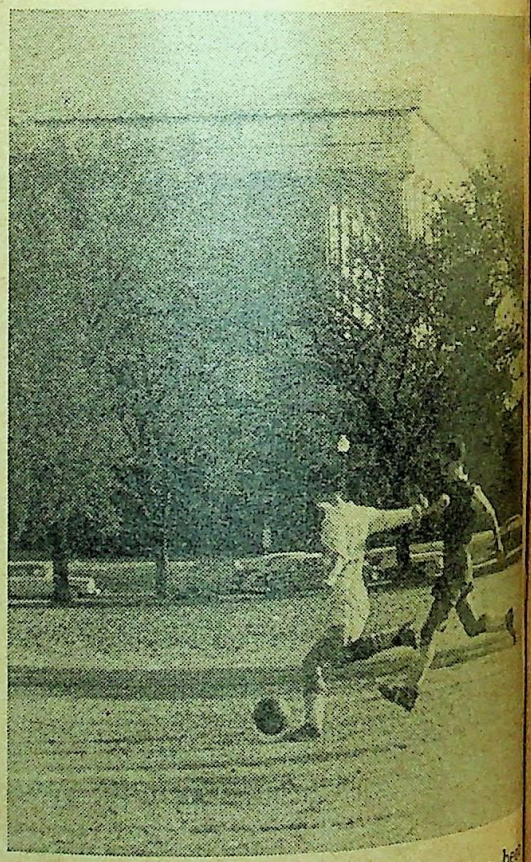
American is something Lincoln could see anywhere in the country. The work-week has steadily shrunk while at the same time the average citizen's productivity has vastly increased and his living standard improved.

The satisfaction derived from hard work was something Lincoln could share with his fellow-Americans

The unity of the country which Lincoln preserved despite the ordeal of a civil war (1861-1865) has grown stronger in the country

The satisfaction derived from hard work was something Lincoln could share with his fellow Amer... Before he became a lawyer, Congressman and Pre... he had worked as a store clerk, postmaster and laborer, splitting rails with an axe to earn his livi...

Rush-hour traffic speeds past Lincoln Me... (top of photo) and across the highway bridge span... the Potomac River as people drive home from w... In Lincoln's time most workers lived within wa... distance of their place of employment or depended bicycles or horse-drawn cars for transportation to from their homes. In the last half-century, the mobile has radically changed their way of life many Americans. It has become a vehicle of decen... ization, enabling countless thousands of city wo... to live in suburban areas. Today seven out of American families own one or more cars.



The park adjoining the Memorial has be... developed into soccer fields and base-b... diamonds for public use

The park adjoining the Memorial has been loped into soccer fields and baseball diamonds public use. Such playing fields are typical of thos... of sports areas maintained by communities throug... the country for the enjoyment of their citizens.

One of the nation's 169 million citizens enjoy... freedom as his parent and other visitors to the M... rial pay silent tribute to one of their country's

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Presidents, Abraham Lincoln. When he was Chief Executive, the nation's population totalled 31 million.

Music lovers of the Washington area gather at dusk to hear a symphony concert in the amphitheatre near the Lincoln Memorial. Americans not only like to listen to serious music at concerts and on phonograph records, radio and television, but take an active part in orchestral and choral groups, as testified by the growing number of amateur musical organizations throughout the country.

Two million citizens a year walk up these marble steps to visit the Lincoln Memorial. Many of them are parents bringing their chidren there to acquaint them more fully with Lincoln's role in American history and with the heritage of freedom and equality which he preserved and passed on to them.

Looking east from the Memorial, Lincoln's statue faces the tall white shaft of the Washington Monument, and directly behind it, the domed National Capitol, seat of the United States Congress. Around these landmarks is the City of Washington whose population has grown more than ten-fold since Lincoln's inauguration as President in 1860—from 75,000 to 850,000.

Nuns visiting Washington, D.C., view the heroic-size statue of the sixteenth United States President during their tour of the Lincoln Memorial. They represent one of the 254 religious bodies in the United States, which comprise a total church membership of more than 100 million citizens.

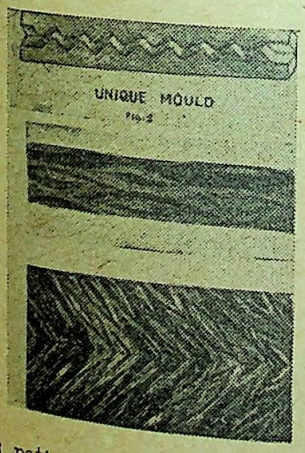
The Lincoln Memorial faces Arlington National Cemetery, across the Potomac River. Here are the graves of men who died in their country's wars, whose sacrifice is measured in these words from Lincoln's eloquent address on the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on November 19, 1863: ". . . we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."—*USIS.*

———:O:———

RE-UTILISATION OF TIMBER WASTES

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE, B.A., I.O.S.

'Waste not Want not' was probably coined to caution individuals against misuse of money or an useful article. But, with the progress of knowledge and industry, this has now assumed a national character. Every industry uses various kinds of raw materials the total quantity of which are not always usable. This



Various patterns. *Top*—Unique mould. *Middle* and *Bottom*—Floral designs

total quantity, treated as waste in most cases, are sold at nominal price or thrown out as scrap. If you walk round a plywood factory or a saw mill, you will notice that truck-loads of timber or plywood chips and sawdust go out of these concerns for use mostly as fuels only. But, it has been established by the Forest Research Institute in Dehra Dun that such wastes can very well be the basic material for an expanding cottage industry. It may read strange, but man's ingenuity brings in new and newer things which bear no resemblance with their original condition.

Various patterns and floral designs

The Forest Research Institute was celebrating its golden jubilee during early December, 1956. A very well-laid exhibition attracted a large crowd and they must have been impressed about the importance of the forest and forestry in relation to the very existence of human civilisation. They must have also seen how with planning and co-operation these can add to our national prosperity.

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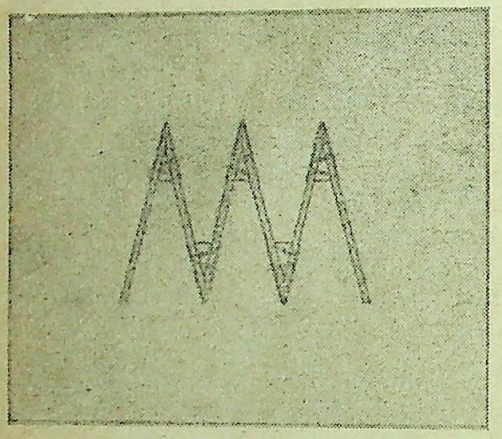
As you walk across towards the tea-stall for refreshment, you will pass by a counter behind which one Mr. Rao will catch your attention. With a smiling face he greets you, "Could I be of any help to you?" You can hardly finish your positive reply when he places before you a teapoy the legs and



Wooden spring

tops of which are decorated with floral designs. He then adds, "Do you know that this is all made of waste timber or its like?" When you tell him in reply that it is all very well to produce a demonstration toy without any reference to its cost of production, commercial applicability or a consumer market, and that similar type of beautiful things such as 'Floral veneers', 'Inlay-work', 'Fret-work,' and 'Marketry-work' are well-known techniques and have been practised since time immemorial. Mr. Rao is not at all perplexed and tells you with a smiling face that it is a unique thing.

This new technique has been named by the F.R.I. as Diaper work. Mr. Rao who is told to be the man behind this development, demonstrates before you with a few pieces of waste timber how these can be moulded into a block which can again be sawn into planks of various floral designs. These designs display many colours which can be obtained from natural timber colours or dyed. The greatest advantage of this technique is that you do not have to depend on timber wastes only, but similar articles can be produced from thin bamboo pieces; even match boxes can be utilised for this purpose. Imagine how many hundreds of thousands of empty match boxes are thrown away daily. If the general public is made aware of the commercial re-utilisation of these match boxes, they will take care to preserve these like old newspapers, empty bottles and tins. Not only will these fetch a few coins to the house-wives, but the dealers in old articles will also find a new source of earning, in addition to the general benefit of the consumer world.

The above range of raw materials required for the Diaper work are no doubt cheap and easily procurable equally simple are the appliances and the processing materials. The tools needed most are carpenters tools, wooden moulds easy to make, a press capable of giving pressure of two hundred pounds per square inch, peeling lathes, veneer clippers, and drills which are common in plywood and timber industries. There is nothing uncommon or difficult about any one of these. Processing materials, *viz.*, cold setting glue ordinary colouring materials, common washing soda and the like should present no difficulty in procurement or price. Manufacturing process is so straightforward that not a very high degree of skill is demanded of the workman engaged in bulk production.

Mould, block and a finished teapoy

It is, therefore, obvious that large-scale utilisation of timber wastes is within the reach of ordinary man of industrious habit, not to speak of co-operative effort. With care and proper planning can throw open possibilities of attracting foreign markets which is very much needed on the ground of our decision to cut down imports. must tap all sources to keep our sterling balance intact.

Greater stress has been placed on the Forest its products during our Second Five-Year Plan. therefore, means that the timber industry will growing bigger and bigger everyday. The wastes

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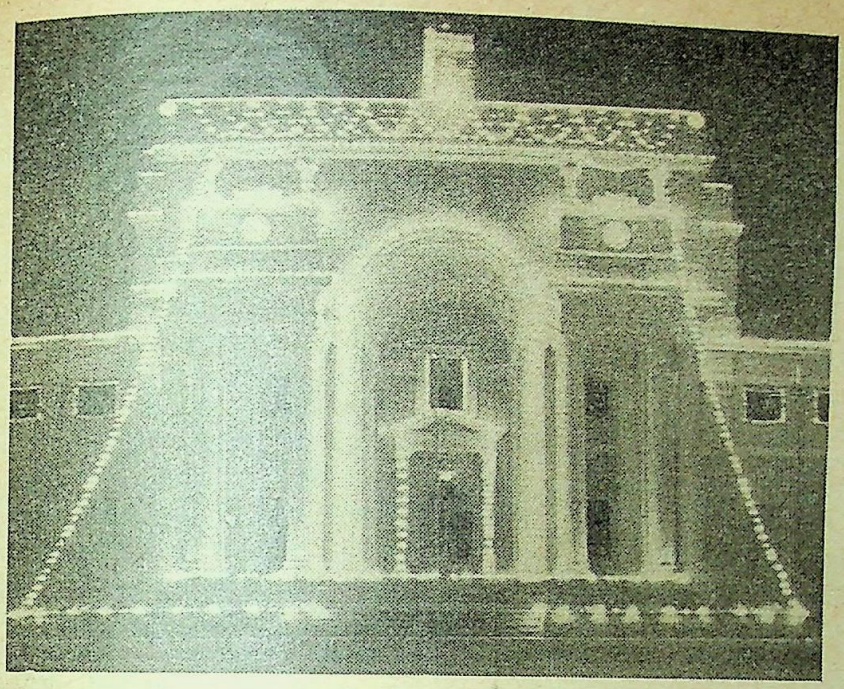

Illuminated main gate, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun

also pile up in its trail. It, therefore, stands to reason that every possible encouragement should be given for the establishment of cottage industry for re-utilisation of wastes not only for the sake of doing it but also to fill up the gap of common man's desire to have something which is beyond his reach today.

It can not only decorate your tables, picture frames and other furniture, but can also find a large market in the radio industry for making cabinets. In addition, you can utilise the technique to make boards from moulded sawdust. These can not only replace the common cardboards, but are going to be more cheap and durable. Suitcases made out of these boards are claimed by the F.R.I. to be stronger and lasting. Beautiful floor mattings which are beyond the common man's reach today can be made at a very cheap rate. Besides, dolls and toys of any size and shape can be made like clay models having the additional advantage of becoming almost unbreakable.

By an almost similar process you can make wooden strings which can very well replace steel ones for many purposes. Lead pencils are required in millions, but how many of these are made in India! But, strangely enough both raw materials and manufacturing processes are within our reach. Even individual families can produce these. I am using a lead pencil presented by Mr. Rao made by his wife. Although it is not of a very high order but that does not mean that we are incapable of producing them. What is needed is courage to undertake a job, proper planning and research. We are bound to progress. But unless we can make a beginning, however modest it may be, nothing of any consequence is coming within our folds. During a hundred and fifty years of foreign rule we have been accustomed to see and use high-grade articles imported from that great industrial country which is working in our inner minds not to accept articles which are not of the highest order. We have to get out of this thinking and make a beginning; because sincere efforts, research and experience alone can lead us to the path of perfection.

Our aim of establishing a socialistic pattern of society means that a balance must be made between heavy and small-scale industries in such a manner that one does not interfere with the activities of the other. On the other hand, one must supplement the efforts of the other. We have to travel a long way to reach that goal; but, during the second Plan period when most of our schemes have been projected towards heavy industries, it is needless to mention that all care should be taken to build up cottage industries for meeting consumer demands of ordinary articles.

The technique developed in the F.R.I. is our national property. Unless the fruits of their research are brought out of the four walls of that Institute and placed in the hands of our countrymen, it is useless to have such Institutes and spend money after these.

Details of the Diaper Technique have been published in the *Indian Forester* in the following papers:

"Diaper and Marqueiri": By K. R. Rao, M.E. (*Indian Forester*, April, 1954, Vol. 80, No. 4).

"F.R.I. Diaper": By K. R. Rao, M.E. (*Indian Forester*, July, 1954, Vol. 80, No. 7).

"F.R.I. Bamboo Diaper": By K. R. Rao, M.E. (*Indian Forester*, May, 1956, Vol. 82, No. 6).

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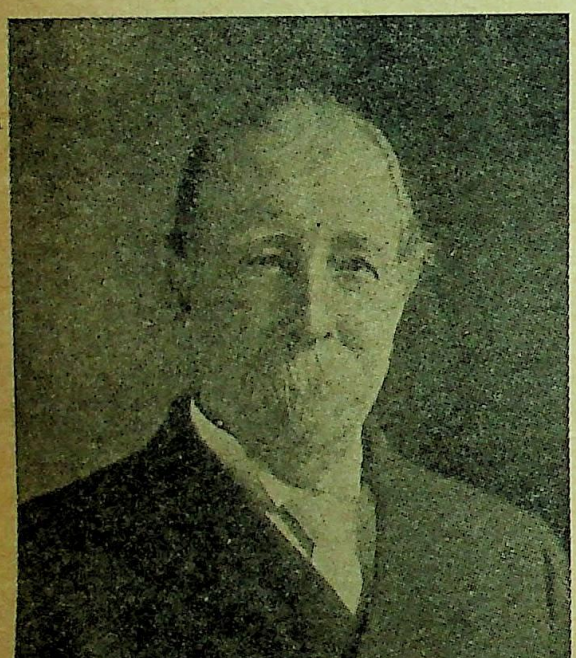
ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME

Father of the Indian National Congress

By B. NATESAN

No fair appraisal of the Freedom movement in India could be complete without taking into account the part played by British pioneers in the early days of the Indian National Congress. I would go so far as to say that even those like Lytton and Curzon who were accused of anti-national intentions and activities were unconsciously forwarding the cause of political freedom in India. But there were those who definitely engaged themselves in the national cause and devoted their energies whole-heartedly to the cause of political liberty in this country.



Yours sincerely
A. O. Hume

I write to invite attention to the significant lead given by one of the British pioneers of our national movement. He was no other than Allan Octavian Hume, founder of the Indian National Congress which has played so great a part in our struggle for freedom. Indeed, a galaxy of Englishmen—among whom I include Irish and Scotsmen—from Burke and Bright to Cripps and Pethick Lawrence—have given a clear lead to foster the spirit of unrest, of progress and of freedom which ultimately led to the Sovereign Republic of India. And in this struggle, if William Digby led the British front with his friends in Parliament and the press, it was Allan Octavian Hume, founder of the Congress, who directed the Home front in India. It was the seed sown by Hume that in time grew to be the Congress later shaped and moulded by successive generations of patriots like Dadabhai, Gokhale, Tilak and Gandhi. And if Gandhi is by all accord the "Father of the Nation" Hume is by right the "Father of the Congress" with which Gandhi wrought the freedom of India.

Let it be confessed at once that various other factors also helped the final denouement. With the general spirit of unrest which swept through the country, coupled with the spirit of revolt all over Asia following the great World War, and Britishers' intuitive sense of compromise in difficult situations, there was a climate of opinion all over the world favouring the cause of national liberty. Britain, at the crisis, played the game, and India stood to gain her right to liberty. It is easy to see that, if instead of England, we had any other power to deal with, it would have been well-nigh impossible. And Gandhi's non-co-operation itself would have gone the way of so many other frustrated rebellions in history. Why, can you imagine that we could have achieved our freedom if Churchill or Eden were at the head of affairs in England? Thanks to the statesmanship of Prime Minister Attlee—and the time was ripe for settlement by negotiation—he was able to do what Campbell-Bannerman did for South Africa and Lord Durham for Canada. Any way, whatever the limitations of the system of Government in either country, the statesmanship of Attlee rose to the occasion and wrought the miracle of a peace with honour and victory without rancour.

A Great Inheritance

Now to return to Hume and the Congress. Born in 1829, the son of a sturdy and fearless Scottish patriot and reformer Joseph Hume, he inherited not only a political connection with India but his uncompromising faith in democracy. Joseph Hume obtained an appointment in the Service of the East India Company in 1796 and rose to the position of interpreter between the Company and the Native powers. That was a time (as Sir William Wedderburn noted in his admirable biography of the son) when pro-consuls became Nabobs. As in the case of

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many others in the service of the Company Hume made a large fortune, 'shaking the pagoda tree.' In 1808, he returned home to *buy* one of the seats which the Borough of Weymouth then possessed. Hume drew his cheque, Sir William says dryly, "and the Free and Independent Electors of Weymouth undertook to return him to two Parliaments." He was duly elected at a bye-election in January, 1812, but a dissolution occurring in the following November, the vendors of the seat declined to fulfil their bargain, whereupon he brought an action for breach of contract and recovered half his money. The transaction was perfectly deliberate and in those days deemed quite straight-forward and businesslike.

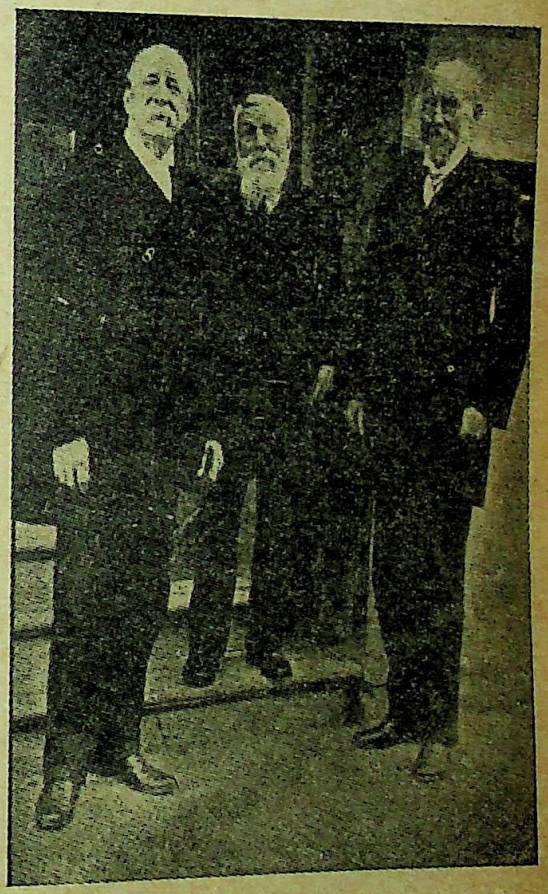
In 1818, he regained seat in Parliament and represented Montrose Burghs, Middlesex, Kilkenney and again Montrose. A radical of the deepest dye he was for 30 years the recognised leader of the Radical group in Parliament. He was specially devoted to financial reforms and it was at his suggestion that "Retrenchment" was insertel between 'Peace' and 'Reform' in the later creed of the liberal party. But while thus pursuing British reforms he was equally vigilant on Indian Affairs. It is on record that in the second reading of Sir Charles Wood's Bill of 1853 to amend the Government of India Act he spoke for several hours championing the cause of the Indian people.

Hume and the Mutiny

Destined for the Civil Service, Allan Octavian Hume, like most youngmen at the beginning of their career, had a spell of uncertain vocations at start, now as midshipman in the frigate *Vanguard* and then as a medico in the University College Hospital. In 1849, at the age of 20 he joined the Bengal Civil Service and soon after found himself in a responsible position at Etawah in the then North-West Frontier Province. Hume began at the foot of the ladder and worked his way up by experience at different levels and coming in contact with all classes of people. At 26 he was chief officer in Etawah, both civil and military. But before he was 9 years in India the Sepoy Mutiny or what we should now call the first war of independence, broke out. "The storm burst on the 10th May, 1857, when the third Cavalry mutineed at Meerut, 250 miles to north and reached Etawah in a couple of days."

The situation called for high public spirit and resolute courage. More than once, during this disturbed period, Hume was confronted with a difficult situation which he met with calm courage. Reporting on an action fought 21 miles from Etawah on February 7, 1858, the Commander-in-Chief drew the special notice of Lord Canning to "the extremely gallant conduct of Hume and Capt. Alexander." Fighting and courage apart, the way he set out to conciliate the malcontents and brought peace, was striking and exemplary.

"No district in the N.-W.P. has, I believe, been more completely restored to order," writes the young 'Magistrate.' "None in which so few severe punishments have been inflicted. Mercy and forbearance have, I think I may justly say, characterised my administration . . . We had before us then a great glorious problem to solve, *viz.*, how to restore peace and order and the authority of Government with the least possible amount of human suffering."



The venerable veterans—Hume, Dadabhai and Wedderburn

Civil Administration and Reforms

But it was on the civil side of the administration that he stamped the impress of his personality in a way that we are compelled to think he was far in advance of his age. His youth coincided with the reform movement of Cobden and Bright. He was an officer of the Company and the Crown for over thirty years from 1849, as chief of a district, then as head of a central department, and later as Secretary to Government of India. While carrying out the duties and responsibilities of his office with scrupulous regard to efficiency he never hesitated to express his personal views, faithfully and unflinchingly however much they

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might be at variance with official views. Official records which Sir William quotes in his life of Hume so amply, show that he was pioneer of social progress in respect of popular education, police reform, liquor traffic, vernacular press and juvenile reformatories.

Thus he stood up for a definite separation of Police and Judicial functions—an administrative reform which has been on the Congress agenda for decades. On the question of Abkari, which he called the Wages of Sin, he was even more definite and categorical. As an administrator, though his record of collections showed an amount far in excess of collections of previous ten years, he did not hesitate to express in strongest terms his abhorrence of such sources of revenue. Gandhi himself could not have urged Prohibition in stronger or more moving terms.

Abkari: The Wages of Sin

"Financially speaking," he writes, "bearing in mind the almost unexampled distress in the face of which this settlement was concluded, it may be regarded as eminently successful. To me the consistent growth of Abkari revenue is a source of great regret. Year after year, but alas in vain, I protest against the present iniquitous system which first produced and now supports a large class whose sole interest is to seduce their fellows with drunkenness and its necessary concomitants, debauchery and crime. Unfortunately these tempters are too successful and year by year the number of drunkards and the demand for drugs and spirituous liquors increases. Those only who like myself take great pains to ascertain what goes on amongst the native community, really have any conception of the frightful extent to which drunkennes has increased during the last 20 years. Moreover, while we debauch our subjects we do not even pecuniarily derive any profit from their ruin. Of this revenue, the wages of sin, it may, in the old adage be truly said, that ill-gotten wealth never thrives, and for every rupee additional that Abkari yields two at least are lost to the public by crime and spent by the Government in suppressing it."

Education and Enlightenment

Hume was of those who believed in the efficiency of popular education, and in his capacity as District Magistrate he took steps to afford increased facilities for elementary education. There were only 32 schools on 1st April, 1856, in area under his jurisdiction but on the 1st January, 1857, there were 181 schools with 5,186 students. Hume was so zealous in advancing the cause of free education that the authorities tried to curb him. A Government circular, dated 28th January, 1859, raised objections to the employment of native agency for promotion of education and the Collector was warned not to attempt to persuade the people to send children to school or to contribute to maintenance. Against these orders Hume, in a letter dated 30th March, 1859, respectfully but earnestly protested, pointing out that the Court of Directors had directed officers "to aid with all the influence of their high position the extension of education." He concluded the letter with a personal note of deep pathos:

"I cannot but found hopes of indulgence on the intense interest that I feel in the subject and the ceaseless attention I have paid it. For years past it has been the dream of my leisure moments the object of my hopes, and although I have *achieved* little as yet, I cannot, as I watch the feeble beginnings, avoid recalling an alpine scene of happy memories. when I saw the first drops of the joyous stream trickling through the avalanche that had so long embraced it, and feeling confidence from that augury that day by day and month by month that rill, gathering strength and size, will work out its resistless way, and at last dissipating the white chilling mass of ignorance, the accumulations of ages, pass on unobstructed to fertilize and enrich an empire. History, alas, presents us with too many examples of the long-obstructed stream hushing aside at last roughly its opposing barriers and sweeping onwards an ungovernable flood heaping up desolation where it should have scattered flowers. Let it be ours to smooth and not impede its path, ours not by cold explanations of policy but by enlisting the sympathies and affections of the people in the cause to watch and direct its progress and turn it, under God's blessing to good and good alone."

"Old Man's Hope"

Hume's interest in the teeming millions of India's peasantry are borne out by the agricultural reforms which he urged in 1879. Intimately acquainted with the life of the Indian village, and a witness of successive farmers with all their horrors, he was familiar with the sorrows of the impoverished peasantry, and in a pamphlet entitled *Old Man's Hope* he made an impassioned appeal to the comfortable classes in England:

"Ah men! well-fed and happy! Do you ever realize the dull misery of these countless myriads? From their births to their deaths how many rays of sunshine, think you, chequer their gloomy shrouded paths? Toil, toil, toil; hunger, hunger, hunger; sickness,, suffering, sorrow: these, alas, are the keynotes of their short and existence."

Now these extracts quoted by Sir William Wedderburn in his biography of Allan Octavian Hume, from authentic contemporary records, have shown the reader how very much the Gov-

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ment of the day would have been upset by the candid views openly and fearlessly expressed by one in the service of the Crown. Though they doubtless showed the better way they were in distinct opposition to official views which always prevail in the administration. Officialdom had its revenge and he was thrown out of office.

Expelled from Service

His career was cut short, "because he could not bend his principles to please the Simla clique." On June 17, 1879, his expulsion from the office of Secretary to Government was explained away as 'based on considerations of what was most desirable in the interests of public services.' What a platitude? How vague the language of officialdom? And there was no charge of dereliction of duty or incapacity. No wonder *The Statesman* of the day commented: "Undoubtedly he has been treated shamefully and cruelly." The *Englishman* (now incorporated with *The Statesman*) was even more outright in its condemnation and gave out the true cause:

> "The plea advanced in justification of this act was that Mr. Hume habitually in his minutes on measures coming up for discussion in his department expressed his views with great freedom, without regard to what might be the wishes and intentions of his superiors. If he believed a particular policy wrong he opposed it without hesitation, using plain language for the expression of his views."

Public Work

Out of office Hume was free to devote himself exclusively and more completely to the cause he had at heart. And he did not spare himself in the service of the nation. He realised that no progress in any field was possible until the people obtained self-government by sharing political power and responsibility with those in authority.

The problem, according to him, was, 'Can the continuance of British rule be made conformable to the best interests of the Indian people?' The time was propitious. Towards the close of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty, when the country was torn by dissensions arising from government's mishandling of the situation, and the temper of the people seemed frayed, Hume became convinced that some definite action was called for to counteract the growing unrest, and the advent of a new Viceroy—Lord Ripon—seemed to open a new chapter of hope and goodwill.

"He did not blame the men; the fault was in the system. There existed no recognized channel of communication between the rulers and the ruled; no constitutional means of keeping the official administrators informed regarding the conditions, the feelings and grievances of the people. There was a great gulf between the foreign bureaucracy, self-centred on the heights of Simla and the millions painfully toiling in the plains below."*

How to bridge this gulf? That was the main task before him. Public opinion in India should be created and organised and made effective. And this could be done only by mobilising the educated classes and preparing them to focus their attention on matters of public interest with a view to press their case with freedom and strength born of union. United action was necessary and the lead must be given by those who, by their education and public interest, were competent to do so.

In the Service of the Nation

Accordingly, the first movement towards a definite scheme is to be found in a circular letter dated 1st March, 1883, addressed to "the graduates of the Calcutta University." The letter opens with these wise and kindly words:

> "Constituting as you do, a large body of the most highly educated Indians, you should, in the natural order of things, constitute also the most important source of all mental, moral, social and political progress in India. Whether in the individual or the nation all vital progress must spring from within and it is to you, her most cultured and enlightened minds, her most favoured sons, that your country must look for initiative. In vain many aliens, like myself, love India and her children, as well as the most loving of them; in vain may they, for her and their good, give time and trouble, money and thought; in vain may they struggle and sacrifice; they may assist with advice and suggestions; they may place their experience, abilities and knowledge at the disposal of the workers but they lack the essential of nationality, and the real work must ever be done by the people of the country themselves. . . ."

What is needed is union, organization, and well-defined line of action; and to secure these an association is required, armed and organized with unusual care having for its object to promote the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India.

"Our little army must be *sui generis* in discipline and equipment, and the question simply is how many of you will prove to possess, in addition to your high scholastic attainments, the unselfish-

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* Sir William Wedderburn.

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ness, moral courage, self-control, and active spirit of benevolence essential in all who should enlist."

And then he proposed that a commencement should be made with a body of fifty Founders to be the mustard seed of future growth:

"If only fifty men, good and true, can be found to join as founders, the thing can be established and the further development will be comparatively easy."

—and this long letter ends with an appeal which both stirs and stings:

"As I said before, you are the salt of the land, and if amongst even you, the elite, fifty men cannot be found with sufficient power of self-sacrifice, sufficient pride in their country, sufficient genuine and unselfish heartfelt patriotism to take the initiative, and if needs be, devote the rest of their lives to the cause—then there is no hope for India. Her sons must and will remain mere humble and helpless instruments in the hands of foreign rulers, for 'they would be free, *themselves* must strike the blow.' And if even the leaders of thought are all either such poor creatures, or so selfishly wedded to personal concerns, that they dare not or will not strike a blow for their country's sake, then justly and rightly are they kept down, and trampled on, for they deserve nothing better. Every nation secures precisely as good a government as it merits. If you, the picked men, the most highly educated of the nation, cannot, scorning personal care and selfish objects, make a resolute struggle to secure greater freedom for yourself and your country, a more impartial administration, a larger share in the management of your own affairs, then we your friends are wrong and our adversaries right . . ."

He had a right to speak in this strain—a right which he won by ceaseless activity and devotion to the cause he had undertaken. And none mistook him.

The First Congress

The Indian National Union was thus formed. Hume became the General Secretary and went to England to canvas support in the Press and Parliament. The first Conference of the Indian National Union was fixed to be held at Poona from 25th to 30th December, 1885 but owing to cholera, the venue changed to Bombay, which had the honour of holding the first session of the Indian National Congress on the morning of 27th December with W. C. Bonnerjee as President. And at this first session Mr. K. T. Telang, Sir (then Mr.) S. Subramania Iyer and Dadabhai Naoroji moved and seconded and supported the resolutions for reform and expansion of the Supreme and Local Legislative Councils. It was fortunate that the first General Secretary of the Congress was an Englishman and a retired member of the Civil Service. For, as Gokhale said at a memorial meeting in London on August 6, 1912:

"No Indian could have started the Indian National Congress apart from the fact that any one putting his hand out to such a gigantic task had need to have Mr. Hume's commanding and magnetic personality. Even if an Indian had possessed such a personality and had come forward to start such a movement embracing all India, the officials in India would not have allowed the movement to come into existence. If the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishman and a distinguished ex-official, such was the official distrust of political agitation in those days that the authorities would have at once found some way or other to suppress the movement. He alone knew how to charm, how to strengthen and how to teach. He is gone but not without teaching us that though we have no wings to soar we have feet to scale and climb, more and more by slow degrees, the cloudy summits of our times."

The Indian National Congress

The great work of his life was thus accomplished—the national movement of which the Indian National Congress organization was 'only one outcome of the labours of a body of cultured men, mostly Indians, who bound themselves together to labour silently for the good of India.'

The fundamental objects of the Congress were three-fold:

First, the fusion into one nationol whole of all different elements that constitute the population of India; second, the gradual regeneration along all lives, spiritual, moral, social and political of the nation thus evolved; and third, the consolidation of the union between England and India, by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious.

Hume became the Founder of the I.N.C. and the foundations were well and truly laid.

"Trust in the Indian people was the corner stone; and the trust was well justified," said Sir William Wedderburn. "During the first 25 years and anxious years the Congress stood trim; often under storm and stress; the floods came, and the winds blew upon the house, but it fell not, because it was founded upon a rock and the labour was not in vain."

Writing to Hume in 1907, Lord Morley said:

"I know well your historic place in the evolution of Indian policy."

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The reforms followed in 1909 and before he passed away the founder of the Congress was privileged to see the first fruits of his labours.

At a public meeting in Westminster, London, Gokhale referred to Hume as

"One of those men who appeared from time to time in this world under dispensation of a wise province, to help forward tht onward march of humanity, whose voice sounded like a trumpet call, waking up whole peoples from the slumber of ages, and whose title to an honoured place in the history of nations no man can possibly challenge. Mr. Hume loved India passionately . . . and he loved justice and freedom also passionately. Thus it was that, after the close of a distinguished official career, he came forward to devote his great gifts to guiding India along the path of justice, freedom and self-respect. He came forward to teach Indians to walk nobly along the path of nationalhood."

This is precisely the language that Gokhale was wont to use in speaking of his venerated *gurus* Ranade and Dadabhai with whom he classed Allan Octavian Hume, the Father of the Indian National Congress.

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KASHMIR IN SECURITY COUNCIL

By SUKHBIR CHOUDHARY

The resolutions on Kashmir situation recently tabled by Western Powers in the U.N. Security Council are tainted with partisanship and thus Kashmir has been made an issue of cold war. In this game of power politics the sponsoring Powers have not hesitated in flagrantly violating the accepted rules of procedure. This not only raises serious doubts about the intentions of those Powers but has also jeopardized whatever chances the Security Council might have had of securing an agreed settlement. And what appears to be more important is that the basic issues have not been judged in their right perspective. But, on the other hand, the sponsoring delegates have harped all the time on the extraneous matters which have no relevance whatsoever to these basic facts. By connivance at Pakistan's naked aggression, the members of the Security Council, with one or two exceptions, have displayed that they were more anxious to oblige an ally than do justice to the right cause of Kashmiri people. Today the people of Kashmir are engaged in peaceful economic construction to fight misery and poverty, the legacy of Dogra rule, and what the Security Council proposes to do is to disturb this tranquillity and make Kashmir again the centre of a storm which will envelope the whole sub-continent.

Although after the Four-Power resolution being vetoed by the Soviet Union, the proposal of sending a U.N. force to Kashmir has been dropped from the latest resolution, the possibility of reviving this idea in the near future has not been completely ruled out. But it must be kept in view that the desptach of U.N. troops would make the situation fraught with grave danger unless both the parties in dispute agree to show an intention of welcoming them in the disputed territory. And India has not only outrightly rejected but strongly protested against the implementation of such an idea which seems to her quite fantastic and misconceived. India strongly feels that the despatch of a U.N. force to any part of Kashmir State is not only against international law and the U.N. Charter but it will also be a flagrant breach and violation of her territorial sovereignty. During the last 300 years India had a bitter taste of the presence of foreign feet on her soil. India does not need Sherlock Holmes to remind her how the foreign imperialists manufactured Mirzaffars who on the battle-field of Plassey and elsewhere, in secret conspiracy with the foregn agencies, had betrayed their kinsmen and laid the doors wide open for foreign misrule. It is very difficult for India to swallow in silence the severe consequences of the policy of *divide et impera* pursued by foreign intriguers. This is what Warren Hastings had revealed before the British Parliament during his trial:

"I won one member (the Nizam) of the Great Indian Confederacy from it by an act of seasonable restitution; with another (Moodaji Bhonsle) I maintained a secret intercourse, and converted him into a friend; a third (Madhoji Scindia) I drew off by diversion and negotiation, and employed him as the instrument of peace."

India cannot easily put in the cold storage the words documented in Marquess of Wellesley's letter to Lady Anne Bainard dated 2nd October, 1800. Wellesley had then written:

"I will heap kingdoms upon kingdoms, victory upon victory, revenue upon revenue; I will accu-

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mulate glory and wealth and power, until the ambition and avarice of even my masters shall cry mercy."

India's memory of the subsidiary system is still fresh in her mind. It was through this system that a large number of princely States were brought under British subjugation, where the sovereign was allowed to remain on his throne, with all the trappings of royalty, but substantial power was transferred from him to the person of a political agent. It were these misdeeds, miseries and misfortunes that hurt the sentiments of Indian patriots who, for nearly 200 years, from Clive to Wellesley, from Wellesley to Dalhousie, to Canning, to Curzon, to Linlithgow, have struggled hard to liberate their sacred soil from the forcible occupation of foreign feet. Secondly, it must be remembered that ever since the proposal of despatchng a U.N. force to Egypt was implemented, Pakistan had been picking the idea as a means of breaking the Kashmir deadlock in her own favour. The idea originated in Pakistan but U.K. avidly got hold of it as an effective means getting her own back on India for the Suez dispute. But in drawing this analogy between Egypt and Kashmir it is forgotten that the two cases are not exactly the same. In Egypt, the U.N. force was despatched to prevent aggression. In Kashmir, it is to be sent not to eject the aggressor but to eject a country's troops from portions of her own territory. If the Egyptian analogy is to be at all applied then the U.N. force should be sent to Kashmir to eject Pakistan troops which invaded Kashmir nine years ago and are still illegally occupying some portions of the State.

Much criticism has been levelled against India recently in the Western conservative press that India has gone back upon her so often-repeated promises and international obligations of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir. But to say so is to put the cart before the horse. India is still ready to uphold its international obligations. But it is necessary that all the prerequisites are fulfilled before the status of the territory is decided upon by plebiscite. It must be known that the U.N.C.I.P. had accepted as a fact the sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir State and did not go into a discussion of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the act of accession. So the Commission made it clear in its interview with the Prime Minister of India on 17th August, 1948, that it was 'not competent to recognize the sovereignty of any authority over the evacuated areas other than that of the Jammu and Kashmir Government.' Furthermore, the Commission never accepted the legality of the presence of Pakistani troops in Kashmir. That is why, on the one hand, in its resolution of 13th August, 1948, the Commission ordered the total withdrawal of the Pakistani forces but, on the other hand, requested India to withdraw only part of its forces, making special provisions to maintain domestic and internal order. It is also clear that when Mr. Nehru asked Mr. Lozano, the then Chairman of U.N.C.I.P. and the representative of Colombia, whether the acceptance of a plebiscite would entail a conditional commitment and whether there would be any commitment if Parts I and II of the August 13 resolution were not implemented, Mr. Lozano replied very definitely "No". He said that it was understood that there would be no commitment on India's side if Parts I and II (total withdrawal of Pakistani forces) of the August resolution were not implemented. This condition has not yet been fulfilled by Pakistan. So, India cannot be blamed for keeping its promise. India also feels that ever since the joining of the Baghdad and SEATO Pacts by Pakistan and U.S.-Pak arms agreement, a qualitative change has taken blace in the Kashmir situation which has been overshadowed by the issue of cold war and power politics. Still another important point which has made the issue of plebiscite more complicated, has been revealed by the delegate of Colombia in the Security Council debates. Instead of appointing a neutral person as plebiscite administrator some members of U.N.C.I.P. 'had specific instructions to press for the nomination of a U.S. citizen.' India's suggestion in favour of the President of the International Red Cross Society was not considered appropriate. Apparently this might have been a diplomatic victory for U.S.A. but it washed out everything that the Commission had managed to do. India also feels that when the question of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir is raised it is looked upon from the eyes of double standards by some Western Powers due to the involvement of their self-interest. This feeling of India was represented in a very amicable way by the delegate of Columbia when speaking on the Four-Power Resolution in the Security Council on 17th February. He said:

"In this debate, as well as in many others . . . we have found ourselves in a very invidious position . . . For example, we have not wanted to accept the idea that the desire to hold a plebiscite in a country necessarily obliges that country to . . . carry out a plebiscite and to discuss sovereignty. . . . The Greeks wanted a plebiscite to be held in Cyprus but we refused. Some Arab countries wanted us to apply the principle of self-determination in North Africa, but we did not agree. I think the representative of Australia will be in agreement with me when I say that at first in New Guinea a plebiscite was considered differently. This

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so, it is rather difficult for us to hold one idea in the Security Council, and then go to the Political Committee and hold a different idea, and then in another debate to hold a third idea. Our way of thinking must be consistent . . . . If we ask him (Mr. Nehru) to be logical and consistent, then we must likewise be logical and consistent."

Furthermore, India's contention is that a plebiscite is not an academic abstraction; its value can be judged only with reference to the time, place and circumstances in which it is to be applied. Due to the change of circumstances the whole idea of plebiscite has become out-of-date like the proposals of the Potsdam Conference. The pioneers of this Conference had unanimously decided in 1945 in favour of 'the complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production.' But what is happening today? It is quite the reverse. Both the Western and the Eastern wings of Germany have not only been remilitarized from tooth to nail, they have also been incorporated as indispensable allies in the respective NATO's of both the Power-blocs to hoodwink one another.

To understand the problem of plebiscite it is essential to keep in view that it is something more than an Indo-Pakistan problem, it is linked with the fate of the people of Kashmir. Their feelings have been expressed in a clear and definite way by their various political organizations, all of whom—from extremely radical to extremely communal—have overwhelmingly decided in favour of becoming a member of the united family of India. The Working Committee of the National Conference, the leading political party, at a recently held meeting on 8th February 1957, unanimously passed a resolution which stated that the State of Kashmir had acceded to India as far back as October 1947, and that decision had now been fully supported and confirmed by the State Constituent Assembly. It also said:

> "The people of Jammu and Kashmir have exercised their right of self-determination through the duly-elected Constituent Assembly . . . Any attempt by the Security Council to re-open the issue in this respect will be fraught with grave consequences for peace, stability and well-being of the State and block its way towards democracy and social progress."

Even a large number of foreign dignitaries who recently visited Kashmir, have endorsed this decision of the people. A spokesman of the West German Press delegation declared recently that the delegation "met people and heard their point of view about all matters. Everyone we met stood behind the State's accession to India."

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INDUSTRIAL WELFARE

By AMULYADHAN DEB, B.E.

ADVANCEMENT of human knowledge, in various spheres, has found one avenue in "Human Relations." The term 'human relations' may be treated as a recent innovation, if not invention, considering that relation amongst human beings (*Homo sapiens*) existed from primitive days. Even now-a-days, there are human beings, who hunt human heads, there are human beings who sacrifice their lives for saving human lives. Relation, derived from the word 'relative,' is therefore not absolute. Relation depends on circumstances, environments, necessities, etc. Human relation at home demands that the son should obey parents, the younger brother should obey the elder brother. We should be friendly with neighbours, if circumstances need we may quarrel with neighbours. The neighbour may quarrel with me or love me according to the circumstances. From home to neighbour, neighbour to village, village to town and so on, till we consider world citizens. My relation with a Russian or a Pakistani will be according to international needs of my country. Human relation is, therefore, relative.

Advancement of science, of psychology, and expansion of industry, necessitated research in human relations, to reduce the relativity of relations to standard codes of practice in standard circumstances. This would help human beings (*Homo sapiens*) to behave in the standard manner in standard circumstances, without leaving things to one's absolute wisdom, to behave as he likes. Attempts are, therefore, being made to standardise human relations in society, human relations in industry (Industrial relations), human relations in public enterprises (Public relations), human relations by administrations (Personnel management), etc.

The caption of this article being Industrial Welfare,

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we would now go into details regarding human relations in industry. While the industrially-advanced countries, soaked with materialism, are looking for relief in pursuit of spiritual ideals, India where spiritual outlook is innate, is fast changing over to materialism. Industrial era, in India, has just began with the Five-Year Plans. India is also wedded to the socialistic pattern of society. It, therefore, behoves to study our relations in the realm of industry, which is planned to grow faster than ever.

Establishment of an industry implies the investment of capital, whether by the State or the individual or combination of both. This capital is of two kinds—fixed capital and variable capital, or in other words man and machine. Men are masters of machines. Even automatics have human hands behind it. Whereas it is possible to effect whatever changes are necessary in machinery and plant, it is not possible to change the nature of the man behind the machinery—his nature is fixed. It is a static factor. In return of wages, an employee's time is bought, his physical presence is made obligatory. and a quantum of muscular motions per hour extracted. It is, however, not possible to buy enthusiasm, initiative, loyalty, devotion of heart, mind and soul. These things have to be earned by the employer and not bought.

Motive, means and actions—these are the three guiding principles in industry. Motive to produce, means to aid production and action for actual outturn. Motive is a theoretical factor. Means to aid production is the practical aspect. Handling and maintenance of men is as much important—if not more—than the handling and maintenance of machinery and plant, to aid production. Co-ordination of human element and mechanical element must be maintained, if an industry is to thrive. The progress of the industry depends on this co-ordination. If a business organisation is recognised as a co-operative effort, then only we get work, we get wealth, we get happiness. In a socialistic pattern of society, an industry is not only an economic organisation but also a social organisation. It consists not merely of employees, but also their needs, their problems. Probems of education of their children, recreation, sickness insurance, medical attendance. The objective in a socialistic pattern of society is not merely to have good workers but good citizens too. When an employee feels that he is being looked after in and out of works, he gives his best—whether in war or in peace.

The study of mind of the people at work is called occupational or industrial psychology. With new methods of measuring and experiments, scientists are finding out more about the variety of man. The motivation and perceptional factors behind the behaviour of a man, are analysed and each problem is tackled in its own context.

An employer expects the best out of his employee. It is well worth, analysing why an employee works and how the bes can be extracted out of him.

An employee works mainly for fear of unemployment—a fear which is fear of starvation. An employee works, not because he dislikes to be alone, or he enjoys the irksome factors of a day, which begins with a hooter and ends with a hooter, with all the undesirable things, in between. The urge to work usefully, is, however, implanted in every human being. If an employee is not working usefully, certainly there are some maladjustments, which have been described as symptoms of unremedied pathological conditions in organisation. The primary duty of the employer is to make a rational analysis of conditions and forces which give rise to such maladjustment, and evolve means to remove these maladjustments. Experience shows that some of the fundamental objectives of the employee are:

(i) A growing consciousness to be treated on equal footings. A rankle that he is not being paid fairly for his ability.

(ii) A higher standard of living and economic security. A decent condition of living—physical, mental and moral.

(iii) Opportunity to utilise his ability for further advancement. An appreciation of the environment and prospects. (Joint consultation.)

(iv) The desire to expect impartiality from the administration and recognition of his individuality from his friends, his community and his fellow-workers (Citizenship right).

(v) The growing need for sympathetic assistance in solving personal problems (Welfare).

Attempts should be made, to meet these points and some of the methods are enumerated below:

(i) Fair pay—not pay alone—must be ensured. It must be the rate of pay that recognises the plus factors of certain employees over the average, not only in one industry, but in comparable industries in the same area. It is, therefore, necessary for administration through its personnel department to be conversant with the market value of workers.

(ii) Economic security: Stability of employment, Provident Institution, Pension, Sick Benefits are factors which contribute towards economic security.

(iii) Opportunity: As life is drudgery without prospect, avenue of advancement, facilities to make oneself suitable (by training) for furthering his prospect, should be made well-known to employees.

(iv) Recognition: Merit awards, service awards, public praise are media through which the service of a meritorious worker is recognised. A slap on the back for a good job, cannot however have any the value, to goad an employee for better outturn. employees should be made to feel that they be-

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to the administration. Administration should take the employees into confidence and in return earn their confidence, their heart, their soul and not merely the body. The employees should be made to take pride their job. The administration should act as trustee for all employees.

A worker, who is disgruntled, or who suffers from frustration never makes a good citizen, least of all, a good employee. So, for the sake of work, for the sake of society, adequate care should be taken by the Personnel department while recruiting staff. The background has to be considered in such a way that an employee does not become a misfit—in spite of qualification. The physical environment in which the worker will be operating, is liable to be different from that in which he has been accustomed so long. So also the social environments. How far a new recruit would be able to accommodate himself in the new surroundings, has to be envisaged by the Personnel department before recruitment. Human element needs more attention than mechanical element, if efficiency is to be ensured. "Recruitment is a positive function of which the negative counterpart or complement is selection." In other words, recruitment seeks to make available a supply of potential workers; selection taps that supply and chooses from it those who are likely to succeed on the job. In older days recruitment or induction to recruitment was in the hands of the in-charge of the gang. He used to recruit from his relations, from his villagemen over whom he had influence. This influence he could safely exert as much inside works, as outside. It was more or less clan rule. The advantage of the system was that there was no labour trouble, so long as the in-charge of the gang is satisfied. His own men would not go against him. With advancement of political outlook, people became conscious of equality of rights, equality of opportunities. So, the recruitment had to be thrown open to public, replacing the old system of clan-rule. In some countries, recruitment is done with the aid of trade union organisations. Only those who are registered with the affiliated trade union, are employed. The advantages of this system are that workers have one view, and one channel of representation. Heterogeneous views are obviated and there will not be any black sheep in the rank. Now-a-days Employment Exchanges are also functioning to find employment for the unemployed. It would be quite practical, if organised trade unions undertake the work and offer, to the respective organisation to which the trade union is affiliated, new recruits. The responsibility for making the workers fit in the groove, will then partly lie with the trade unions and there may be better discipline than now. Welfare activities win the heart of the people. Amongst welfare work:

(1) *Housing*: Since we have passed nomadic stage long ago, everyone of us wants a home, and workers are no exception. A good house ushers happiness in the family, wards off disease. On the other hand, insanitary living in hovels and slums, always keeps the worker and his family in worries. That is more like death than life and the worker's mind is not at work, though his body is. So, whenever a factory is planned the question of housing for workers should not be missed and side by side with the factory the colony should grow with a house for every worker. Schools, hospitals, water-supply, electricity, community centres, temples, clubs, markets, transport, amusement centres, canteens, play-grounds, dairy, etc., should not be lost sight of. Capital investment, required for these is well paid for a better outturn from satisfied and happy workers. There is less absentism, less sickness and better labour turnover.

(ii) *Education-Training*: Workers, who show up signs of promise, should be given higher training either in night school or by sending on deputation for specialised training. For augmenting the overall knowledge of workers, films and visual aids may be taken recourse to.

(iii) *Publicity*: The Administration should have its own bulletin. The condition of business and the progress of outturn should feature in this bulletin, so that the workers know the outcome of their efforts. News of workers at home or society should also be published but putting promising workers in the picture redoubles his energy to show up more.

(iv) *Health*: The Administration should look after the health of workers. Industrial health, Industrial hygiene, Industrial catering, Industrial accident-prevention-safety (Safety First has become degraded inferring a negative policy), Colour's aid, etc., are issues which if tackled fully, and not superficially, contribute towards welfare of the men in industry.

(v) *Profit-sharing*: Profit-sharing and treating the workers as co-partners, obviously inspires the workers to give their best to the management.

In spite of all these efforts on the part of the management, unrest amongst workers exists and is manifested in various ways. While attempts by the management for welfare activities, for better human relations, are based on psychology and duty, morbid psychology works up the disgruntled elements to foment troubles. No amount of regimentation has succeeded to put down these troubles.

"Strikes are merely symptoms of more fundamental maladjustments, injustices and economic disturbances, treating symptoms rarely reaches the roots of the disease. Strikes will be necessary both as a direct defence against injustice and oppression and as the only way of compelling the public to

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give its attention to hidden evils in industrial relations."

That there is another aspect, will be proved from the following illustrative instances, which occurred in practice.

(i) In one factory, unskilled labour were to be recruited. The officer notified the local employment exchange to send candidates for interview. He decided that fifty per cent of the vacancies would be filled up by candidates from employment exchange and fifty per cent from sons and relations of employees. The employees, on seeing the notification, demonstrated before the office that no candidate should be entertained from employment exchange. Such an attitude is against the constitution itself, which provides equal opportunities and equal rights for all citizens.

(ii) In one organisation, a worker was found guilty of some offence and he was transferred to another station on same pay and prospects but the staff stopped work on the ground that his transfer orders should be revoked and that the officer who has issued the orders, should be transferred instead.

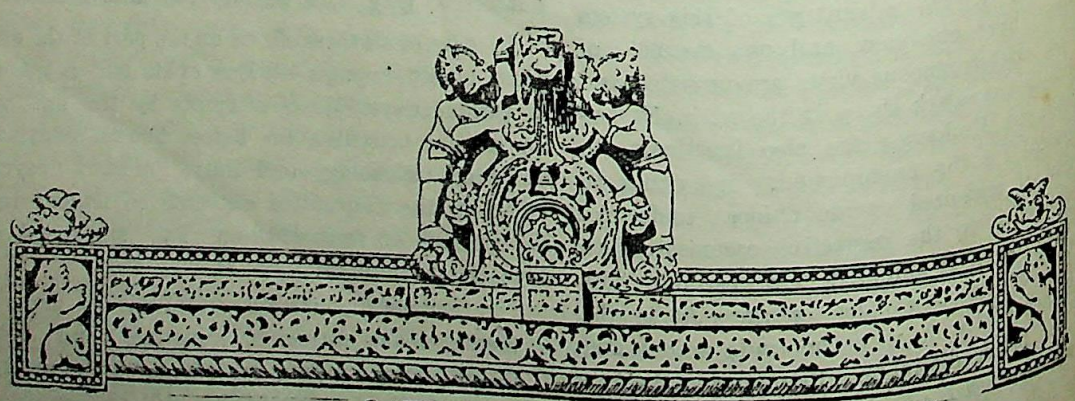
(iii) In one factory, working of over-time was stopped, on financial grounds. The workers slowed down the outturn with the object of piling up arrear work and consequent sanction for overtime to clear the arrear.

(iv) In factories, where the workers clock their cards, apart from factories, where attendance is recorded by timekeepers, a worker takes half an hour in the morning to get ready for work. He stops work, half-an-hour before the buzz for washing hands. In between, he takes off for tea. In the afternoon period also he takes half-an-hour to start and finish, half-an-hour earlier. Thus on an average fifty per cent of his time is unproductive time.

(v) In an organisation, a theft of materials from stores occurred. It was suspected that the men who handled the materials might be involved or at least they might give some clue. When the case was reported to police, they arrested the men who were handling the materials for interrogation. Other members of the staff demonstrated that they would not leave works unless the arrested men were released. The officers were not allowed to go out unless they arranged for the release of the man arrested by the police.

(vi) In one place, an officer while in his round noticed an employee, who is to wear uniform, that he has not put on the uniform. On being questioned he put up the excuse that full uniform has not been supplied. The officer asked him to put on whatever uniform has been supplied. Next day, the employee came, stark-naked—he has obeyed the officer in toto he could not put on any uniform excepting the *pugree*, as no other uniform has been supplied. The officer suspended him, and all the employees of the station numbering a thousand went on a sympathetic strike for the stark-naked man. I do not know whether to call it a melodrama or maladjustment.

These instances show clearly that in spite of all attempts for industrial welfare and laying down of fundamental principles for guidance, the morbid psychology is at work and out-manoeuvres the administration. Any amount of tact on the part of the personnel officer will be of no avail when the other side is divested of discipline, when the other side is determined to create disturbance on some plea or other. So, the cult of discipline amongst employees is the *sine qua non* for any welfare activities or for that matter for running the factory. To inculcate human relations man should understand each other and adhere to self-discipline, whether an employer or an employee. Without discipline nothing can grow—human relations or industry.



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THE MILITARY SYSTEM OF ANCIENT INDIA

By Lt. Col. B. N. MAJUMDAR, A.S.C.

Introduction

It is surprising but true that India had a military system as old as its civilisation. War was not new to our history and as such its trace will be found even in our Vedic literature and Epics.

Even though most of our military institutions and systems are shrouded in mystery, yet we can glean some semblance of a connected chronicle from the Epics, and various other Vedic and Puranic literature. The discoveries made in North India reveal that there were proper organization and armaments to combat aggression. Thus the art of warfare and its connected problems were not unknown in Indian history and we have ample historical data to justify that it was a well-established science and well-practised too.

Generally speaking any connected and consistent history of warfare dates from the advent of the Magadhan Empire. Before this date most of the material is gleaned from the Indian Epics. In this article I will confine my study to the Vedic and Puranic periods only.

The Vedic Age

By concensus of opinion of historians the Vedic age extends from 1500 to 600 BC and saw the arrival and expansion of the Aryan tribes in India. Initially the Aryans did not come with the intention to wage war but gradually, as they settled down, they were forced to fight so that the original inhabitants of India could not engulf them and also because of their will to survive in the alien land. Thus the necessity to wage war for survival gave impetus to this aspect of the growth and development of the art of warfare in ancient India.

Mr. Dikshitar says:

"They came into effective conflict with the people alien to their culture who would not suffer the intrusion of foreigners into their ancient and simple habitat. It was natural that they rose in revolt and the intruding tribes were forced to defend themselves against the armed attacks of the natives of the soil. Thus the defence complex fired their psychological impulses, and the result was the outbreak of hostilities."

In addition to the impetus that this gave to the art of warfare, there were other profound political effects on the country. Mr. Will Durant points out:

"It is war that makes the chiefs, the king and the State . . . it stimulated invention, made weapons that became useful tools and arts of war that became arts of peace . . . . War dissolved primitive communism and anarchism . . . . introduced organization and discipline . . . property was the mother, war was the father of a State."

It will be surprising to note how these remarks hold true even to this modern age.

As the Aryans gradually increased their sway over the country and consolidated their gains achieved by wars, there came into prominence a distinct class in society who specialised in the art of waging war and thus took upon themselves the responsibility for defending the country against the aggressors. Thus we find the birth of the Kshatriya caste.

"They were the defenders of society from external aggression and internal disorder. The military organization of the State was entrusted to them. They were in charge of political arrangements. It was not the intention of Hindu Dharma to make the entire body of the people act as a general militia," says one historian.

Generally speaking, the concept of state was civil and not military. Hence there was no standing army during the Vedic Age and in times of war local levies came out to help with their own arms under their own chiefs. The army consisted of infantry and chariot-warriors but cavalry and elephants came in at a much later period.

The principal weapon of the period was the bow and arrow, but other weapons such as lances, swords, axes and sling-stones were not in frequently used during war.

It seems that the Indian foot soldier did not materially contribute to the outcome of any battle as much as a car-warrior did, because they fell in thousands and the soldier mounted on chariot was much respected.

A battle in the Vedic Age was more or less fought in this way:

"When an enemy approaches the Aryan boundaries, earthworks were thrown up, a barricade of timbers created, impassable bulworks of bronze made and sacrifices offered to the gods to secure their help. Then the army advances with loud battle songs with the sound of drums and trumpets, with waving banners against the opposite force. The warrior stands at the left of the charioteer, and the foot soldiers fight in close lines,

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village beside village, tribe beside tribe. The warrior is protected by a brazen coat of mail and helmet; with the bow he hurls against the enemy feathered arrows with poisoned tips of horn or metal or presses on with spear and axe, lance and sling. And when the enemy is conquered, loud rejoicing resounds with the beat of drums; the sacred fire is kindled to offer to the gods a song and sacrifice of thanksgiving, and then to divide the spoil."

With all this the art of war in the Vedic Age struck awe in the minds of the original inhabitants and the Aryans speedily expanded their hold in India.

The Epic and the Puranic Age

Most of the information on the military system of this age is gleaned from legends, epic poetry, myths, literature and songs. The origin of the Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, may be mystical but when critically studied against the background of that age, they give an insight into the various political, cultural and military systems of the period. It is on the foundations then laid in these Epics that we find the Hindu military system remodelling itself in the subsequent ages till the invasion of India by the Muslims.

During the Epic age the army consisted of chariots, horses, elephants, infantry, ships, spies, local guards and porters (burden-carriers). The emphasis was rather on the mounted soldier, *i.e.*, the charioteer who seems to take decisive part in the battles.

The army was well-trained on a well-organized system. The many-sided training imparted to the army were these:

> "They are experts in climbing, riding, quick march, beating, entering and coming (out of a fort), and their skill in fighting on elephants, in horsemanship and charioteering has been tested."

Soldiers were also well looked after and they were paid fixed and regular salaries without any delay or non-payment. Extra allowance like marching allowance and provisions for the family of the soldiers were also made.

Various types of defensive and offensive weapons were being used. These were more or less the same as were used in the Vedic Age with the addition of the shield, body-armour, shooting gloves, metal helmet and neck protector. Rockets were also in use against fortified places.

Tactics and strategy were combined with political methods and thus warfare in this age was waged in all the fields—political and military. Apart from individual combats of the earlier era we find the advent of various types of battle formations like circular, compact, crooked and open formations which had their advantages and disadvantages.

Forts and fortifications were also constructed and these were ingeniously guarded by moats and provisioned to withstand long sieges. Large and important cities were also similarly guarded against the invader. The Santiparva of the Mahabharata says:

> "The king with his ministers and the army thoroughly loyal to him should reside in that city which is defended by a citadel, which contains abundant stock of rice and weapons, which is protected with imperishable walls and a trench which teems with elephants and steeds and chariots which is inhabited by men possessed of learning and versed in mechanical arts, where provisions of every kind have been stored."

Various morale-building factors as war-medals, banners annd other welfare activities were very much in use in this age. It was well realised that a soldier's fighting ability could be sustained if he was well looked after, well paid and arrangements made for his family in case of his death in the battle-field.

Laws of war were not unknown. Adequate laws existed for the following:

> "Abstention from striking down an unarmed, unequalled and fallen foe, on showing quarter, giving punishment for indiscipline and bestowing and reward for meritorious service, on humane treatment of prisoners of war, on non-seizure of enemy property on certain conditions and distinction between combatants and non-combatants etc., etc."

When compared with the ancient Greeks and Romans, Indian laws of war were much more humane and civilised.

Conclusion

It will be seen that India, the cradle of one of the oldest civilisation, was never backward in the science of warfare. It may be that we were much more advanced in this science than many others of this world.

Like all systems, warfare also passed through various evolutionary processes starting from the Vedic age to reach in the Epic and Puranic age it made distinct improvement over the past. Subsequent improvements were to be seen during the Magadhan age when India achieved its political, cultural and military unity.

History will no doubt reveal that we had a glorious past in the military field and history has the uncanny habit of repeating itself.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE WISDOM OF INDIA: *By Lin Yutang. Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 591. Price Rs. 8.75.*

In this work the author, who is an eminent and patriotic Chinese intellectual, has sought to emphasise the supreme worth of India's distinctive culture by means of well-selected quotations from some of the principal source-books. In his Introduction, the author, after complaining of the average reader's ignorance of India's possession "as rich a culture, as creative an imagination and wit and humour as any China has to offer" as well as India's role as China's teacher in religion and imaginative literature and the world's teacher in trigonometry, quadratic equations, grammar, phonetics, Arabian Nights, animal fables, chess as well as in philosophy," and after lamenting the passing away in the middle of the last century of "the great age of Western appreciation of Indian literature and philosophy," concludes with his firm conviction of the necessity alike in India's own interest and in the interest of humanity, of educating the younger generation towards a correct view of her civilisation. The work consists of four sections with the captions *Indian Piety, Indian Imagination, Indian Humour* and *Buddhism*, selections in each case (as well as the versions from which they are quoted) being chosen with sound judgment. The first section consists of selections from the *Rig-Vedic* hymns and the *Upanishads* in the versions of E. J. Thomas and Max Muller (the former including the well-known hymn to the Unknown God besides hymns to Indra, Varuna and Ushas, and the latter including the famous discourses of Uddalaka to his son Svetaketu and of Yama to Nachiketas in the *Chhandogya* and *Katha* Upanishads respectively), and the whole of the *Bhagavad-gita* and Patanjali's *Yogasutras* in the versions of Swami Paramananda and Swami Vivekananda respectively by the author's deliberate preference. The second section consists chiefly of extracts from the *Ramayana* in the racy version of Romesh Dutt (the author apologising for the inevitable omission of selections from the *Mahabharata* as well as the great Sanskrit dramas of *Sakuntala* and *Mrichchakatika*), while the third section comprises selections from the two famous books of fables, the *Panchatantra* and the *Suka-saptati* in the versions of Arthur W. Ryder and the Rev. B. Clarke Wortham respectively. The fourth section has a more miscellaneous character as it comprises pieces not only from the *Hinayana* literature, but also what the author thinks to be the relatively neglected but really more valuable literature of *Mahayana* Buddhism. It comprises besides the whole of the *Dhammapada* (in Max Muller's version), three specimens of Buddha's sermons and five Buddhist parables and legends (after translations of Chinese versions of the original Sanskrit texts as well as those of Pali texts by modern scholars). It also consists of what the author thinks to be "the best poetical and the best philosophical approaches to Mahayana Buddhism" respectively, *viz.*, Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* (based upon Asvaghosha's *Buddhacharita*) and the *Surangama Sutra* (after the Chinese version of the original Sanskrit text by the Indian monk Paramartha). It concludes with a section on *Nirvana* from the last portion of the authoritative *Lankavatara Sutra*. The value of this work is greatly enhanced by the author's learned and suggestive Prefaces from which we quote below one specimen. Posing the question why the Hindus have rejected Buddhism as the Jews have rejected Christianity, the author finds the chief explanation in the fact that "Judaism in Judaea and Brahmanism in India had older, truer and deeper roots in their racial consciousness" and that "Buddhism and Chistianity had those universal idealistic qualities which detracted from their national character." The above brief sketch will suffice to show how well the author, a highly educated and sympathetic foreigner, has succeeded in his attempt to present within his compass a true and fairly complete picture of India's rich and diversified culture for the benefit of the general reader.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SPEECHES OF MAULANA AZAD (1947-1955): *Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi-8. Pp. viii + 331. Price Rs. 6-8.*

This book contains fifty-four speeches, delivered by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as Minister of Education, Indian Union. The speeches indicate in a way the educational policy of the Union since the attainment of Independence. Education of the youth is the primary duty of a State, and it is but natural that the leaders will bestow much attention on this problem. Mahatma Gandhi, though engaged primarily in various political struggles, never failed to harp on this primary need. He propounded the principle of basic education, which, if adopted and carried out, would cure many ills of society inasmuch as it would satisfy the needs of the common man. The educational policy of the Government should be remodelled and re-oriented on this line. Their efforts in this behalf require to be tested from this point, too.

The speeches of the Union Minister for Education, couched in the book under review, provide an index on the endeavours of the Union Government with regard to various aspects of Indian education, primary, secondary, higher as also technical, technological and scientific. But the scheme of Gandhian

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education has found the least expression in these endeavours. Basic education appears to be most neglected. Educated unemployment has become a serious problem even today. The system of education, as it obtains today, should be thoroughly revolutionised; and this is necessary not only for tackling the present problem of unemployment, but also for strengthening the foundation of the new-born Free State of India. The speeches deal with many matters, which come within the purview of education. Social education, art-education, art-exhibition, libraries, Unesco affairs, archaeology, historical records, academy of dance, drama and music, foundation of the Visva-Bharati University, etc., constitute the subject-matter of several speeches. The last speech—"1857: The Need for a New Evaluation," delivered on January 25, 1955, is very significant. The centenary of the "Sepoy Revolt" falls on 10th May, 1957. And the Government of India in the Ministry of Education are issuing an authentic volume on it in its different aspects on this date. This revolt has been called by some patriot-writers as the first national war of Indian Independence. Maulana Azad has discussed this view briefly in the speech above referred to. It is refreshing to find that he does not subscribe to the current view unreservedly and has left the matter for thorough discussion and conclusion, this way or that, in the hands of its historian.

After going through the speeches, however, the question lurks in the mind of the reader: "What is being done for the common man in Free India with regard to his true education?" The question demands immediate answer from the people at the helm of public affairs.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

MOKSHAPRADIPAM (The Light to Salvation): *By Swami Brahmananda Sivayogi. Published by the Siddhashramam, P.O. Alatur, S. Malabar. Pp. 410. Price Rs. 5.*

Swami Brahmananda Sivayogi was a very great scholar-saint of North Malabar. Born on the 26th of August, 1852, he attained Mahasamadhi on 10th September, 1929, at a ripe old age. He became well-versed in the Sanskrit scriptures with extraordinary rapidity and critical acumen and produced sixteen excellent religious works in the local vernacular of Malayalam. Some of them have already been translated into Hindi, Tamil and English and widely circulated. He is the founder of several hermitages where Rajayoga is studied and practised. His *Sivayogarahasya* appeared in 1893, *Brahmakirtam* in 1898, *Strividyaposhini* in 1899, *Siddhanubhuti* in 1903 and the book under review in 1905.

The present English version of *Mokshapradeepam* is rendered from the original eighth edition printed in 1930 in Malayalam. *Mokshapradeepam* or the Lamp of Liberation appears to be the *magnum opus* of this learned sage and has also been done into Hindi by his disciple Nishkalananda. This Malayalam masterpiece of religious literature, characterised by lucid style and clear exposition, has appealed immensely to the masses of Malabar and created a liberal movement. It points out the limitations of Sankhya and other systems and brings into bold relief the superiority of Rajayoga as the Supreme science of practical religion. Conventionalism and caste distinction and social superstitions are condemned and a sincere practice of true religion is commended.

The excellence of this work is its strong foc... tion on scriptural authority. It is a rare feature ... religious works of our times. The author being ... master of scriptural lore, his book is enriched w... apt quotations from Yoga-Vasistha, Adhya... Ramayana, Devi-Bhagavata and other popular sc... tures. Out of thirty-eight chapters into which ... book is divided, only the first twelve are devoted ... the refutation of rituals and the like, whereas ... remaining twenty-six to the exposition of Rajay... Sanskrit learning and spiritual illumination ... jointly made the exposition so clear, convincing ... original that it reads like a classic and impresses ... a scripture.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANAND...

THE THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL W... AND PEACE: *By G. C. Banerji, B.E., C.E. ... Braunfield Row, Calcutta-27. Published by Probo... Publishers, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Pp. ... Price Rs. 4-8.*

This is an exhaustive treatment of a difficult ... of which there has been no solution for the world ... far as war and peace are concerned. The learned aut... has dealt with Science, Philosophy, Economics a... History with reference to the laws of creation and ... records of history and has marshalled relevant ... skilfully and convincingly. The valuable work d... credit to the author's scholarship, because he ... his readers how war can be eliminated and peace ... earth established. The last two chapters 'Theory ... Involution' and 'The Hypothesis of Peace' are a ... exposition of a burning topic of the day. We rec... mend the book to the reading public.

NARENDRA DE...

MODERN ESSAYS: *By Jyotiswarup Sa... Published by the Chaitanya Publishing Ho... Allahabad. Pp. 459. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book under notice presents a number ... essays on topics pertaining to Science, Literat... Education, History, Politics and Economics. Th... are meant for students sitting for competitive ... University examinations. The book is divided ... five sections. The essays, in general, reflect a ... of frustration and a consequent pessimism. ... glimpses of men and matter presented in the ... are mostly obtained from a pessimist's wisdom ... as such they lack robust optimism. The author ... tried "to catch the style and the idiom of a ... tion which has no hopes but only fears." If the ... assumption of the author is granted, then cert... he deserves a word of praise for how and what he ... said in his book under review. But we join issue ... the author in pointing out that signs *prima ...* should not be put much premium upon and a dis... ing mind should have delved deeper. The pos... frustration of being 'disinherited and disenchan... should not have been struck when mammoth ex... ments in reconstruction are undertaken all ... world over. The fear and frustration of the age ... psychological and they bear the potency of ... transcendence in them. This great truth the au... has overlooked.

Apart from this defect in the view-point, ... essays are good. The author is well-informed and ... reader will profit by the wealth of information ... the essays. The style seems to be a bit affected, ... does not flow with ease and grace all through. M... over, the comparisons offered are not always ... happy. They also lack the insight of a probing ...

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which makes evaluation balanced and rational. To quote an example: "An emotionally starved scientist is as dangerous to culture as an artist deficient in Reason" (p. 63). We do not see how the above remark could stand the test of logical scrutiny. Artists, worth the name, are certainly not deficient in Reason. Art is not something irrational and as such the artist has his own logic implicitly flowing through all his words and deeds. But we must remember that an artist is not a logician in the academic sense and as such we should not expect a Picasso talking like a Hobhouse or a Dewey. The author's preference for mouthful phrases has impaired much of his logical thinking. The essays, apart from such defects, are quite useful. They may be helpful to students for whom they are intended.

The publishers deserve a word of praise for bringing out such a handy and useful volume reasonably priced and nicely got-up.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION IN INDIA, Vol. I: *Regulation of Money Lending (Revised Edition), 1956. Issued by Economic and Statistical Adviser, Ministry of Food and Agriculture. Pp. 217. Price Rs. 5.*

In the volume under review almost all the Central and Provincial or State Acts on Money Lending have been collected; and a very valuable introduction showing the social and economic background for which legislation was needed, the history and main provisions of the legislation and how the money-lending legislation has been administered and how far the object of the legislation has been achieved has been given. Not the least valuable portions of the introduction are the suggestions for improvement and the section on the future of money-lenders. We wish the introduction were more elaborate. The value of the volume has been enhanced by an index. Our only regret is that the Rules framed under the various Acts have not been given to make the volume a self-contained hand-book on the subject.

J. M. DATTA

THE SUBSTANCE OF A DREAM: *Translated from the original by F. W. Bain. Jaico Publishing House, 35, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-12. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book was first published by Messrs. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London in 1919. It now comes to the general reader in a new decent get-up at a cheap price. "The real crime of a woman is not so much a crime as a defect; she is weak, as all sages know . . .; it is her strength and half her charm that she cannot stand alone like a creeper." This impression is readily gathered from the character of Tarawali. The story, romantic and fanciful, reads more or less like an old Sanskrit legend.

SOMADEVA'S VETALA-PANCHA-VIMSATI (from *Katha-sarit-sagara*): *Translated by C. H. Tawney. Jaico Publishing House, 35, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 2.*

Katha-sarit-sagara (Ocean of the streams of tales) is a famous book of stories of ancient India. These twenty-five tales of a vampire' forms a part of that book. In intellectual, ethical and narrative appeal these tales are of absorbing interest even today. The English rendering is quite satisfactory.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

INQUILAB: *By Khwaja Ahmad Abbas. Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. 1955. Pp. 392. Price Rs. 3.*

Mr. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas' canvas in this large, sprawling novel is as wide as the sky. He seeks his colours from the burning pages of the epic saga of India's struggle for freedom and he fills his palette with almost all the now legendary figures who have at one time or another strutted upon the country's political stage roughly between the period of the Jalianwalabag massacre and the rise of the canker of communalism in the Indian political scene. Mr. Abbas' enthusiasm is exuberant as he endeavours to capture something of the rarefied atmosphere of the stirring, inspiring days of the past. The main thread of the story is supported along the way by various characters, some strong, some nebulous or anaemic, and there is also a somewhat long-winded but fatuous romantic leaven. One detects, however, a certain quality of artificiality about Mr. Abbas' work: His characters seem unduly prefabricated and drawn to a set pattern with the result that few, if any, of them is retained in the mind after the book is read and laid down. It is in this context that the publisher's blurb (appearing on the fourth cover of the book) that Mr. Abbas' novel "will bring forth (*sic*) your eyes dozens of momentous incidents that have long been engulfed by history" can be said to have remained unrealised in a large measure. The book is well-produced and maintains the now well-known Jaico standards.

RAMESH GHOSHAL

HOW COMMON PEOPLE THINK: *By Dr. D. N. Chatterjee. Published from 3/2, College Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 150. Price Re. 1-8.*

The publication contains 92 letters addressed by the writer during 1948 to 1952 to the Prime Minister of India and other officials and to the press on burning topics of the day—most important of which are the refugee problem and the administration's corruption and inefficiency.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

RAGATATTVAVIBODHA OF SRINIVASA: *Edited by Vibhukumar S. Desai, B.A. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXVI. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 4.*

We have here a critical edition of a 17th-century Sanskrit work on music dealing with *Ragas* and allied matters, *e.g., sruti, Jati, svara, grama, murchhana, gamaka* and *mela*. The edition is based on a single manuscript of the Oriental Institute of Baroda, which was copied about forty years back from a manuscript belonging to the Palace Library of Bikaner. It seems the copy was not a strictly faithful one and occasional variations noticed here and there have been recorded in the edition. The learned editor has given in the Introduction a critical summary of the contents of the work, specially in the context of more or less contemporary literature of which a brief account is given. We are told that this is the first of six works on music to be published in the Series with the financial help of the Sangeet Natak Akadami, New Delhi. The Akadami deserves to be congratulated on

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its project of bringing to light in collaboration with the Oriental Institute, specimens of our heritage of the rich literature of music. We hope important manuscripts preserved in different parts of the country will receive its attention.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

CAPTAIN NARENDRANATHER JIBAN-KATHA: *By Dr. Amulyaratan Chakrabarti. Published from 123, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta. Pp. 121. Price Rs. 4.*

Born in 1884 in the district of Tipperah, Capt. Dutta (died 1949) was a unique person in more than one sense. Poverty could not damp his spirit and he prosecuted his studies up to M.B. and graduated in medicine,—throughout the entire period struggling—earning while learning. After serving the Government during the First World War, he returned to Calcutta and took up the work of reorganisation of the Bengal Immunity, Ltd., then in moribund condition. Afterwards he organised half a dozen other concerns which at present employ a good number of persons. He was a man of charity and his munificence in founding a college and a school at Srikail, his native village (now in Pakistan), will ever be remembered by his countrymen with gratitude. A bachelor he lived a life of service dedicated to the cause of his country and countrymen, particularly, in the domain of education, scientific research, industry and commerce and village uplift. A study of the life will encourage our youngmen to emulate his noble example.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

EUROPA: *By Devesh Chandra Das. Atmaram and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 3.*

Some years back the author visited Europe. But unlike most of the travellers abroad, he kept his "heart's-eye" always open, as he went round, with the result that he was able to see something of the soul of that great continent. In doing this he rediscovered also his own soul, incidentally. On his return home he published a book in Bengali, recording his observations and appreciation of the best and most beautiful facets of the spirit and culture of Europe, as these were made manifest to him in the individuals he met and incidents and institutions he "witnessed." The present is a Hindi translation by himself of the Bengali original. Though his Hindi style has left not a little to be desired, his cultured insight has not been impaired in the rendering in the least. Books like *Europa* are, indeed, true peace emissaries between the nations.

SIDDHARTH: *By Radhakrishna Chaudhuri. Abhinav Granthagar, Patna-4. Pp. 243. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a commendable biography of Buddha, based on results of researches on his life and faith and order, made by competent scholars at home and abroad. As such, it is more scientific and less sentimental. The Hindi rendering of the *Dhammapada*, referred to in the author's Preface, however, was not found among the Appendices (at least in the review-copy).

G. M.

GUJARATI

LOKAMANYA TILAK: *By Pandurang Ganesh Deshpandey. Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad. July, 1956. Price Rs. 3.*

This is the first biography in Gujarati of Lokamanya. The writer is an alumnus of Gujarat Vidyapith and it has been prepared with great care, and the writer had carefully gone through all the existing literature on the subject. He had given up his studies in response to the Non-co-operation Movement in 1920 and is still a worker in the cause of freedom.

The author has divided the whole story of Tilak's life into nine parts. The first part has taken up the story of his birth and his schooling and also life at Deccan College and friendship with Agarkar; in the second, we find him busy with the *Kesari* and the *Maratha*, the establishment of Fergusson College and his first experience in jail in connection with the Kolhapur episode; in the third, we find his excursion into social field, while in the fourth the beginning of the part he played in the Indian National Congress and so on through the first charge of sedition against him, the new age, the partition of Bengal, the Calcutta Congress, the Home Rule, War Council, the law-suit brought by Chirol, etc. The divisions have been very good in emphasising rightly several upsets which make up the life of this great man. The book gives in a very practical way the contents of the different treatises which he had written, *Orion* and the Arctic *Home in the Vedas*, and the important books he had written in addition to *Geetarahasya*. The publisher has rightly selected a saying from Tilak in 1908 while on his trial and has joined to it a saying from Mahatma Gandhi in 1922 where he requested his trying Magistrate to award him the punishment which had been meted out to Tilak with whom Gandhiji had been compared by the trying Judge. This biography of Tilak has the merit of being concise and comprehensive at the same time.

P. R. SEN

RANG DEVTANE CHARANE: *By Ratilal Shyamji Trivedi, Published by Gandiv Sahitya Mandir (Bombay Branch). Printed at the Gandiv Printing Press, Surat. 1951. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 189. Price Rs. 3.*

Shri Deshi Natak Samaj, through its theatre, Princess Theatre, Bhangwadi, Bombay, has been staging for the last sixty years, nearly one hundred dramas, and a large number of them have been written by the subject of this biography, a poet and dramatist, Prabhulal Dayaram Dwivedi. For thirty five years he has ploughed this field and is now almost sightless but his work continues. As to how he developed this genius, from being an apprentice at the Docks Workshop at Karachi, gradually but surely, is narrated in this biography, step by step. Surely he is a self-made man and the proof of it is in this book.

SARASWATI SANGIT SANGRAHA: *By Shrimati Khorshed T. Mullan. Printed at the Frasho Gomati Press, Bombay. 1951. Thick card-board. Pp. 171. Price Rs. 6.*

As a community Parsis are lovers of music, Indian and foreign. Mrs. Mullan is one of them and conducts music classes successfully, her students being girls of her own community. A magnificent coloured picture

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Saraswati, with *vina* and peacock, adorns the opening part of the book and under her inspiration the writer has tried in 20 chapters to facilitate the study, though technical it is, of the different *ragas* and their *tanas*. It is sure to prove useful.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Second Five-Year Plan—Summary, 1956 (in English, Hindi and Bengali): Government of India Planning Commission. Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of I and B, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 188, 210 and 162 respectively. Price Re. 1 each.

The Report sets out in a summary form the proposals of the Planning Commission of the Government of India for the Second Five-Year Plan. In 32 chapters it has set forth the objectives and methods and techniques of all that the Second Five-Year Plan proposes to achieve during the next five years.

Five-Year Plan—Progress Report for 1954-55, May 1956: Compiled by V. T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Government of India. Published by the Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi. Pp. 235 + lxiii.

Change in Asia—The Colombo Plan, 1956: Published by the Colombo Plan Information Unit, Bureau for Technical Co-operation, Colombo. Printed at the Government Press, Ceylon.

This is a continuation of *The Colombo Plan in Pictures, 1955*. Every page is illustrated by photos with brief descriptions of the subjects of the illustrations, printed on art paper and is an attempt to record in concrete terms the new awakening that has taken place and the progress made in the countries of South and South-East Asia, including India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Nepal, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Pp. 71.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Translations of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature in Chinese Previous to the 5th Century C.E.

A. A. G. Bennett writes in *The Maha Bodhi*:

In the present days of comparatively easy access to the literature of one's choice, one is inclined to overlook the fact that, if the Chinese wanted Sanskrit Buddhist texts, either Indians had to take them to China or the Chinese had to go to India to fetch them. The first event was unlikely to occur for a considerable time after the Parinirvana of the Buddha if only for the reason that the texts had to be assembled and written down; the second event depended on the arousing and growth of Chinese interest in Buddhism. Remembering that the Indians were not interested in chronology, further that they were not over-inclined to transmit their scriptures to writing, it is not surprising that, over many troublous centuries, the Chinese translations constitute the only evidence we have at the present day that many of the Sanskrit works ever existed at all.

The region of early Indian contact with China lay in Chinese Turkestan. It is not by any obscure chance that Kucha, Khotan, Karashahr and Kashgar figure as establishments of Chinese military governorships, or that they and Turfan, Tun-huang or Yarkand were names prominent in the discoveries of Sven Hedin, Stein and other noted archaeologists of our own day, for they were situated on the main traffic routes from the borders of China to the Asia Minor coast. At An-si-chow on the north-west boundary of the Kansu province of China, the road to the west divided into two branches, the northern passing through Turfan and Kucha, the southern through Tunhuang, Khotan and Yarkand; they came together again at Kashgar some 1200 miles almost due west of An-si-chow, though the actual routes were, of course, considerably longer. They had borne the trade caravans from time immemorial through a comparatively thriving countryside, in later centuries they brought a succession of Buddhist teachers and pilgrims, after which came from the west into Kashgar a series of invading armies. At last traffic died away as Chinese Turkestan became the almost waterless desert it is today.

Conditions were easier, however, in 217 B.C. when some Indian Sramanas arrived in China. They were thrown into prison for expounding their doctrine and were miraculously liberated by a "Golden Man." It is not claimed that they had any texts with them, but Hsu Kuan, a writer of the Sung dynasty (960-1279 C.E.) quotes in his *Tung Chai Chi* passages to support the fact that Buddhism was known in China before 65 C.E.; there is also this supporting quotation, amongst others, from the *Sui Shu Ching Chi Chih*: "These Buddhist writings had long been circulated far and wide, but disappeared with the advent of the Ch'in dynasty." This is the dynasty (221-206 B.C.) under which occurred the Burning of the Books referred to in an earlier article.

In 2 B.C. a Buddhist text was brought to China by a Chinese ambassador returning from a mission to Kucha in Chinese Turkestan. There seems to be no suggestion as to what this text might have been or who translated it, but it must have been of considerable interest for when, in 65 C.E., the Emperor Ming Ti dreamed of a "Golden Man," interpreted as the Indian Gautama Buddha, another Chinese mission returning from Khotan brought back two Indian Sramanas, Kasyapa Matanga and Chu Fa-lan, the latter called frequently by his Tibetan name Gobharana, or Bharana. His Indian name is difficult to restore but might be "Dharmaraksha"; the "Chu" prefixed in his Chinese name signifies his Indian origin. The party arrived with a white horse bearing books and images, and the Emperor built for the Sramanas the "White Horse" Monastery in Lo-yang, then the capital of China. Two years later, in 67 C.E., there resulted the compendium *Sutra of Forty-Two Sections* (Nan, 678) the earliest known translation of a Buddhist Sutra into Chinese. It is still extant. Matanga died at Lo-yang shortly after the production, but Chu Fa-lan translated five other works before he, too, died at Lo-yang. They included a *Budhacharita-sutra*, which is sometimes taken to be the *Lalitavistara*, the *Dasabhumiklesaccedika-Sutra*, and many Jatakas. All were lost some time before 730 C.E.

Between 147 and 200 C.E., eight non-Chinese Sramanas worked at Lo-yang, some over a period of many years. They included four from the countries round and about Russian Turkestan and Afghanistan, two from India, two from Tibet. Their works are mentioned in *Nei-tien-lu* and often again in *Khai-yuen-lu*, but by 730 the Scripts as well as the Titles of some of them had been lost. A few are still extant and mentioned in Nanjio. The following are the best known of the translators and their works:

Chih Leu-chia-ch'an: 23 works mentioned in *Khai-yuen-lu*, 11 then surviving. Nanjio gives 14 amongst which are: *Dasasahasrika-prajnaparamita* (Non. 5) and the *Longer Sukha-vati-vyuha* (Non. 15).

An Shi-kao. A prince of the country of Arsak who, on the death of his father, gave up his kingdom to his uncle and became a Sramana. *Nei-tien-lu* gives him 176 translations, *Khai-yuen-lu* 95 with only 54 extant, and Nanjio 55. Of the last, 9 are Mahayana sutras, 40 Hinayana sutras, many of the Agama class and including the *Dharmacakra-pravartana-Sutra* which is not included in the Agamas.

An Hhuen (Upasaka): Two translations including the *Dvada-sanidana-Sutra* (Non. 1339).

Khan Man-sian: Translated 6 works, of which four, including the *Brahmajala-Sutra*, are lost.

Chu Ta-li: With the preceding translator, rendered *Sutra on the origin of Practice* [of the Bodhisattva, (Nan. 664)] This is a life of Sakyamuni in seven chapters. Chapter I deals with "manifesting strange (phenomenon)." Chapter 2 is on

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sutra's causing his spirit to descend," *i.e.*, coming down from the Tushita heaven to be born in this world. Chap. 7 concerns "subduing the Mara."

At the turn of the century there arrived at Lo-yang an Indian Sramana, possibly Dharmapala but called by the Chinese Shih Than-kwo. He brought with him a Sanskrit text, *Madhyamaityukta-sutra* (Non. 556), from Kapilavastu. With Khan Man-tan he translated it in 207 C.E. The work is a life of Sakyamuni, the subject of the first chapter being the turning of the wheel of the Law, and that of the fifteenth the last, the eating of the horse-barley. It is said to be an extract from a full text of the *Dirghagama*.

In the foregoing names of translators, the prefixes Chu, An, Khan, nenote that the place of origin of the Sramana was India, Eastern Persia or Parthia, "beyond Tibet," respectively. The prefix "Shih" is used with some names of Indian priests living in China and with Chinese priests. Of the translations of the period 67-220 C.E. *Nei-tien-lu* mentions 359, *Khai-yuen-lu* 292 with only 97 then in existence. Now only 96 remain.

The rest of the third century and the early fourth passed with much the same pattern. There is, as yet, no systematic examination of the Buddhist texts, translators being dependent entirely on whichever of them might turn up. Sramanas from India, Tibet and the Afghanistan region of the western countries continued to arrive in China but of their translators over 160 have been lost including one of the *Mahaparinirvana-Sutra* by An Fa-hein and the oldest translation of the *Lalitavistara*. However, many have survived. Upasaka Kun-min (otherwise Chih Ch'en) came to China from a bordering country and was appointed a professor-tutor to the heir-apparent. Amongst his 49 translations still surviving are: *Rasasahasrika-Prajnaparamita*, *Longer Sakhavati-vyuha*, *Vimalakirtinirdesa*, and the *Brahmajala-Sutra*.

There were also three Sramanas from Central Asia. Of these Dharmakala, arriving in 222 C.E., finding that the priests of China were ignorant in the Vinaya Rules, translated the Pratimoksha of the Mahasangikas; this was the first Vinaya text to be rendered into Chinese and was lost by 730 C.E. In 224 came Vighna and Chu Luh-yen (Sanskrit name unknown) with a text of the Dharmapada. According to *Kao-seng-Chuan* (Memoirs of Eminent Priests, compiled, 518 C.E.), the Chinese invited them to translate it, but since their knowledge of the language was not profound the rendering was made in very simple terms and is difficult to follow. The main idea was to retain the meaning of the text. This is the first translation of the *Dharmapada* into Chinese and is called in the Preface: *Dharmapada-gatha*. The version is also known as *Dharma-sangraha sutra*. (Nan. 1365). It is missing in Tibetan.

A very impressive list of translations is due to Chu Fa-hu, one of the many writers who bear the name of "Dharmaraksha." His family was continuously resident in Tun-huang and he was skilled in 36 languages and dialects. He arrived at Lo-yang in 265 where he was the first to translate several sutras of the Vaipulya class. *Nei-tienfu* gives him 210 (Non. and Khai-yuen-lu 175 with 91 in existence in 291 C.E. Ninety works still survive; they include the *Dasabhumika Sutra*, *Saddharmapundarika*, *Lalitavistara*, and the *Chatur-daraka-samadhi* (a Nirvana Sutra, Nan, 116). The turn of the century saw a translation of the Dirghagama *Mahaparinirvana-Sutra* by a Chinese Sramana, Po Fa-tsu, and another translation of the *Dharmapada* (Non. 1358) by two Sramanas of unknown origin. About the same time came the *Nagasena-bhikshu-sutra* (Nan. 1358) also by an unknown translator, which seems to be a translation of a text similar to the *Milinda-panha* though the introduction does not correspond exactly to that of the Pali text. A third translation of the *Dharmapada* (Non. 1321), by Chu Fo-nien, a Sramana who had often helped other translators with their work, followed shortly. It is listed under the title *"Avadana-Sutra."*

With the advent of the latter half of the fourth century the type of text translated changes. In the beginning of this century imperial permission had been granted to the Chinese to become monks, and in the course of a few decades there resulted a search for systematised knowledge of the Buddhist Teaching. Another "Dharmaraksha" (Chu Fa-chang) achieved a long list of translations between 381 and 395 many of them still surviving, though they are lesser works, but in 383 there arrived at Ch'ang-an (province of Shen-si, N.-E. China, and at various times the capital in preference to Lo-yang) Gautama Sanghadeva from Kabul who translated the entire *Madhyamagama* (corresponding to the Pali Majjhima Nikaya), with 333 sutras collected, as well as the *Jnanaprasthana-sastra* (Nan. 1273). Dharmanandin Sramana of Tukhara, came to Ch'ang-an in 384, translated the *Ekottaragama* (corresponding to the Pali *Anguttara-Nikaya*) and many other works, and returned to the west seven years later.

In the meantime the Chinese had begun their journeys to India in search of texts. A work by one Shih To-an, who died in 385, told of his travels but the account is now lost. The last year of the century saw the departure for India of Fa-hsien, the first of the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to leave his records.

Some Trends in Our Parliamentary Democracy

The concluding portion of the article under the above caption by K. V. Rao in *Triveni* is given below:

There is enough evidence to discern the evolution of two broad tendencies: that individual ministers enjoy a great latitude to take decisions over a large field without consulting the full Cabinet, or even the Prime Minister; and that some important decisions are taken by sub-committees of the Cabinet, or groups of ministers, and these decisions may not be brought before the full Cabinet, depending upon the wish of the Prime Minister.

One of the important causes behind them is the dominating personality of Pandit Nehru. Panditji seems to believe in the ancient dictum of administration: 'Choose the most capable lieutenants, and then trust them.' But that is a dictum suitable for the monarchical type of Government, successfully put into practice by Akbar in India. To-day, Governments should not only be 'capable' but also 'responsible.' While the capacity of the Central ministers

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is a moot point and a matter of opinion, it can certainly be said that 'responsibility' has been blurred, and many a minister has taken shelter under the protecting wings of the Prime Minister, who had only to get up and say, "I take the full responsibility" to silence all criticism and opposition.

There has been one sharp exception—in the case of Sri Lal Bahadur Sastry. But it is a sad case setting a wrong example. To hold a minister responsible for a conspiracy of Nature and neglect of three minor officials on the spot in a remote part of the country, is neither good administration, nor setting up good tradition. Ministers execute policy, but do not adjust nuts and bolts to railway coaches. Imagine a Railway Minister resigning every time an engine derails, or a Home Minister resigning every time there is an armed dacoity, or a Health Minister resigning every time there is a small-pox epidemic! And if responsibility is accepted at all, then the whole ministry should have resigned but not a mere individual, as our Constitution speaks of collective but not of individual responsibility (*Art.* 75).

Whatever it might be, there were other cases, where individual resignation or at least severe criticism and censure were indicated, but the ministers escaped lightly and remained in their posts. Broadly, there are two agencies to check these fads and faults of individual ministers in a system such as ours, where collective thinking has gone into thin air. One is the Prime Minister, and the other is the House of the People. The real difficulty with our Prime Minister is that he has got too many irons in the fire to spare time. One lesson that the working of our Constitution has so far given us is that a Prime Minister should not have any portfolio for himself so that he may be available and free both for advising other ministers and scrutinising their work.

The House could have done something, especially because our Constitution gives it full powers to make its own Rules of Procedure. But several factors again have contributed to convert it into an ineffective body. In the first place, everywhere in the world, legislative bodies are becoming mere 'Talkie Houses,' and registering rubber stamps; and our Founding Fathers constitutionalised this defect when they modelled our House on the pattern of the British House of Commons. In the second place, the Congress Party, which has got such an overwhelming majority in the House, is a strong monolithic party working under great discipline. Pandit Nehru has only to look around in the House to silence all opposition from his own followers; and at times, one opposition member confessed to me, even the opposition members are afraid to talk freely when Pandit Nehru puts on a wry face!

A third factor, however, has contributed largely to reduce the efficacy of the House. Innocuous beginnings, which were made in the middle of the thirties in the Provinces, of holding informal meetings of the Legislature Parties for mutual consultations, have now developed them into parallel legislatures which are overshadowing the real Houses. In these meetings, ministers come and explain policies, answer questions, and even the budget is discussed and 'passed.' It is here only, if any, that real discussion can take place, but even here Pandit Nehru's presence has a great silencing effect.

Thus if the over-powering personality of Pandit Nehru and the solidarity of the Congress Party have prevented the establishment of the presidential type of executive, the same factors have also prevented the establishment of a true type of parliamentary system; the strength of the present system is also the cause of its weakness. While we can declare emphatically that the working of the Constitution has not established the presidential type, we cannot say with equal emphasis that it has laid the foundations for a parliamentary type of executive. In fact, we cannot say to which type our executive leans; it is a unique type, where Pandit Nehru holds a unique position—we can call it a *'Panditmentary* system of executive.'

Not that it is undesirable by itself. For the last five years and odd, India has been enjoying a stable form of democracy, while the other new-born democracies of the East have not yet recovered from their birth-pangs: and this is largely due to the unique position of Pandit Nehru in Indian politics. In fact, Pandit Nehru is the darling of the Nation—the uncrowned King of India. And if the crown is not yet placed on his head, it is not because the people would be unwilling, but Pandit Nehru himself spurns it. No democratic leader in any free country enjoys as much popular esteem as our Prime Minister in India; and even dictators might envy his magic spell over the masses. A democrat with the drive of a dictator, and a dictator with a love of democracy, there is no rival to Pandit Nehru either in his own party or in the country—but that is the crux of our problem. In the parliamentary system of England, a Gladstone had always a Disraeli, and an Eden a Macmillan, but in our own country now, in the *'Panditmentary Government of India,'* Nehru is the Sun of his solar system.

There is no doubt that Pandit Nehru will be our Prime Minister for the next five years, and probably, for many more years to come. The Nation that adores him for winning independence for them and giving them a democratic Constitution and the socialistic pattern of society, would adore him more if in the next five years Pandit Nehru would help establishment of sound traditions of parliamentary Government for the guidance of the less fortunate of his successors.

The New Order in India

Rev. Ralph Richard Keithan writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Modern India is in a revolution. This remarkable growth goes back to the days of Ram Mohun Roy. Its roots are with the Buddha and even before. It has been touched by the Cameleer of Mecca and by the Carpenter of Nazareth. Modern civilization, in many forms, and many other upsetting forces, have been at work for centuries.

This programme for the New Society was definitely initiated and put into concrete form by Gandhiji. It is my conviction that he is the man of the century. History has yet to assess his place in the world of the Common Man and great upheaval. It was his to carry through to a successful conclusion the struggle for national freedom. For the first time in the history of mankind, and in a time when warfare had come to its climax, he secured this freedom in love. This is an application of the law of

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that is far more significant for man than the harnessing of atomic energy in a bomb.

But Gandhiji took us much farther on this old road of human peace. He gave us a nation-building programme that touches all of life. He declared and worked for a "casteless, classless society." When I look back upon these thirty years in India, when I think of the slow process of the integration of the Negro with the White in America, then I know what a revolution has come to our people at the point of brotherly relationships. But Gandhiji did not stop there. He saw the poverty of the people. He had no great instruments, such as a modern government, with which to work. He had to deal with nearly naked and hungry people. So he started where they were: with a *takli*, with the wastes of the village. Here again I consider that he worked a miracle. And yesterday, when I saw almost a whole village at spinning which had not spun for generations, when I saw functioning a store of homespun and homewoven cloth in a comparatively small and remote village, and a modern Government promoting this advance, I again wondered.

All this was to be carried to the people by means of a new education, Basic Education, which I consider, as an educationist of some experience, the most advanced type of education in the world today. It has just begun to realize its potentialities. But perhaps the most telling "atom-bomb-of-love" was his insistence that all this was impossible unless we had "a living faith in God (Truth)." That meant that society could no longer be secular in the sense that the modern West had defined "secular". The Pilgrim of Truth and Love must work in the shop, field, office and market place!

The Experimenter with Truth hinted at the importance of land reform. The world is in the throes of such a revolution. A large proportion of mankind today has carried through such reform with compulsion and much violence. This violence had come even to our own land of traditional non-violence. Vinoba, the most disciplined disciple of Gandhiji, walked into such an area of violence in Telangana. To the amazement of all, people began to give land for the landless. The Bhoodan Movement was born. It grew into *Sampatti-dan, Shramadan, Buddhi-dan, Jivan-dan* and *Grama-dan!*

When Vinobaji entered Tamilnad about a year ago, he constantly suggested that he had entered a part of India that had a very rich culture, a temple in the heart of almost every village, which was a tradition of high learning, and that he expected his movement to take another step forward. For months his prophecy did not take form. About three months when he entered the Madurai District, he again challenged us to be the full channels of the spirit of the people. We went to our work with scepticism. But on January 9th, when Vinobaji was on the point of entering the next district, Tiruchirapalli, 127 villages had offered their lands for redistribution that there might be no more landless within their boundaries. Another significant step forward had been taken. The people had spoken! This fact touched Vinobaji and his workers so deeply as they met and meditated in a beautiful grove in the countryside that they decided to go back for *taluk-dan*, that is, the gift of villages throughout a whole *taluk*. They decided on the Tirumangalam Taluk; they went back to work. Over a hundred workers are in the field and more are coming. Already over eighty villages have given their lands for redistribution in this area. Thousands are seriously contemplating their duty.

The Cultural Glory of Kanchi in the Seventh Century A.D.

K. V. Raman observes in *The Indian Review*:

THE City of Kanchi holds a unique and honoured place in the cultural history of South India. Considered as a holy place by the Hindus and the Buddhists alike it was also one of the oldest cities of our country. Even though Kanchi played a conspicuous part as a key city of South India throughout its long and chequered history, it was in the seventh century, when it was the capital of the Pallavas, that its glory attained the fullest bloom. It not only outshone other cities in importance but virtually presided over the destinies of South India.

Kanchi was singularly fortunate in the seventh century in having been ruled by a glittering array of eminent kings like Mahendravarman I, Narasimha Varman or Mamalla, Parameswaran and Rajasimhan who were at once the most powerful and the most cultured of kings. Inevitably, under their spell, Kanchi witnessed a spectacular outburst of cultural and artistic activity, rarely equalled by any other period in history. Personally accomplished as these kings were, they brought to bear on their many-faceted activity the wealth of their learning and creative thinking with the result that Kanchi became a veritable treasure-trove of cultural greatness. Architecture, music, painting, literature religion—all these strongly felt the impact of these kings. If Mahendravarman I could write full treatises on subjects like painting, and music, one can easily imagine how advanced the knowledge about these arts must have been at that time. As if to confirm this impression we have the beautiful paintings in the Pudukkottai State which bear ample evidence to his generous patronage of music and dancing.

Adorned by great literary luminaries Kanchi at this time was the very nerve-centre of literary efflorescence. If Madura was the seat of Tamil learning under the Pandyas, and Nalanda of Sanskrit learning under Harsha, Kanchi under the Pallavas represented a harmonious blending of both. Sanskrit poets like Bharavi and Dandin as well as the Tamil poets like Appar and Sundarar found in Kanchi a convenient home and in the Pallava Kings lovable patrons. The king Mahendravarman was himself the author of the famous farce, Mattavilasaprahasana. Added to these was the celebrated metaphysician Dharmapala who was also the Vice-Chancellor of the Nalanda University for some time. According to Hiuen-Tsang (who visited Kanchi at this time) Dhammapala lived and studied at Kanchi for a considerable time. Some scholars are also of the view that Bhasa's Sanskrit plays were adapted to the stage and enacted at the Pallava Court.

The main promoters of the Tamil language at this time were the Alwars and the Nainmars who were also the promoters of Hinduism. Hinduism at this time, as Dr. S. K. Iyengar points out (in his *The Contribution of South India to Indian Culture*) underwent a revolution thanks to the Bhakti-cult which was so ardently fostered by the Vaishnavite Alwars and the Saivite Nayanmars. Emotional outpourings

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of devotional songs expressed through chaste and mellifluous language roused the spirit of Bhakti among the people and brought about so successfully a reaction againrt Buddhism and Jainism. The decline of these two religions definitely began to set in and could be easily gauged from the fact that Mahendravarman himself forsook Jainism and embraced Saivism thanks to the missionary zeal of Appar. Thus the Thevaram. Tiruvasagam and Nalayiraprabandam are not only the embodiments of the Tamil language at its purest and loftiest but also they represent a revolutionary stage in the growth of Hinduism.

The innumerable temples with which Kanchi is studded give special beauty to the city. Many of these temples including the famous Kailasanathar temple were built in this century. Furthermore, the very style of architecture underwent a through-going change inasmuch as new techniques or methods were introduced. For the first time temples were carved out of single pieces of stone thus eliminating the use of brick and mortar. In exhibiting this peruliar style of architecture, Kanchi together with Mahabalipuram took a leading part. Well do the scholars like Vincent Smith and Jonvean Dubrevil consider the architecture of Kanchi and Mahabalipuram as an important landmark in the evolution of South Indian architecture.

In short, such a glorious cultural burgeoning that Kanchi witnessed in the seventh century that one is tempted to rank it with bright Periclean Athens and the Elizabethan England.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Promise of the Atom

The following is what Dr. Homi Jehangir Bhabha says on the *Voice of America* on the subject of "The Promise of the Atom":

In a broad view of human history, it is possible to discern three great epochs. The first is marked by the emergence of the early civilizations in the valleys of the Euphrates, the Indus, and the Nile; the second by the industrial revolution, leading to the civilization in which we live; and the third by the discovery of atomic energy and the dawn of the Atomic Age, which we are just entering.

In a practical sense, energy is the great prime mover, which makes possible the multitude of actions on which our life depends. Indeed, it makes possible life itself.

Now, as to the first epoch . . . Man has existed on this earth for well over 250,000 years. And yet the earliest civilization of which we have record only date back some 8,000 years. It took man several hundred thousand years to acquire those skills and techniques on which the early civilizations were based—agriculture, animal husbandry, weaving, pottery, brick-making, and metallurgy. The acquisition of these techniques and the emergence of the early civilizations must be regarded as the first great epoch in human history.

Despite many differences in habit, culture, and social pattern, all these early civilizations were built essentially on the same foundation. All the energy for doing mechanical work, for tilling the ground, for drawing water, for carrying loads, for locomotion, was supplied by human or animal muscle. Chemical energy —as for example, that obtained by burning wood—was used only for cooking and heating and, to a limited extent, in metallurgy.

It is important to note the severe limitations that this restricted supply of energy puts on the development of civilization. A man in the course of heavy physical labour in an eight-hour day can turn out about half a kilowatt-hour of useful work. This is very much more than is necessary to maintain him at bare subsistence level. It is to be compared with the daily figure of 20 kilowatt-hours or more of energy per person which is daily utilized in the industrially advanced countries today.

It follows that a high level of physical comfort and culture could only be enjoyed by the small fraction of the population by making use of the collected surplus labour of the rest. It is sometimes forgotten that all the ancient civilizations were carried on the muscle power of slaves or of a particular class of society. Through the very limitations of the available energy, the fruits of civilization could only be enjoyed by a few.

A departure from this basic pattern began only with the scientific and technical developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The widespread use of chemical energy—especially that obtained by burning the fossil fuels, coal, and oil—marks the second great epoch of human history. It led to the industrialized pattern of society which is typical of this age. In one highly industrialized country today 23 kilowatt-hours of energy are utilized daily per person, corresponding to the muscular effort of 45 slaves. In another advanced country the figure is about twice this.

The total consumption of energy in the world has gone up in a staggering manner. To illustrate, let us use the letter "Q" to stand for the energy derived from burning some 33,000 million tons of coal. In the eighteen and a half centuries after Christ, the total energy consumed averaged less than ½Q per century. But by 1856, the rate had risen to one Q per century. Today, the rate is about ten Q per century.

One reason for the staggering increase in the consumption of energy, of course, is that the population of the world has been increasing rapidly. It is estimated to have been a few hundred million in one A.D., to have reached 1,500 million in 1900, 2,000 million in 1930, and about 2,300 million in 1950. Experts estimate that it will be between 3,500 and 5,000 million by the end of this century—in under 50 years.

But the per capita consumption of energy has also been increasing at about 2 or 3 per cent per annum. And it can be expected to increase still more rapidly as the underdeveloped areas of the world, with their large populations, become industrialized.

Now, of the enormous consumption of energy in the world today, about 80 per cent is provided by the combustion of coal, oil, and gas. Hydro-electric power provides less than one and one-half per cent and is never likely to contribute more than a small fraction of the total energy consumed in the world. Hence, as the total demand increases, a larger and larger fraction will have to be provided by the fossil fuels, coal and oil—unless some entirely new source of energy is found. But it is probable that, at the rate at which the world consumption of energy is increasing, these reserves will be exhausted in under a century. We are exhausting these reserves, which have been built up by nature over some 250,000,000 years, in a few centuries—in a flash of geological time.

All these facts point to the absolute necessity of finding some new source of energy, if the light of our civilization is not to be extinguished because we have burnt out our fuel reserves.

And so we turn to atomic energy for a solution. For the full industrialization of the underdeveloped countries, for the continuation of our civilization and its further development, atomic energy is not merely an aid; it is an absolute necessity. The acquisition by Man of the knowledge of how to release and use atomic energy must be recognized as the third great epoch in human history.

There is little doubt that many atomic power stations will be established in different parts of the world during the next ten years. But the historical period we are just entering, in which atomic energy released by the fission process will supply some of the power requirements of the world, may well be regarded one day as the primitive period of the Atomic Age. It is well known that atomic energy can also be obtained by a fusion process, as in the hydrogen bomb.

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I venture to predict that a method will be found for liberating fusion energy in a controlled manner within the next two decades. When that happens the energy problems of the world will truly have been solved for ever—for the fuel will be as plentiful as the heavy hydrogen in the oceans.

All the basic discoveries upon which atomic energy is based were made before the Second World War by scientists of many nations working in free and full collaboration. The war put an end to this free exchange of knowledge and most of the technical developments concerning atomic energy were made subsequently by a few nations, each working in isolation behind a wall of secrecy.

The International Atoms for Peace Conference held in Geneva in August 1955, as the result of the bold initiative of President Eisenhower, has already broken down many of these barriers. The exchange of knowledge in the field of atomic energy has been maintained. And recently a leading Russian scientist described at Harwell the remarkable work that has been done in the Soviet Union to harness atomic energy from fusion, thus breaking down another barrier of secrecy. We can hope with some justification that the barriers which remain will gradually disappear altogether.

Speeded on its way by international co-operation and the free exchange of knowledge, the ever-widening dawn of the Atomic Age promises for people everywhere in the world a life fuller and happier than anything we can visualize today.—*American Reporter*, April 10, 1957.

Books on India

We bestirred ourselves the other evening and dropped in at the exhibition, "Books on India from an American Bookshop," now on display at the "fair grounds" in New Delhi, and at the "Family of Man" photo show, which is hard by.

We have no intention of over-exerting our typing machine in an effort to dig out words adequate for the "Family of Man." People have tried it all around the world and have only demonstrated that the proper thing to do in a situation like this is to let he pictures speak for themselves.

One of the obvious facts about the exhibition of books is its incompleteness. This, manifestly, is a purposeful arrangement, for the exhibition is designed as a sampling, as but a taste, to demonstrate the depth of interest and real affection that exists between India and the United States.

This interest and affection began, let us say, when the first "American" came to India. This was some time ago. We have no idea who that first American was. But it is a matter of record that Elihu Yale, who was born near Boston, Massachusetts, was posted to Fort St. George, Madras, in 1672. And when, years later, the Connecticut Collegiate School at Saybrook, Connecticut, appealed through Cotton Mather for a donation toward a new building, Elihu Yale sent along three bales of Indian goods, including textiles and books. At this the Collegiate School did the only gentlemanly thing. It changed its name to Yale.

This may or may not have been the beginning. It is difficult to imagine that it was not. In any event, for more than 150 years books and articles, in a trickle and then a tide, have been doing their part in the United States to describe the people and customs of India. Many years after Yale the American Oriental Society, founded by American scholars in 1842, was established with the particular task of becoming the connecting thread between the cultures of the East and the West.

In later years American universities founded chairs of Sanskrit and departments for the study of Oriental philosophy and religions. In 1895, appeared the earliest volume of the great Harvard Oriental Series, a skein now extended to 41 volumes.

The result has been a steady flow of American literature on India, ranging from scholarly philosophic tomes to light novels and travelogues. And as we have said, the current exhibition of books on India published in the United States is representative rather than all-inclusive.

"It would be valuable at another time," as the foreword to the exhibition catalogue observes, "to round out the picture with an exhibit of books in the United States published by Indian authors, for in recent years the number of Indians making their personal discovery of the United States has increased tremendously, and their published impressions are beginning to reach significant proportions.

"It is through this type of intellectual exchange that the world gets smaller and is bound more closely together. It is thus that knowledge grows 'from more to more' and our common life is enriched."—*American Reporter*, November 21, 1956.

Taming of the Rihand

K. K. Duggal makes the following contribution in the *American Reporter*, April 10, 1957:

Pipri (Mirzapur district, Uttar Pradesh).—Lights burn late into the night here in the wilderness of the Kimoor foothills, at the crossroads of U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh. In these Vindhya fastnesses where once roared tigers and wild beasts, now is heard the roar of tractors, jeeps and earth-moving steel, punctuated with the ripple of muscles and the patter of children. For here more than 5,000 men are investing their sweat and strength to tame the Rihand, a river as wild as the animals that once prowled about its wayward path.

At Pipri, a little-known village 150 miles south of Banaras, the Rihand, a tributary of the Sone, enters into a gorge. On this narrow passage between

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hills will rise the 300-foot-high, 3,000-foot-long Rihand Dam, a major multipurpose river valley project under the Second Five-Year Plan.

Over the brink of the 1,100-foot precipitous hill that will flank the dam, a party of New Delhi newsmen (who flew in a chartered plane up to Banaras and travelled from there in a de luxe bus of the U.P. Government) one moonless night gazed at the panorama of rows of electric lights and listened to the enchanting melody of men at work. The twinkling bulbs in the midst of towering mountains enveloped in gloom lent a poetic charm to the view.

The scene gave a glimpse of the future when waters of the Rihand will be harnessed to bring light to the village homes, power to run tubewells and cottage industries, and a dependable supply of irrigation water the year round.

A foretaste of the new prosperity was highlighted by Superintending Engineer B. S. Mathur when he told the newsmen: "The first fruits of the Rihand will be reaped in 1960, when we shall have the initial 150,000 k.w. of power to run the 5,000 tubewells being installed in the area. The extra irrigation water available from these tubewells will yield some 1,500,000 additional tons of foodgrains."

The Rihand project's first stage, scheduled to be complete by June 1961, involves construction of the concrete gravity dam and reservoir (180 square miles, largest in the East), power installation of 150,000 k.w. generating capacity, switchyard and the bulk of the transmission system. Pouring of concrete began early this month. About 2¾ million cubic yards of concrete, equivalent to that placed on the Hoover Dam in the U.S.A., will be poured into the Rihand Dam.

The second stage will cover completion of the transmission system and installation of additional turbines to reach final generating capacity of 300,000 k.w. The total cost of the project is estimated at Rs. 45.88 crores ($95 million); the U.S. Technical Co-operation Mission (TCM) is contributing $21 million to this total.

The United States' association with the Rihand project goes back to 1947, when a survey was made by Dr. J. L. Savage, American authority on high dams, and some other engineering concerns of the United States. Dr. Savage has described the project as "one of the soundest and most important in India."

Today, another U.S. engineer procured by TCM, J. A. Taylor, is assisting in the project. Two more American engineers will be made available by TCM. Mr. Taylor is impressed with the project. He believes that the Rihand site is the best granite rock, without fissures or faults or cracks, he has seen in the 30 years of his working life as a dam engineer.

The Rihand reservoir will assist in flood control by taking the top off flood flows and will help assure a steady supply of irrigation water for the Sone River canal system in Bihar (of 5,000 cusecs capacity and irrigating about 450,000 acres). Among the subsidiary benefits that will follow are the mitigation of flood damages of the Rihand and the navigability of the Sone. Fish culture, afforestation, wild-life preservation and aquatic recreation on Pipri's reservoir of 180 square miles, the longest lake in the East, encouraging point to tourist attractions.

With the availability of power and the natural abundance of industrial raw materials in the area, new industries like cement, fertilizers, aluminium and paper-making are likely to come up.

A prelude to the Rihand picture is seen in the new township that has sprung up near the dam site. Complete with new roads, hospital, school, post office, marketing centre, club, cinema house and a field hostel (the press people were the first residents), the township has opened new vistas of employment and trade for 10,000 people.

Creating a town in the heart of the jungle called for vision and sure-footed planning. To connect Pipri with Robertsganj, the nearest town in Mirzapur district, a 50-mile pucca road was carved out of rocks and a new 3,300-foot-long prestressed bridge (longest in Asia) costing Rs. 50 lakhs built over the Sone to reach the Rihand. (Ferryboats were the only means of transport hitherto to reach Rihand). The Pipri-Robertganj road snaking its way through mountains and jungles and the concrete, Sone bridge, recently competed, are an essay in human initiative and determination to conquer stubborn nature to man's will.

The engineers guiding the project are confident of accomplishing the job by the target date—June 1961. "Our work progress is going ahead according to schedule and we are hopeful of achieving our targets on time," said S. S. Godbole, deputy general manager of the Hindustan Construction Company, a private firm of contractors. "We shall enter the peak phase next year," he added, "when one bucket a minute will start travelling the cableway to deposit concrete at the dam site." Mr. Godbole's optimism is shared by Mr. Mathur and other governmental engineers who are supervising the work. Said Mr. Mathur: "We have completed the excavation work at the dam site and we are all set to enter the active phase of our programme."

The Rihand project began as a mere idea with a British district magistrate of Mirzapur 28 years ago when the official strayed into the wild abode on a tiger shoot. The magistrate did not have much luck in his shooting. Instead he bagged a much bigger prize —the idea of building a dam on the Rihand.

It remained just a suggestion until 1944, when the then U.P. Chief Engineer, A. P. Wattal, took it up and gave it concrete shape in a blueprint. The proposal was shelved for lack of funds, to be resurrected after five years. Work on the project began in April, 1954.

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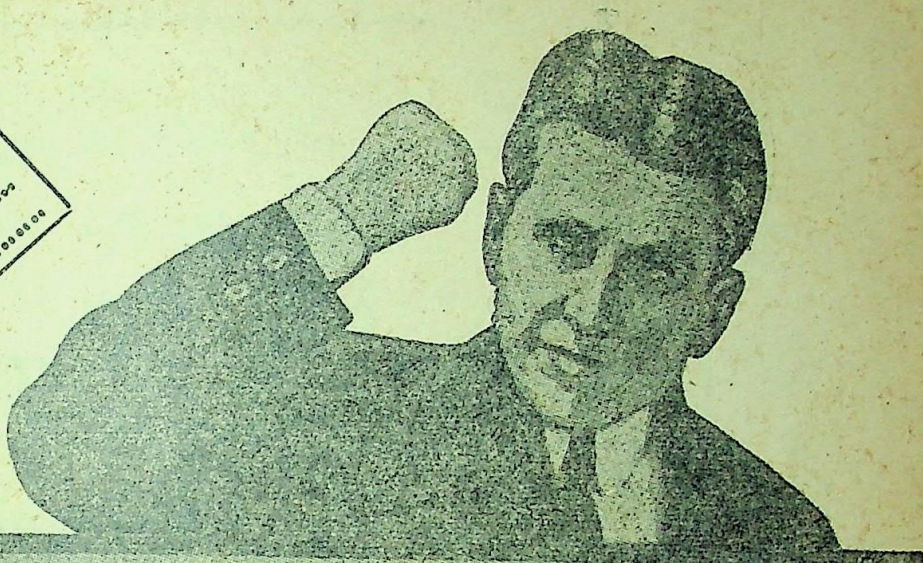

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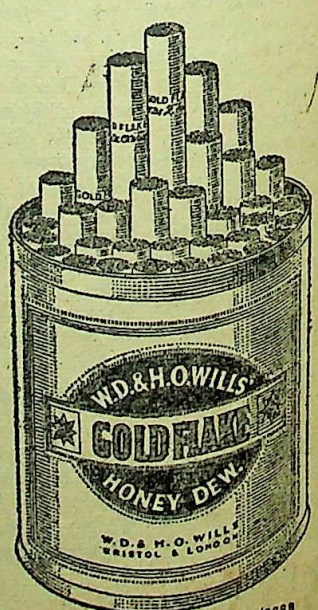

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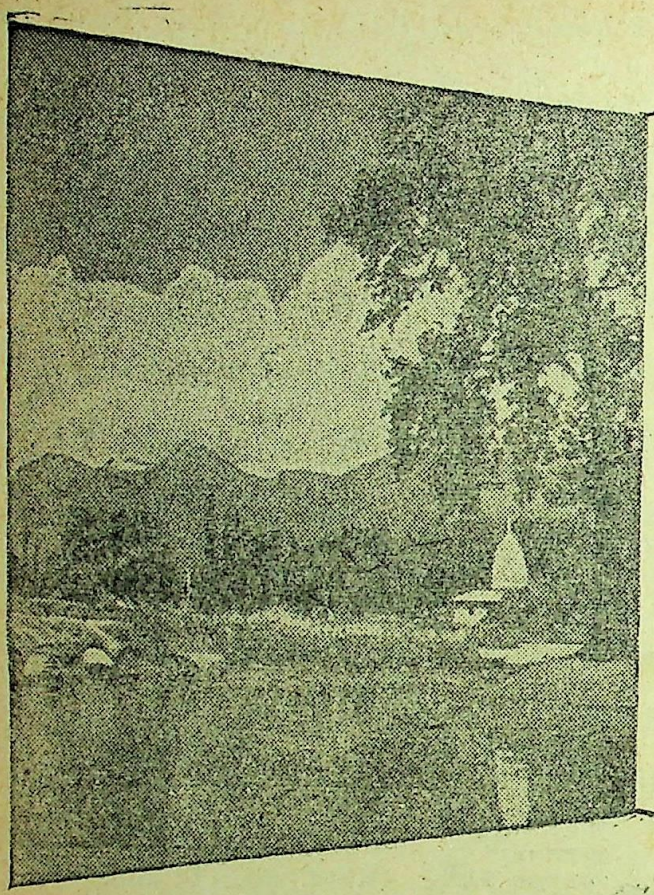

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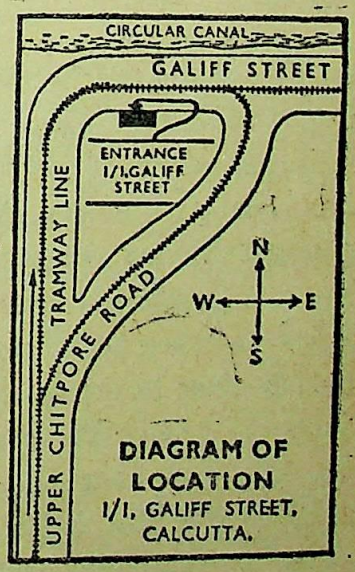

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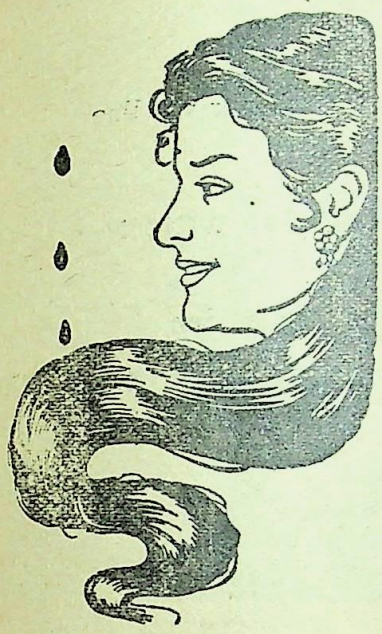

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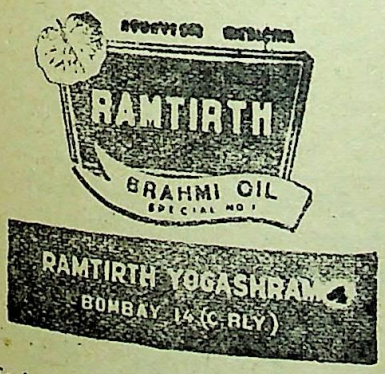

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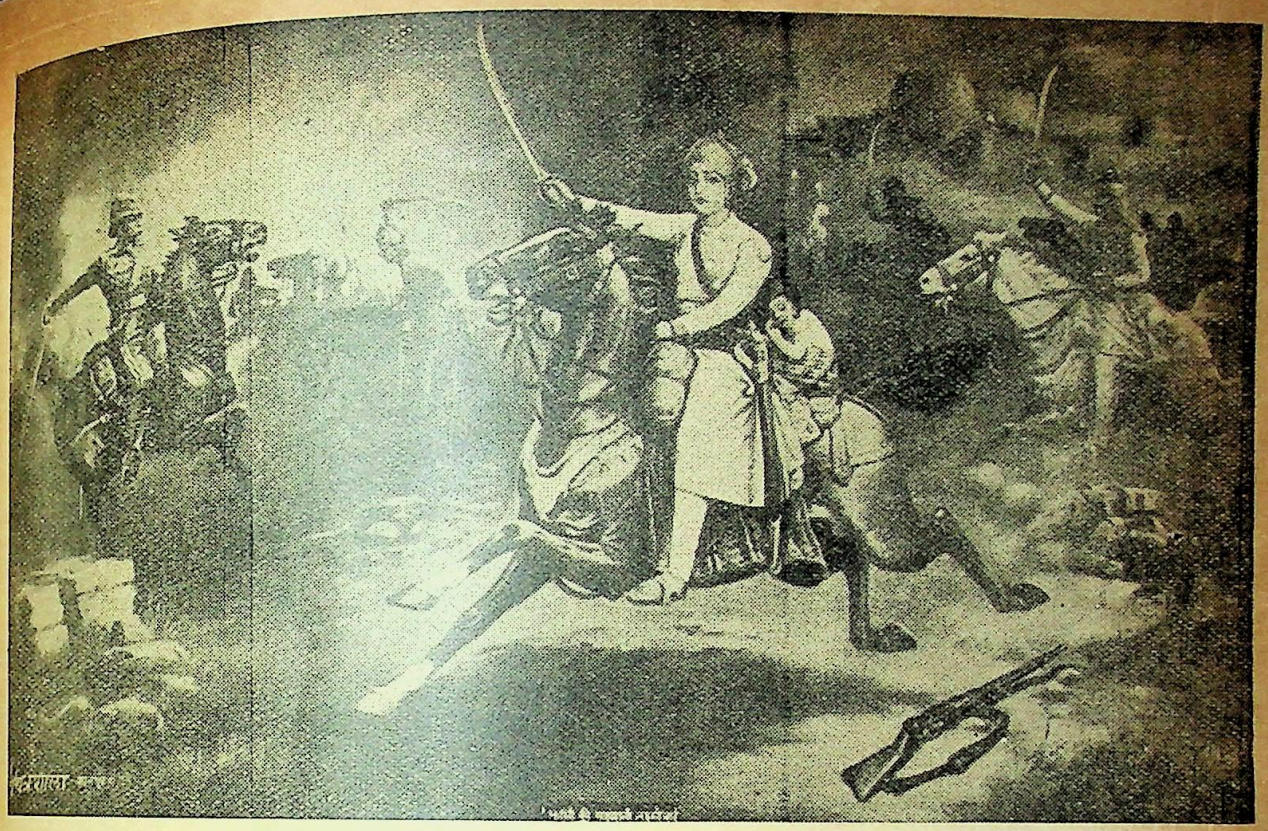

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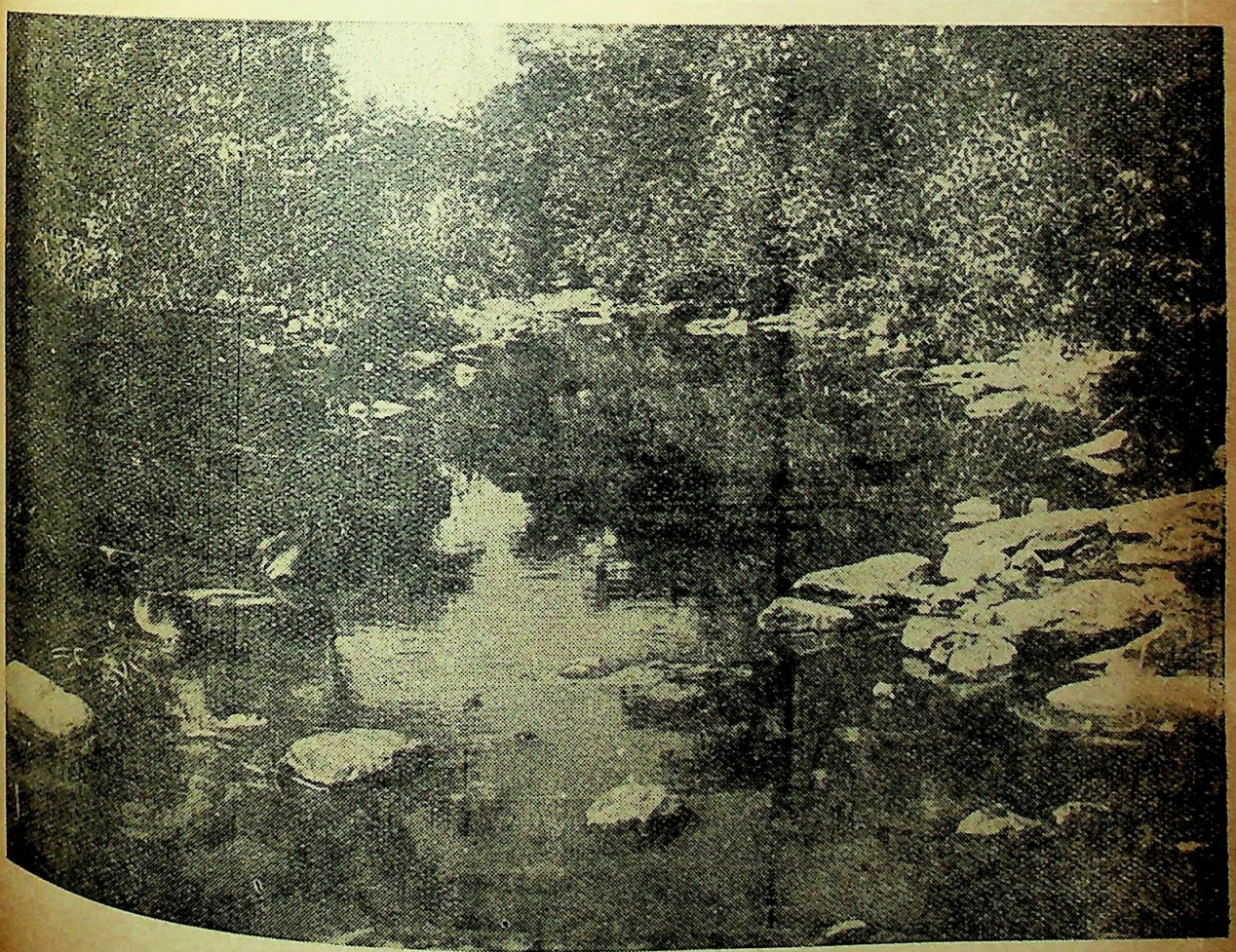

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Twilight of the Congress

Elsewhere in these notes we have given extracts from the comments made by two of the elder statesmen of the Congress, Sri C. Rajagopalachari and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, on the wonderful Budget presented by the Finance Minister Sri T. T. Krishnamachari. Our own comments are given in another note.

But the main issue is not this Budget or any other Budget. The issue is whether the Plan is for the people or the people are for the precious Plan, mere grist for the mill that provides kudos for Jawaharlal Nehru, illicit gain to the myrmidons of the Indian financial underground, and misery for the common man, who is already on the border of the subsistence level.

It is clear to all, excepting those who are drunk with power and are befuddled with the rosy dreams of world acclaim, that whether these series of plans materialise into concrete reality or not, the nationals of the Indian Union will degenerate into a race of C_3 individuals, physically, mentally and morally, unless a halt is called to this Rake's Progress.

A prominent leftist leader of Calcutta is quoted in an opposition paper as having stated that a Government that is unable to curb corruption, governmental waste in expenses, blackmarketing and food shortages, had no business to go in for grandiose Plans.

We are in complete agreement. At present the process is like filling a leaky reservoir, in the matter of provision for the plans. The people are down to the lowest level, and yet they are being bled in the name of a unholy project. We call it unholy because during the First Five-Year Plan the poor have become poorer and the new-rich richer. And we see nothing in the Second Plan to stop this downgrade progression, despite all the eyewash of Wealth and Expenditure taxes.

The Congress Government and its satellites of the A.-I.C.C., are either oblivious or indifferent to the suffering of the people. We have been fooled again, we regret to have to say, in this last election, and we have to pay the price for our folly.

The Congress seems to have been corrupted and benumbed beyond all hopes of redemption. The only way that it may be revitalized would be by a drastic purge at the top levels. And that is a forlorn hope at the best, unless the nationals of the Union realise the cataclysm we are facing.

We deeply regret to have to write in this vein, but it is evident now, beyond all doubt, that this present Congress, like its predecessors of old, has outlived its usefulness. It is no longer a national institution, a source of hope and inspiration. Indeed, on the contrary.

We have to put on record the maddening frustration of decent men and women in the face of debased political and moral values. They are particularly up against the frustration of trying to persuade the intelligentsia to combine and make a supreme effort to challenge a menace they are too tired and hopeless to face. And the heartless, cynical and corrupt crowd, that is pulling the strings in the Congress party factions now, can destroy all that Mahatma Gandhi's Congress stood for, in order to gain their own particular ends, be it filthy lucre, be it political power for evil.

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"Save The Plan" Budget

The Union Finance Minister has termed the budget for the year 1957-58 as "Save the Plan" budget. Properly speaking, he should have termed it as "kill the people" budget. The new year's budget is so very astounding in taxation proposals that it takes us back to the famous observation made by Burke in the British Parliament during the American War of Independence. He said: "Taxation is very easy. Any projector can contrive new imposts, any bungler can add to the old ones; but it is altogether wise not to exhaust the patience of those who pay." The Union Finance Minister has cast the net wide, much too wide so much so that he will be unable to draw out the catch safely to the shore without damaging the net. The taxation proposals will hit the common man and he will be hit below the belt. The formidable array of levies have not spared the essential commodities of daily use like sugar, tobacco, matches, edible oils, etc. About 90 categories of imported goods will also be dearer as a result of enhanced import duties. There will be an increase in all classes of rail fares, ranging from 5 to 15 per cent, according to distance. Postal rates on packets, parcels and inland telegrams will also go up. The new budget has introduced two new taxes in the tax system of India and these are: the wealth tax and the expenditure tax. The great merit of the budget is that it has evoked resentment of of the entire country and even the rank and file of his party men are accusing the Finance Minister for proposing measures that would be fleecing the common man. The budget is indicative of the fact that the leader of the exchequer do not always have a chequered career simply because the finance is so intricate a matter that it eludes the grasp of even a strong realistic mind.

The main objections are directed against the indirect taxes on essential goods that would increase the cost of living index. The Finance Minister was admamant in getting his taxation proposals carried through. His main justification for such a sweeping spate of levies is to raise finance for the Second Five-Year Plan. But does the end always justify the means? Certainly not. Where the means are unjustified, the end is undesirable. For whom the Second Five-Year Plan? Of course for the people of India and for their economic well-being. But the ve measures to raise finance will ruin the comm man and the aim of the Plan will not only frustrated, it would jeopardise the economic of the people by adding to the cost of liv and the cost of production. In the coming ye a sum of Rs. 900 crores will be required for Second Plan and to meet a deficit of only 33.12 crores, taxation measures were origin proposed for raising Rs. 93 crores. One of main aims of the economic planning in In is to raise the standard of living of the peo and the per capita annual income. How far plans have been successful in this directio The national income of India at 1948-49 pric was Rs. 10,420 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 10,2 crores in 1954-55 as compared with Rs. 10,0 crores in 1953-54. The per capita income 1948-49 prices correspondingly rose from R 268.7 in 1953-54 to Rs. 271.9 in 1954-55 a Rs. 272.1 in 1955-56. But expressed at curre purchasing power, the national income stood Rs. 9,650 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 9,626 cro in 1954-55 or Rs. 830 crores and Rs. 860 cro lower than the 1953-54 level. The per ca income at current prices correspondingly decli from Rs. 280.7 in 1953-54 to Rs. 254.4 in 19 55 and Rs. 252.0 in 1955-56. The figu reveal that although the money income of t community has gone up, the real income h come down and that is on account of rising p level and the cost of living. In recent ye there has been a progressively declining capita annual income.

The budget has given relief to the hig income level at the cost of the common man to that extent the budget is socialism upt It is capitalistic outlook in a socialistic s The total of income tax, super-tax and surch payable for the highest slab will come down the existing level of 91.8 per cent to 84 cent for unearned and 77 per cent for ea incomes. Rates for the lower slabs have adjusted proportionately. There will be surcharge on unearned income for asse whose total incomes do not exceed Rs. The present income-tax base has been wi by reducing the taxable minimum from Rs. to Rs. 3,000. The minimum limit has lowered with the expectation that those wi income of over Rs. 3,000 should also make contribution, however small, to the Exche

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and should come within the range of direct taxation.

The Finance Minister puts forward the plea in lowering the income-tax exemption limit that as development proceeds, there will be a large and progressive increase in the number of incomes within this range and it is essential that the Exchequer should benefit proportionately from the expansion of incomes consequent on development. But as shown above the large number of indirect levies is already a great burden on the low-income groups. Further, the rising price level is another form of indirect taxation and the low-income groups with fixed income suffer most from the rising cost of living. The real income of the lower and middle-income groups is steadily declining and the Finance Minister's expectation that per capita income will be rising is totally unrealistic. Instead of taxing the essential commodities of daily use, the Finance Minister could have taxed luxury materials that are generally consumed by the higher-income groups. The Finance Minister said that he was making his tax policy broad-based and indicated that besides 4 lakh additional assessees which he would rope in during the current year, their number would go on increasing by about a likh every year. He stated that in Britain and other countries of the West, the income-tax exemption limit is lower than that of India. But he forgets that in those countries there are many measures of social security which are entirely lacking in India.

The budget is said to be an attempt to rationalise the Indian tax structure by introducing two new features, namely, the Wealth Tax and the Expenditure Tax. The Wealth Tax is not likely to be effectinve and the Expenditure Tax mearely a nuisance. There are so many exemptions under the Wealth Tax, that it will be perplexing for the assessment officer to find out what actually will be wealth for the purpose of taxation. Among the properties which are exempted from the definition of wealth for the purpose of taxation are included : (1) agricultural lands and growing crops and trees, livestock, etc; (2) furniture, utensils, jewellery, wearing apparel, provisions or other articles for personal use (subject to a maximum of Rs. 25,000); (3) properties held under trust for religious or charitable purposes; (4) interest of a coparcener in joint family properties; (5) certain specified Central Government securities (10 year Treasury Savings Certificates, etc.) ; and (6) any other securities of Government or local authority which may be specially notified for exemption. The Wealth Tax will not cover the margin given by the concessions to the higher-income group in direct taxes.

The Wealth and Expenditure taxes have been introduced on the recommendations of Professor Kaldor, the noted British economist. Kaldor states that an annual tax on wealth, though it is levied on the value of the principal, is really a tax on accrual and not a tax on the principal itself—as for example, estate duties or a capital levy. If all property yielded the same percentage of income, an income-tax and a Wealth Tax would amount to the same thing. The two differ precisely because some property yields a large money income, other property a small income (or no money income at all) in relation to its current market value. The tax on wealth, similarly to income-tax, is conceived as a progressive one. According to Kaldor, it should be levied at rates (i) which are well within the total accrual from property—whether in the form of money income, expected appreciation or psychic income; and (ii) which take into account the other taxes on accruals, in particular, the income tax. For the sake of equity, as well as administrative efficiency, it is essential that the tax should be comprehensive, that is, extending to all forms of property. Kaldor has suggested the inclusion of agricultural property in the definition of wealth. The inclusion of agricultural property in this connection may require a constitutional amendment, unless the procedure adopted in the case of estate duties of the States delegating the powers to the Centre could be adopted.

It is observed by Kaldor that the present system of direct taxation in India is both inefficient and inequitable. It is inequitable because the present base of taxation, "income" as statutorily defined is defective and biased as a measure of taxable capacity and is capable of being manipulated by certain classes of tax-payers. It is inefficient because the limited character of the information furnished by tax-payers, and the absence of any comprehensive reporting system on property transactions and property income makes large-scale evasion through concealment or under-statement of

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profits and property income relatively easy. The income-tax, the capital gains tax, the annual wealth tax and personal expenditure tax—if all are assessed simultaneously on the basis of a single comprehensive return, then they will be self-checking in character, both in the sense that concealment or under-statement of items in order to minimise liability to some of the taxes may involve an added liability with regard to others.

Tax evasion and wastage in expenditure are the two main drains that dry up the flow of resources. Tax evasion in the country will be not less than Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crores a year. The Government machinery for the purpose of tax collection is defective and if collections are made properly, then most of the indirect taxes would have been unnecessary. In order to control the evasion of business income, there should be a compulsory auditing of accounts of incomes in excess of Rs. 50,000 in the case of business income and Rs. 1,00,000 in the case of other personal income. The auditors should be under a statutory obligation to certify that accounts submitted for tax purposes were drawn up in a manner to show the true income assessable to tax.

Waste in expenditure is a canker in our national economy. Nearly 40 per cent of Government revenue income is abosrbed by the civil administration and that is too high a percentage share. Another great source of expenditure is the building of skyscrapers and palatial buildings. In New Delhi crores of rupees are being drained away by building skyscrapers and other palatial buildings. This is sheer waste of expenditure. Oridinary simple buildings would have done the job. The Central Government's outstanding loans to the States stand in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1,000 crores and most of these loans are spent on unproductive projects. In the Punjab, Chandigarh is buing built on a lavishly grandiose scheme. The famous artificial lake there has cost Rs. 92 lakhs; the Raj Bhavan will cost more than Rs. 30 lakhs; the legislative chamber will cost Rs. 68 lakhs and the Secretariat has been air-conditioned at a cost of Rs. 32 lakhs. When people are dying of starvation and unemployment and others are groaning under the heavy burden of taxations, the building of a lake at so huge a cost smacks of feudal aristocracy. In West Bengal, the large quarters built at Gangulibagan as tenements for refugees are l unoccupied for several years. Why these quar were built if they were not used? T authorities concerned are criminally respons for such acts of thoughtlessness. Only contractors concerned have benefited.

The squandering away of public money a criminal offence and for that not a single was spoken either by the Prime Minister defended the tax proposals so adamantly the Finance Minister who showed intransig against public consternation over the bu proposals. Prohibition has been another ex experiment which the country can hardly af to indulge. Prohibition has been a failure at the cost of the State, the bootleggers reaping the benefit. The Finance Minister at last to yield to the pressure from inside outside the Parliament and has to declare concessions on a number essential commodi including tea, kerosene, coffee, etc. The best th for the Government is to curtail expenditure civil administration and chalk out all unpro ctive projects.

The Railway Budget

The Railway budget estimates for the ye 1957-58 place gross traffic receipts at Rs. 377 crores and the working expenses at Rs. 24 crores. The net railway revenues stand at R 74.62 crores and the dividend to gener revenues will be Rs. 43.79 crores. The n surplus remains at Rs. 30.83 crores. From A 1, 1957, the supplementary charge on goods parcels traffic will rise from 6¼ per cent to per cent, certain commodities being exempted at present. As regards the expansion progra under the Second Five-Year Plan, the Rail Minister regretted the reduction in amount the original estimates of Rs. 1,480 crores to 1,125 crores. The original estimate for the lay was considered as the minimum required the creation of the necessary extra rail transp capacity for good and passengers traffic. increase of 30 per cent in passenger services, an additional 60.8 million tons in goods t over that generated by the end of the Five-Year Plan, making a total of 180.8 mi tons was thought necessary in keeping with targets fixed for other developmental proj and schemes in the general Plan.

The Railway Plan also provides for construction of 3,000 miles of new lines.

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to the limited financial resources of Government, however, the railways have been allotted only Rs. 1,125 crores of which Rs. 375 crores are to be found by them over the Plan period from their own resources. To conform to the reduced allotment the scope of the railway plan has necessarily to be cut down and, after eliminating most of the new lines except those essentially required for the projected expansion in steel and coal production, it is found possible to cater within the funds allotted for an increase of only 15 per cent in passenger transport and a total of 162 million tons in goods transport. The Railway Minister states that while the prospect of the continuance of the present state of over-crowding is undesirable, the enforced reduction of the provision for extra goods transport from 180.8 million tons to 162 million tons is much more serious from the point of view of the country's developing economy. After reserving capacity for 25 million tons on account of coal and other raw materials required for the new steel plants and expansion of the existing ones, 6 million tons more coal for other consumers and 4 million tons more for cement, a very meagre margin is left for the increase in the general merchandise traffic, including increase in trade and the output of all other industries and agriculture.

The Railway Minister points out that the experience of the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan has made it abundantly clear that the demands on rail transport during the plan period are likely to exceed even the original estimate of 180.8 million tons. It is, therefore, manifest, says the Railway Minister, that the allotment of Rs. 1,125 crores, which includes financial provision for carrying only an additional 42 million tons of traffic, will be quite inadequate.

This year there has been a departure from the 1924 railway convention under which levies on railways were hitherto made under the railway budget, and not under the general budget. This year the increase in railway passenger fares has been effected by the general finance bill and this procedure marks a new convention ignoring the existing one. The increase in fares should have been proposed under the railway budget and the proceeds from the increased fares should go to the appropriation of the railways to augment its resources. Another thing that strikes in this connection is the contribution by the railways every year to the general revenues and this contribution is in addition to the statutory contribution by way of dividend payment. Under the budget estimates this year, the railways will pay a sum of Rs. 43.79 crores as dividend to the general revenues in accordance with the 1949 railway convention as affirmed again in 1955. Apart from this sum, the railways will contribute to the general revenues a sum of Rs. 6.57 crores. This practice has been in vogue for the last decade or more. Under which provision the railways are compelled to make this extra contribution in addition to their statutory contribution is not clear. Properly speaking, this is an unauthorised levy on the railways. This contribution, if appropriated by the railways, would have augmented their funds for expansion and development.

The railways are running short of locomotives and coaches. It is a pity why another locomotive works is not being set up to meet the increasing demands for the locomotives for the railways. Similarly, more coach building factories should have been set up. Instead, the authorities are importing locomotives and coaches from abroad at higher costs. It is quite evident that to feed a railway system with about 35,000 miles of track, only one locomotive factory and one coach building factory are totally inadequate and the indiffereence of the authorities in this respect is all the more regrettable. The planning of the railways also are not well considered. Just to give one example. The districts of Malda and West Dinajpore are not provided with through broad guage railway connection and as a result these two districts of West Bengal are almost cut off from the rest of West Bengal. The increase in recent years of metre gauge lines is a great step backward.

The Baghdad Pact Developments

The six-nation Baghdad Pact Economic Committee which began its session in Karachi on May 16, revealed the acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine by Pakistan. The USA attended the meeting at Karachi for the first time as a full member of the Economic Committee. The leader of the British delegation, Mr. Birch, announced in his speech his Government's decision to allocate £1 million spread over a period of five years as its contribution

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for technical assistance to the Baghdad Pact countries. Member countries of the Pact are Pakistan, Britain, Iran, Iraq and Turkey. Earlier on June 3, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, presiding over the Ministerial Council meeting of the Baghdad Pact which opened in Karachi on that day, welcomed the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East. He expressed the hope that the USA would soon join the Baghdad Pact as a full member. The USA has decided to join the Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact. The Eisenhower doctrine has been forced upon Pakistan as a sequal to her being a member of the Baghdad Pact. On May 27, the Prime Minister of India said in the Lok Sabha that Pakistan had accepted the Eisenhower doctrine. A Press report stated earlier that Pakistan had been officially informed that the Eisenhower Plan covered that country and as a consequence, Pakistan was entitled to ask for and obtain more military assistance apart from economic assistance. Pakistan is reported to hve endorsed the Eisenhower doctrine. In effect, the Eisenhower doctrine has been brought to the border of India and attack or aggression against Pakistan will be covered by the military action clause of the Eisenhower doctrine. The lacuna in NATO and SEATO has been filled up by the Eisenhower doctrine. That means, the USA and UK will come to the assistance of Pakistan in the event of war between that country and any other country.

The Eisenhower doctrine is now a part of the law of the United States. On March 9, 1957, the President of the USA signed the joint resolution of both Houses of Congress empowering him to use the armed forces of the United States at his discretion in the Middle East. The resolution authorizes him to despatch U.S. forces into action against any country of the Arab East which Washington claims as "controlled by international communism." Two implications (or complications) arise out of the Eisenhower doctrine. Firstly, the Eisenhower doctrine, along with NATO and the SEATO, may be regarded as another step in bypassing the United Nations Organisation and its Charter. The regional pacts by themselves amount to thwarting the authority and machinery of the UNO. The the authority of the UNO. The USA, although a Eisenhower doctrine is another attempt to belittle member of the UNO, thus ignores her responsibility and liability to that world body. Secondly, the law of the US Congress is elevated to the status of international law. Is it not a violation of the international law for a country to authorise its Government to use armed forces at its discretion in so-called communistic aggression without the concurrence and authority of the UNO? The impudence of the US Congress and the executive there is astounding in legalising the Eisenhower doctrine. Why a country should have authority to use armed forces when there is the UNO to "save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war"?

The Middle East is a great strategic region where three continents meet, Europe, Asia and Africa. The area of the Middle East has not been defined in the said resolution of the US Congress and it is left to the discretion of the US Executive to define the area of the Middle East as and when it will suit her interest to do so. Now we find that Pakistan, never before regarded as a country of the Middle East, is now covered by the Eisenhower doctrine and that means she is also part of the Middle East for the purposes of the Eisenhower doctrine. The doctrine is a measure desgined to oppose the international communism. It is directed against penetration in the Middle East of Soviet communism. But is the USA free from the guilt of penetration in that region? The penetration by the USA in the Middle East is much greater than that by the Soviet Union. The USA has bases, and other rights in many countries of the region.

So long the USA tended to defer to British initiative in forging an anti-communist alliance in the Middle East, since the British had long experience of diplomatic dealings with the Arab countries. But that expectation did not materialise and the Suez war frustrated any such hope. The USA intended to make Egypt the cornerstone of a regional defence structure against Soviet Russia. But that plan fell through, Egypt refusing to join in any such military alliance with the Anglo-American block. The USA is creating a new type of colonies by preferring the round-about methods of economic and financial domination, military blocks and bases. Various kinds of economic and technological aid, credit arrangements, security treaties, etc., are the new techniques of colonial expansion. The USA has decided to commit $12,570,000

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services and capital development phases of the Baghdad Pact countries. The amount is from the Eisenhower Doctrine Fund for the Middle East. The USA realises that the loss of Western bases in North America and the Middle East will render the defence of Western Europe, and ultimately the defence of Atlantic community, impossible. Turkey today forms the main Anglo-American base in the Middle East against any communistic aggression. Turkey has received $3,000 million from the USA under the "aid" programme.

French Cabinet Falls

France is now in the last ditch in her fight for the maintenance of imperialism. The price she is paying has brought about an instability that has again come to the fore in the collapse of the Mollet Cabinet. We give the report from the *New York Times*:

"Paris, May 21—A political crisis arose in France tonight following a major defeat for Premier Guy Mollet and his Cabinet in the National Assembly.

"Post-war France's twenty-second Government was defeated by a vote of 250 to 213. The Government had been in office nearly sixteen months, a post-war record. It met defeat on its thirty-fourth vote of confidence.

"The immediate issue was a bill to increase taxes, but it was the Cabinet's entire program, particularly relating to Algeria, that was under fire from a discordant combination of Communists, Radicals, Conservative Independents and Extreme Right-wingers.

"After the Assembly vote, Premier Mollet, a Socialist, went to the Elysee Palace to hand in the resignation of his Government to President Rene Coty. But the President delayed his acceptance until he had consulted with the Assembly's political groups.

"After seeing M. Coty, M. Mollet confirmed his 'absolute will' to stick to his resignation. A Socialist communique spoke in bitter terms of the 'fall of the Government.' The two statements suggested that the Government considered itself out of power and awaiting a successor.

"Constitutionally the Premier could stay in power, for his opponents had failed to obtain an absolute majority against him. This would be a minimum of 298 out of 594 votes.

"But as a matter of practical politics, it was considered impossible for him to continue after a defeat on such a fundamental issue as Government finances. The Premier had filled a difficult term of office with constantly uncertain support from Parliament.

"The Cabinet will remain in office in a caretaker capacity until a new one is formed. Reduced to treating with what are called "current affairs," it cannot take any major decision or make any major pronouncement. Above all, it can do nothing that would commit any future government to a particular course of action."

Cuban Unrest

It is a troubled world. Even in the "happy isles" of the West Indies there is unrest as the following editorial from the *New York Times* indicates:

"A new phase in Cuba's tormented history appears to be opening. We have no means of knowing where it will lead or how serious it is, but the dynamism that has animated the Cuban scene for months is proof that the situation cannot remain as it is today.

"The new feature of the Cuban conflict has come with the increased violence and sabotage and above all the fact that the Batista Government has been forced to admit that the rebel leader, Fidel Castro, is very much alive and still fighting in the Sierra Maestra at the eastern end of the island. In fact, there was a clash between his forces and Government troops. For three months President Batista and his supporters tried to fool the Cuban people with false statements denying Castro's presence and claiming that the interview with him and the photographs published in this newspaper in February were fakes. This smokescreen was blown away by the C. B. S. television and radio shows of May 19 and by the renewed activity of Castro's troops. There was even another rebel landing last Thursday.

"It seems obvious that General Batista cannot allow the continced existence of rebel forces in the island and the continued acts of sabotage. Yet it is hard to see how he can stop them. The efforts to work out a peaceful political solution do not seem to have much hope. Every sensible Cuban would want to see a pacific solution, but it would only be acceptable

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to the opposition if accompanied by an amnesty for the hundreds of political prisoners, by a cessation of the arbitrary arrests, tortures and killings, by a complete freedom from censorship (the radio and television are now under strict censorship, mail is tampered with and the press appears to be exercising some self-censorship for understandable reasons) and, finally, the guarantee of free and fair elections. Cuba is passing through a time of stress whose end is not in sight."

Storm Over Formosa

On May 24 Formosa was rocked by the fiercest anti-American demonstration in the history of the island. The Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek stood practically helpless against the expression of anger and wrath by the people against the United States of America.

The temper of the people of Taiwan (the proper Chinese name for Formosa) found expression not only in the acts of the crowd in looting the American Embassy and the office of the United States Information Service, but also in the refusal of the Chinese police and the army to interfere. Chiang Kai-shek has dismissed three top army commanders for "mishandling" the anti-American riots. The dismissed commanders are Lieutenant-General Huang Chen-hu, Commanding General of the Taipeh Garrison Command, Lt.-General Liu Wei, Commanding the General Military Police and Major-General Lo Kan, Chief of the Provincial Police. Much effort is not needed to realize the helplessness of a Government when it has to dismiss such top-ranking officers for "mishandling" what is part of their normal duty.

Hereunder is the news report:

"Taipeh, May 25.—President Chiang Kai-shek's Cabinet met today to consider possible grave consequences of yesterday's anti-American riots in Taipeh which threatened to weaken the key K.M.T.-U.S. alliance in the Far East.

"The Communist Press and radio in Peking lost no time in pledging support for any further anti-American action in Formosa. They claimed that the sacking of the American Embassy showed that Formosans 'would not tolerate a life of slavery,' under the Americans.

"While Nationalist troops patrolled the city's streets the K.M.T. Cabinet sat for several hours discussing its future relations with the U.S.A.

"Eight people were reported killed in the riots which went on until late last night when the Municipal Police Station opposite the U.S. Information Service was besieged by between 30,000 to 40,000 demonstrators. A police report said that one rioter was killed and 13 injured in this incident. Two policemen were also injured.

"Virtually everything in the two-storeyed American Embassy building had been destroyed. The U.S.I.S. building was equally badly damaged in the five hours of siege last night. Both buildings and other American installations were under heavy Nationalist guard today. Though there was calm again, American and British citizens were advised to stay at home.

"In a statment today the National Prime Minister, Mr. O. K. Yui, deplored the 'unlawful acts' which he said were caused by 'unlawful elements.' He added: 'It is earnestly hoped that all our citizens will remain calm and law abiding so as not to cause distress to our friends and give comfort to the enemy.' He assured foreigners of the Government's protection.

"The U.S. State Department announced that Mr. Rankin, the U.S. Ambassador in Taipeh, had protested strongly to Mr. Yeh, the Nationalist Chinese Foreign Minister, against the rioting in the city. He had asked for adequate apologies and had stated that the U.S.A. expected full compensation.

"There are about 9,000 Americans, including women and children, now living in Formosa, most of them in or near Taipeh.

"The Nationalist Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Yui, said in a statement that the Government strongly deplored demonstrations against Americans, which were 'inimical to our national interest and detrimental to the long and friendly relations between the U.S.A. and China.' The statement reiterated the Government's determination to fulfil its responsibility for the protection of foreign nationals living in the country.

"The Nationalist Chinese Ambassador to the U.S.A., Mr. Tong, called on the Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East, Mr. Robertson, today and expressed the 'profoundest regrets' of

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his Government. Mr. Tong told reporters afterwards that there was no 'deep anti-American sentiment' involved in the rioting in his opinion. He called it 'an outbreak of emotion.'

"Yesterday's riot was sparked off by Mrs. Lui's attempt to enter the U.S. Embassy with a placard reading: 'Killer Reynolds is not innocent. Protest against U.S. Court Martial's unfair unjust decision.' A crowd which soon grew around her started stoning the Embassy.

"Reynolds, a U.S. Master-Sergeant, had earlier been found not guilty of the voluntary manslaughter of the woman's husband Mr. Lui."

We quote below, from the *New York Times* of May 26, the report on the actual occurrence:

"Last week's violence on Taiwan against U.S. personnel grew out of an incident at the home of M/Sgt. Robert R. Reynolds, eight miles outside Taipei, the capital of Formosa. Sergeant Reynolds, a U.S. soldier stationed at Taipei, and his wife are the only living witnesses of the incident. This is their story:

"Just before midnight on March 20 last Mrs. Reynolds was taking a shower. She saw a Chinese peering at her through a window. She called her husband. The Sergeant told her to remain calm, loaded a .22 caliber pistol with nine rounds and went outside to investigate. He planned to hold the intruder at bay until police arrived. The man then came toward him in a threatening manner brandishing either a metal rod or stick—he could not tell in the gloom. Reynolds fired, the man stumbled and turned away. Reynolds returned to the house and told his wife to summon the Chinese and American military police. He said the man approached again. Fearing that he was armed, the Sergeant ordered him to halt. The man refused to do so and Reynolds fired a second shot which killed the intruder.

"Last Monday the Sergeant was tried by a court-martial composed of five colonels and three master sergeants. The prosecution, conducted by a U.S. officer, charged the Sergeant with voluntary man-slaughter. The soldier pleaded self-defence. On Thursday the court-martial returned a verdict of not guilty.

"Chinese resentment of the verdict was intense. The Chinese local press reported the prosecution was half-hearted and called the trial a miscarriage of justice. Rumours spread in Taipei that there had been black market dealings between Reynolds and the deceased and that Chinese and American authorities were in collusion to cover up evidence which might embarrass either Government.

"On Friday U.S. authorities flew Sergeant Reynolds, his wife and 7-year-old daughter to Manila. At noon that day the slain man's widow picketed the U.S. Embassy compound. She carried a poster which branded Reynolds a murderer. A large crowd gathered, many of them local-born Taiwanese. Then someone threw a stone at the Embassy building and shattered a window pane. The crowd cheered. More stones flew. By now the crowd had swelled into an angry mob of 3,000. The mob broke into the compound, ripped the American flag from a flagpole, swirled into the Embassy, smashed furniture and tossed classified documents out the windows. Most of the Embassy personnel were out to lunch at the time. A handful of Americans trapped inside the compound fled to the Embassy air raid shelter.

"By mid-afternoon the disorders spread to other parts of the capital. A mob wrecked the offices of the U.S. Information Service. Another crowd tried to invade the U.S. Military Communications Center. A throng of more than 10,000 besieged the Taipei Police Headquarters to demand the release of students arrested in the disorders.

"Then the Taipei authorities clapped martial law on the capital. Three divisions of Chinese Nationalist troops moved into the city. The mobs scattered and order was gradually restored."

Government and Food Policy

Almost the whole of the country was passing through an acute food crisis. The seriousness of the situation was such that the Union Food Minister, Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, had to make a statement in the Parliament announcing the Government's decision to set up a high-powered committee to investigate into the causes of rise in food prices and to suggest immediate and long-term remedial measures. At the same time, however, Shri Jain added that the overall supply position of food-grains in the country did not warrant any undue apprehension. The production of rice was 28.1 million tons this year—an all-time record. There was

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also a rise in the production of wheat, compared with the previous year. Thus the overall supply position which was also re-inforced by the substantial import of wheat was presented by the Minister as quite reassuring.

Exposing the fallacies in the argument of the Government, the weekly *Vigil* in a lengthy and thought-provoking editorial article on May 18 writes: "We do not know how to reconcile this assurance with Shri Jain's admission, in the same statement before Parliament, of 'scarcity' conditions and distress in various parts of as many as eight States. Ordinary people would think that 'serious difficulties' need not only be apprehended but they already existed when thousands and lakhs of people were affected and were, in fact, suffering from shortage of food. Trotting out a series of highly optimistic production statistics, the Minister denied that there was any 'justifiable cause for alarm.' The existence of widespread suffering proves either that the official statistics and estimates are wrong or the Government has failed to take necessary measure in time, or—perhaps this would be the more correct appraisal of the position—it is a combination of the two; that is, both the statistics and the Government's handling of the situation have been seriously faulty. In any case alarm in the sense of notice of danger would be justifiable."

Shri Jain explained that the food prices "were not generally higher" than in 1952-53, which was regarded as the base year, though they were higher than in 1954 and 1955 which were, however, years of unusually low prices. "Yet an increase of 24 per cent in rice prices during a period of record production could not be passed off as an expected thing," the *Vigil* points out.

Referring to the Minister's explanation that the rise in food prices arose from "higher incomes" of the people and hoarding by traders and producers the magazine writes: "Whether this explanation is good or not in other respects, it certainly fails to account for the discrepancies in price fluctuations between rice and wheat. If the explanation were a correct one it would have affected the rice and wheat prices more or less in the same manner. Increased consumption arising from higher incomes and hoarding should have affected the producers and consumers of rice and wheat more or less in the same manner. Is there any reason to suppose that the pressure of increased consumption arising from higher incomes has been more operative among the rice-eaters or that factors favouring hoarding have had a freer field in the case of traders and producers of rice? If the Food Ministry is so cocksure about the causes of the rise in food prices what does it want an investigation by a high-powered committee for?"

As a matter of fact, however, none of the arguments of the Food Minister did bear any close examination. One could not have much faith in the statistics put forward by the Minister on the face of the fact of its contradiction by other equally forceful facts. The record production figures did not square up with scarcity conditions in a large part of the country. An investigation into the village areas again did not disclose any appreciable hoarding by the producers. As for the argument of "higher incomes" being responsible for high prices it was belied by the fact that the food prices were beyond the means of a great majority of the people. As the *Vigil* says, "if it is true that some people have now higher incomes than before, then it must be also true that as many people or perhaps more have lower real incomes."

Dr. Roy and the Food Problem

Of all the official statements that have recently been made about the recent food crisis in West Bengal the most astounding has been the one made by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, on May 4. While on the face of hard facts the Chief Minister had no alternative but to admit the seriousness of the situation (which his Food Minister had refused to do a few weeks earlier) he put forward a novel argument in explanation of the current food shortage in the State. In effect he told the Pressmen that gathered round him to hear his views on the problem that the shortage was largely due to the voraciousness of the Bengalis. He has advised the people to eat less and has even threatened them with the prospect of diabetes if they should ignore his valuable advice.

It is really an irony of fate that the proverbially ill-fed and undernourished people of West Bengal should be charged by their

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Chief Minister of gluttony. It is also an indication of the almost unbridgable chasm that now separates the rulers from the people. One would like to know wherefrom Dr. Roy, himself a distinguished medical man, could deduce his theory that the people ate too much.

Dr. Roy has advised the people to eat more of vegetables. But where are the vegetables? Even when they are available, are they cheaper or more nutritious in the majority of cases? If the nation has to maintain its efficiency it must be assured the minimum nutritional level. Any suggestion to lower the already dangerously low nutritional level of the people is the counsel of a mad man and should be treated as such.

Enquiry Commissions

When during the latter part of 1956 the whole of the country was aroused over a series of railway accidents in the South of India which resulted in the disablement and the loss of many lives, and of property, thereby bringing ruin and disaster to scores of families, the Government of India could no longer remain indifferent to the feelings of the public, especially as the General Elections were near at hand. Therefore, the Government announced the appointment of a one-man commission consisting of Justice Shri S. L. T. Desai of Bombay High Court to investigate into the causes of such recurring railway accidents involving bridges and embankments. The commission was particularly to examine the causes of the Mahabubnagar train disaster which had just occurred.

Recently the Government published the findings of the Desai Commission with their observations on them. The Desai Commission virtually laid the blame for the bridge collapses onto the shoulder of the engineers who, the commission said, had failed to provide for sufficient water outlet through the bridges. The commission also rejected the suggestion that the particular accident at Mahabubnagar might have occurred due to any negligence on the part of the watchman on the bridge. On all vital points, however, the Government disagreed with the commission and upheld the report made by the Departmental Inspector before the appointment of the Enquiry Commission.

The Government's rejection of the findings of the Desai Commission has almost universally been greeted with disapprobation by the Indian press and public. Many have wondered why the Government took the trouble of appointing a commission if it had no desire to pay any heed to its findings.

Indeed, India is, perhaps, the only State where the Government shows such scant regard for independent judgements. The Government of West Bengal had appointed a commission to enquire into the firings during the food riots in Coochbehar. The enquiry was duly held but the public is as yet unaware about the findings or about the action taken on them by the Government. The Report of the commission appointed into the allegations of police oppression during the anti- tram fare rise movement in Calcutta was even printed but for some unaccountable reasons was burnt up on the day before it was due to be released to the public. This time the Government of India has somehow been persuaded to publish the report of the Desai Commission but has refused to act according to the recommendations.

The Enquiry Commissions are appointed by the Government with persons of its own choice yet it refuses to abide by the findings of such commissions. The public is unable to see the reasonings behind such an attitude. Moreover, in the particular case of the train accident at Mahabubnagar it is not clear to many how the Government could place greater reliance upon the report of the Departmental Inspector than the findings of an independent body constituted with a High Court Judge who is by training accustomed to view things dispassionately and objectively. Several hundreds of lives have been lost through train accidents over these past years, it is not easy to console oneself with the suggestion that nobody was responsible for these losses.

The Central Government's rejection of the findings of the Desai Commission in the case of the Mahabubnagar train disaster touches off a broader question whether such rejection does not reflect adversely upon the prestige of the High Court Judges—a point that has been examined in some details by the *Hitavada* in an editorial article in ith issue of May 23, 1957.

The newspaper refers to a similar action by the Madhya Pradesh Government in reject-

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ing the findings of the commission headed by Mr. Justice Chowdhury about the Chhuikhadan firings a few years back (commented upon in *The M.R.*) and writes that the action taken by both the Governments, the Union Government in the recent case and the M.P. Government in the earlier case "have raised a fundamental question whether High Court Judges should be asked to conduct enquiries of this character and regarded such equiries as a part of their legitimate work."

The newspaper recalls that under Article 143(1) the President might refer any question to the Supreme Court for advisory opinion while the Constitution of India laid down their duty for the Supreme Court. In other countries—particularly the USA, Australia and the United Kingdom—the courts all along refused to give such advisory opinions on speculative questions because, as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council put it, "it would be extremely unwise for any judicial tribunal to attempt beforehand to exhaust all possible cases and facts which may occur to qualify, cut down and override the operation of the particular words when the concrete case is not before it (the court) . . . It is undesirable that the court should be called upon to express opinions which may affect the rights of persons not represented before it or touch matters of such a nature that its answers must be wholly ineffectual . . ."

"In the instant case of the Mahabubnagar tragedy," the *Hitavada* points out, "the families of those who have lost their dear and loved ones in the disaster have claim on the State for compensation. Mr. Justice Desai, therefore, expressed opinion on matters affecting the rights of persons to sue the Government for negligence and it was therefore inappropriate that a tribunal should have been set up to adjudicate on matters involving individual rights. In this particular case, the Government was one of the interested parties and, if we may say so, was one of the condemned parties and the condemned party chose the right of exercising the veto and setting aside the solemn findings of a Judge of the High Court."

The newspaper expresses the view that the Government should be informed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court that in future it would not be possible to spare High Court Judges to sit on such enquiries unless the Government would undertake in the event of its disagreement with the findings of such enquiry, to refer the matter to the Supreme Court under Art. 143(1) of the Constitution for advisory opinion. "If any body or persons is to set aside the findings of a High Court Judge," the *Hitavada* writes, "that body or persons must have a juudicial qualification to sit in appellate judgment over a High Court Judge's findings." In India, only the Supreme Court was in a position to sit over judgment over the findings of the High Court Judge.

The Japanese Premier in India

Mr. Nobosuke Kishi, the Japanese Prime Minister, was on a visit to New Delhi from May 23 to May 25. During his stay in the Indian capital the Japanese Prime Minister had talks with the Indian Prime Minister and his colleagues after which a joint statement was issued by the two Premiers.

In the joint statement the Prime Ministers of India and Japan made an earnest and urgent appeal to the Big Powers for the immediate suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear test explosions and expressed the hope that the Big Powers would reach an agreement on the eventual abandonment of these tests and the prohibition of all kinds of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

Mr. Kishi was the first Japanese Prime Minister to visit India. His visit would naturally increase Indo-Japanese understanding. The Indian people had all along viewed with admiration the Japanese people's efforts to industrialise their country and, in post-war years, to regain their country's deflated independence. The differences in the international outlook of the two nations again did not deter the Indian people from an appreciation of the capacity for hard labour exhibited by the Japanese people during recent years which contributed so much to her quick economic recovery.

Referring to Mr. Kishi's visit to India, the *Hindu* in an editorial article on May 26 welcomes the Japanese Premier's offer of economic assistance to the success of India's Five-Year Plan. "We certainly will need all the assistance that Japan can give especially in the sphere of know-how and technique," the *Hindu* writes.

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The newwspaper adds: "In another respect also Japan's example and experience will be valuable. India and China (unlike other countries in South-East Asia) face the problem of industrialisation while their population is both under-employed and expanding at a high rate. This is a problem with which Japan is familiar —the problem of decentralisation of industry so that men will not be thrown out of work by the more efficient machine. We may note also, that Japan leads Asia in the control of population. The Japanese are fully aware of the fact that no matter how efficient their industry may become, a limit must be fixed to the expansion of population."

Referring to the joint appeals of the Indian and Japanese Premiers for an end of the nuclear test explosions the newspaper recalls that Japan was the worst sufferer in this respect and writes: "Japan has been extremely diplomatic in making her protests but her unwillingness to offend her allies should not be misinterpreted as weakness. Atomic weapons must be outlawed and the scandal of the tests must not be allowed to develop in a major international crisis."

Vatican and Portuguese Imperialism

Shri T. D. Cunha, Chairman of the Goa Action Committee, refers to the nefarious role played by the Vatican in the continued Portuguese occupation of Goa, in an article in the weekly *People*, May 19, 1957.

Shri Cunha writes: "People in India are reluctant to criticise the Vatican fearing to hurt the religious feelings of the Catholics. Being themselves religious but tolerant, most Indians respect the susceptibilities of people of a faith different from theirs.

In the case of the Vatican, this happens because they wrongly consider this institution more as a centre of Roman Catholicism than a political power exercising its influence as it really is in world affairs. This makes them shy to find fault with the Holy See even when their disapproval is fully justified."

Recounting how under the garb of neutrality in politics the Vatican was actively helping the Portuguese in Goa, Shri Cunha writes: "While the Catholic hierarchy is allowed to fully mobilize in Portugal as well as in Goa the forces of the church in a religious crusade against the Goan liberation movement, the Catholic hierarchy in India is ordered by the Vatican to keep aloof from the Indian national activity aiming at the legitimate union with India of the Portuguese dominated territory."

Citing a concrete example of the Vatican's partiality in the matter he recalls the fact that while all Portuguese Cardinals, Patriarchs, Bishops and even some priests were actively working for keeping Goa, Daman and Diu under the continued occupation by the Portuguese imperialists, the Indian Cardinal Gracias had got a rebuke from the Pope for having once declared himself in favour of Goa's integration with India.

"During his visit to Rome," Shri Cunha writes, "the Indian Cardinal was ordered to absent himself from India on long foreign tours and not to be entangled in the Goan affair, although he is himself a son of Goa. Since then, the Cardinal has not uttered a single word on the subject of Goa, nor has he shown in any manner his solidarity with his suffering countrymen. On the contrary, under his command foreign missionaries and foreign money freely work for the disruption of the Goan nationalist forces thus helping the Portuguese cause."

What was even more, the Vatican definitely instructed all Indian Bishops not to side with India on the question of Goa.

Shri Cunha writes that there was close coordination between the Roman Catholic hierarchy in India, the Vatican and the Portuguese Government and some of the Roman Catholics were also involved in espionage activities. In this context he refers to a Jesuit priest in the service of the Government of India passing political information to Portugal. Besides, the international agencies of the Roman Catholic church was also carrying a campaign of propaganda in favour of Portuguese imperialism. Shri Cunha quotes a passage from an article in the semi-official Catholic bulletin entitled *Informations Catholiques Internationales* of February 15, 1957, in which high praise was bestowed upon Portugal for her refusal to part with her colonies. The Vatican Radio and other Vatican agencies likewise preached anti-Indian and anti-Goan Portuguese propaganda as the whole truth.

Shri Cunha quotes many other facts ex-

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posing the dubious role of the Vatican. But the facts referred to above are enough to convince one about the authenticity of his allegations. It is to be hoped that the Government of India would consider this aspect of this functioning of Roman Catholic church in India. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, have also a duty to see that their devotion to their religion could not be used by unscrupulous foreigners to convert them into the tools of imperialism.

Family Planning in India and China

A policy of controlled population growth is of recent origin. There is now a remarkable unanimity among observers that for the raising of the standard of the people of the deeply populated under-developed countries some degree of control of the growth of the population is an inescapable necessity. Even the Communists who, chiefly under Soviet inspiration (one of the founders of Marxism, Frederick Engels had as early as 1844 envisaged the need for population planning at some time), were until recently loudly decrying the Indian Government's efforts to encourage birth control, have by now come round to a reconsideration of their views following China's open enunciation of a policy of population planning for the country.

In India, the Government has adopted the policy of encouraging birth control since 1950. Substantial financial allocations were made for this purpose both in the First and Second Five-Year Plans. The Government's policy of encouraging a planned growth of population was reiterated on May 25, 1957, by no less a person than Premier Nehru himself who, while inaugurating the second meeting of the Family Planning Board in New Delhi, said that both from the social and economic points of view it was necessary to take up the question of family planning and press it forward with vigour and intelligence.

Yet what has been the outcome of the efforts made thus far, and how far again do the efforts go? Evidently the Government's policy has almost completely been ineffective in moulding the attitude of even the smallest section of city-dwellers—not to mention the villagers who provide by far the largest number of annual births. This is no wonder inasmuch as no sincere efforts were evident to make the knowledge and material facilities of birth control available to the common man, apart from the holding of one or two closed-door conferences attended by the brass hats and a number of fashionable ladies. There is not a single public clinic even in a city like Calcutta where the people could get advice and material help on family planning. On the contrary, the Government hospitals have even closed down the services they had previously been rendering in the matter of birth control, so that people have been made to become a prey to greedy medical men who are extorting unusually large sums for relatively simple advice and operations, taking advantage of the Government's failure, on the policy level, to remove the legal restrictions. There is not also any effort visible in the direction of enforcing the legal provisions regarding the minimum age of the brides and bridegrooms though delayed marriage is one of the most effective means of controlling population growth.

Just compare with this the Chinese efforts in this direction. The Chinese Government was at first opposed to the idea of family planning. But when they were once convinced of the desirability of a need for family planning they took it up with a characteristic thoroughness which would be envied by any other Government in the world. They launched a campaign of mass education on the need and benefits of planned parenthood and organised lectures and demonstrations in cities, towns and villages, opened pilot clinics even in some of the remote parts of the country, arranged for the cheap manufacture of contraceptives, removed the legal restriction on abortion under certain circumstances, arranged symposiums on the social and need for changing the marriage laws. Certainly the Chinese have not by and large been convinced of the benefits of birth control. It would be a wonder if they would. In backward countries like India and China where the great majority of the people suffer from economic and social handicaps it is not so easy to inculcate new habits—especially if they conflict with their traditional outlook and make a call upon their not-too-heavy purse. Yet taken all together, the Chinese Government, in a short time and perhaps at less cost as well, has been able to draw in a larger number of people in its campaign for planned parenthood.

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While the India Government may not possess all the means at the disposal of the Government of China they can study the Chinese efforts in this direction with much profit to them and the nation as well.

Congress and Prohibition

The Congress is committed to a policy of prohibition. In several States prohibition is already an official policy. From the very beginning, however, an influential section of the people, including leading Congressmen, has been sceptical about the effectiveness of prohibition as a policy for social progress and emancipation. The Press has frequently published reports of increasing corruption and illicit distilling. In several States—particularly in the South—prohibition has hit the toddy makers, a section of the poorer people, by depriving them of their living without offering them any alternative means. An official commission in Andhra advised the scrapping of the prohibition policy in that State. But the Congress has remained adamant and has stuck to its policy of prohibition. The recent criticism of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur also does not appear to have had any impact upon the framers of Congress policy.

Apart from the broader question of the sociological implications of prohibition there is the question whether the Congress itself has any sincere belief in its efficacy and desirability. Such a question becomes all the more pertinent against the reported nomination of a number of people holding liquor-permits for election to the Nagpur Corporation. The Congress High Command is reportedly sending Shri Shriman Narayan to resolve the deadlock now facing the Nagpur Municipal Congress organisation following the division among its members on the issue of nomination of persons for the municipal body, and it would be resolved some way or other. There would still be the question how a section of the Congress could nominate a number of persons holding liquor permits to represent it in the municipal council directly violating the Central directive on policy. The people would watch with interest what step the Congress High Command cares to take against the persons who openly violated a policy on which the Congress placed such great importance throughout India that even the sufferings of a great number of people also failed to impress upon them the necessity for a change of policy.

Amrit Kaur on the Budget

We append below the news-report of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's criticisms and suggestions *re* the Budget. We congratulate her on speaking out her mind as befits a true follower of Gandhi which she is.

Her remarks on the dismal results of prohibition are borne out by facts as any truthful observer can confirm, and she is quite right about Salt-Tax.

"New Delhi, May 20.—If today's Rajya Sabha debate on the Budget proposals is an index of Parliamentary opinion, Mr. Krishnamachari will not find it easy to get them accepted unaltered.

"What must have disturbed the Government was not the expected condemnation from the Opposition benches, but the strong, if polite, criticism from Congress speakers as well.

"The most effective attack came from the former Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. She prefaced her speech with the remark that for the first time since independence she was able to offer some criticism.

"Her speech contained two suggestions which, unusual enough from a Congress member, were particularly remarkable from a well-known follower of Mahatma Gandhi: She asked the Government to scrap prohibition and impose a salt tax.

"As in other countries which had tried the experiment, she said prohibition had been a 'dismal failure' in India, too, and would continue to be so.

"A very small precentage of Indians were addicts, she argued and the money that should go to the Government was being taken by bootleggers who, she believed, were the biggest protagonists of prohibition. In addition, the administration was being corrupted.

"Gandhiji's greatness, the Rajkumari said, lay in acknowledging an error and retracing a wrong step. If he had known the facts, she was sure he would have said that prohibition should be abolished and temperance achieved in other ways.

"She also felt that it was incorrect to follow Mahatma Gandhi literally by refusing to tax salt when circumstances had changed. His action

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was symbolic, she said, but the tax could now earn large revenues without hitting the poor as hard as the new excises.

"The new Budget proposals might, she feared, make life impossible for the poor. While it should be the Government's objective to make the poor less poor, the proposals seemed to go the other way.

"Among the other changes she suggested were an increase in air fares instead of railway fares, and in the price of postal envelopes instead of postcards. She citicized the proposed tax on personal effects on the ground that it was impractical and would lead to harassment. She advised the Government to concentrate on reducing corruption and minimizing administrative expenditures.

"Each of the four succeeding speakers, from the Congress as well as the Opposition, took the line that the new proposals imposed an unfair burden on the poorer classes.

"Quoting figures, Mr. Chandulal Parikh (C) said taxation had increased by Rs. 190 crores in the last 14 months. It would have been all right if the new taxes had been gradually imposed, but they were too much for the country when imposed in such a short period.

"He was sure that the new taxes would be followed by a greater rise in prices and consequently in wages. This would further increase the cost of the second Plan. He pointed out that the income-tax exemption level, raised from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,200 only two years ago, was now being reversed.

"Speaking as an experienced businessman, he made the point that if the Government wished to industrialize the country rapidly, it should not tax undistributed profits. He did not object to individual taxes being raised and supported the levies on wealth and expenditure."

Rajaji on the Budget

We append below the extracts from the speech made by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. The extract is from the *Hindusthan Times*. It shows that the "keenest analytical intellect in the Congress" still remains unimpaired.

Madras, May 16.—Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said today that the net result of the "experiment in national socialism" being tried by the Union Finance Minister by way of taxations on wealth and expenditure would be "a great pression, utter misery and general demoralizat He thought that the soul of the people at significant levels would be enslaved to officials

In a statement, criticizing the budget posals, particularly the proposals to tax and expenditure, Mr. Rajagopalachari said tax on wealth and the tax on expenditure been taken straight from academical thoug actual imposition in India.

Dwelling on the implications of the propo taxes, he said: "Both the taxes are percen taxes and not lump-sum taxes on slabs above prescribed minimum of wealth held or of an income, every rupee is to be taxed at the pr cribed rate, and assessment and collection b fall into the operative field of bureaucracy. T immediate first step will be the constitution new large departments of survey and valuat of wealth, and the second step will be the orga zation of a strict collection department w will scrutinize all the expenditure of the fa involved. Survey and evaluation of all wea except agricultural land, means and includes inventory and appraisement of house prop motor cars, furniture, typewriters, jew of the womenfolk and the title to them and current market price of all the trinkets of g and silverware, in fact all the sacred secrets family life. The accounts must be verified effective sanctions attached to untrue or inc rate list and evaluations."

As for the tax on expenditure, he s every man and woman above the income prescribed would have to maintain a strict accurate account throughout the days of his her life, not merely of special items of exp ture but of every routine item also and vouch accuracy and completeness on penalty of pr cution and heavy financial penalties.

He said: "An oppressive atmosphere condition will be universally created to wh straightforward communist State may well preferred."

He added: "There are some seemingly nocent steps that will bring in so much co tion in their train in this our land that we refrain from the experiment altogether. once we launch a public policy of taxati will be impossible thereafter to withdraw. commitments of public expenditure will not

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mit any retreat whatever may be the obvious justification for withdrawal."

Mr. Rajagopalachari concluded: "If the gap between planned expenditure and resources is too great to be bridged otherwise than by such disastrous proposals, the better alternative is obviously to cut the plans down. Otherwise between commitments to foreign countries and widespread and intolerable corruption and oppression at home our democracy will be morally so enfeebled that we shall be inviting calamity and what I do not wish more specifically to describe."

The Hindu for May 23, gives another long statement by Sri Rajagopalachari from which we append extracts below:

Mr. Rajagopalachari next referred to the condemnation of the Food Ministry for the rise in prices of foodgrains and said that he did not agree that the Food Minister was responsible for this. "The Union Food Minister is a very able Minister and I know that," he said and added that if the Food Minister was not responsible there were a number of other causes for it. "There are fundamental causes that are operating and are raising the food prices, *viz.*, agrarian laws and the population. The only way to lower the prices would be by force, by control which was another form of force, rigid regulation, by starving the farmer and a number of other unpleasant things. This was not welcome and it was not possible. Even if they got some food by this method it was not worthwhile.

Mr. Rajagopalachari dealt with the criticism that the taxes in this country were not advancing in relation to the national income as taxes had advanced in other countries. The agricultural income that could be taxed was different from the agricultural income which went to constitute the national income. The main body who made up the national income were merely cultivators, tenants and labourers without land. That was the reason for the low percentage of national income. It was impossible to make any advance in taxation with that kind of national income. It was no use comparing the advance made in taxation in relation to the national income in other countries with that of this country. "It is," Rajaji said, "a question of examining the human element that is involved in any proposition. It is quite easy to talk of stagnation, national income and taxation. If you go into the human element concerned in these various phases you will find you are dealing with various types of people who make up the national income.

The national income has risen because of the rise in prices rather than due to increase in actual income.

Referring to the finance for the Second Plan, he said, the question they had to examine was whether the Plan was right and whether it had to be altered. "This Plan is really the great mischief-maker and not the Food Ministry," Rajaji remarked amidst laughter.

Rajaji said the Plan had given to use a modern word, a monolithic cast to our public affairs. Our public affairs had been imprisoned within the stone walls of the Plan and had been robbed of necessary flexibility. If they were going to spread misery all over the land by high prices, it was impossible to spend money on the Plan. The Government had themselves admitted that inflation had been one of the results of the Plan. The taxation measures would raise the prices still further. If these were the essential parts of the Plan, it was better to look into it.

Referring to plans in Russia and China, he said that whatever derogatory views they might entertain about what was being done in Communist countries, they had done well. Even the Government of India agreed that they had done very well. The secret of their success lay not in better administration or spreadover of taxation measures—in fact, not taxation at all—but in forced labour of the people. That was the only thing that could make a backward people, carry out Plans for development rapidly. If labour was not voluntarily forthcoming, it was obtained by force. But, it was not possible to do such things in India.

With all their appreciation of the Plan, they should remember that the Plan consisted of certain projects in certain areas of the country. They were taxed in order that the projects might be carried out. But it was wrong to impose indirect tax on everybody in the country, without reference to the advantages attained in any particular area by such projects. It was not a suggestion for disintegration but they wanted fairness in the distribution of the burden. It was better to levy cesses in territories where development works had directly benefited the people. Instead of this, was it right to increase the prices of a postcard or journey by rail? It was not fair.

Looking into the Plan more carefully,

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Rajaji said, they would find that they should cut their coat according to the cloth. The cloth was their capacity to pay and capacity to offer labour. If they had capacity to contribute labour, they could cut down the payment part of it. But, they wanted to get foreign aid and foreign loan. "All that will come back with compound interest," he said and added that it was not possible to live for any length of time on foreign aid. They had to take all these factors into account if they were to prepare a proper, scientific Plan which would be an instrument of happiness and not misery.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that criticism of the budget proposals had been widespread. He had received telegrams congratulating him on his "bold" step in criticising the budget. He considered this attribution of "boldness" to him revealed the fear of the people to criticise the Government. No doubt, they should not be irrelevant or impolite in their utterances, but they should be bold to voice their feelings. The people who had congratulated him also wanted him to go about from place to place to campaign against the taxation measures. This was nothing but "fantastic nonsense." How could he go about criticising his old colleagues; nor was he in a fit condition to do it. It was for those who had been hit by the measures, to take up the matter and agitate. Personally, he was not affected by anything contained in the budget.

He said, criticism from commercial and industrial circles seemed to be characterised by a "silent satisfaction" that the tax burden had fallen on the poor also. But, he would analyse the figures. The total estimated receipts from the proposals would be about Rs. 99 crores, out of which about Rs. 25 crores only would be contributed by the rich. The rest would be borne by the poor.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said there were two ways of getting popularity and approval of the proposals. One was by doing what was right; the other was by approaching the organs of public opinion. Important newspapers were directly dealth with. First of all Government pretended to inflict enhancement of duty on newsprint but then withdrew it. Human psychology was peculiar and they felt flattered when the tax was withdrawn on the pretext that it was an "error." But newspaper people seemed to understand that it was not accidental but a real imposition which was withdrawn later. From a perusal of the leading articles on the budget published in the various papers in the country, he was able to find a certain mildness prevailing in their criticism of the budget. There was not the original verve in the attack which was found before the withdrawal of the impost. He felt that that was not the way in which criticism in the organs of public opinion was to be conducted. Of course, everybody had a right to take care of his own interest, but the Press had a definite responsibility. It was not right for them to turn a blind eye on the lowering of the minimum taxable income while congratulating the Finance Minister on lowering the rates in the higher incomes. In this process, the Finance Minister had not lost any revenue; he had gained the goodwill of those above and the will of those below.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said people should not be afraid of criticising the Government, on account of their high regard for the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister, whatever was said and done, belonged to the Government; the Finance Minister had to be defended by him. Therefore his commendation of the budget should not deter them from criticising it. Nor were they justified in seeking the opinion of diplomatic representatives such as the Ambassador of the United States on the soundness of the proposals. America was interested in keeping the Communists off and would therefore approve of taxation in order to find the resources for the Plan.

Rajaji expressed the fear that the taxation measures would only increase as they proceeded implementing the Plan, year after year. He cited imposition by him, 20 years ago, of the sales-tax of one pie per rupee. It had increased since and very much with the introduction of "naya paisa." Indirect taxes, once put on would never be withdrawn and would go on adding to the burden of the poor, unless there was a safety valve. A situation would arise when the taxpayer could not pay. Friends of the Finance Minister, he hoped, would advise him to keep far away from that climate and not indulge in "financial brinkmanship."

Rajaji referred to the criticism of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur of the Budget and said that every body was pleased that an ex-Minister made a criticism. Rajaji said that she made a great mistake in asking for the imposition of the

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tax and the drink tax. "Look at the idea of making the inefficiency of the Government an excuse for putting a tax," he said. Broadly considered it was ridiculous to scrap Prohibition because the Government had failed. If the administration was inefficient, they must improve it. If they had the tax then it dould only add to the burden of the poor. It will add to their misery, not only financial but also psychological.

Coming back to the taxation proposals, Rajaji said that they were sugar-coated for the Legislature to say: "Very good, the rich as well as the poor have been taxed." Since Mr. Krishnamachari was his friend he knew his mind and his intellectual level was very high. His mind had run in the direction of new scientific kinds of taxation that could be imposed on the rich. He had taken up the wealth-tax and the expenditure-tax and tried to make it as scientific as possible. Kerosene went up in price as soon as the taxation proposals were announced. The poor man had also been called upon to pay more by way of increased railway fare and tax on tea, coffee, etc.

A new invention of jurisprudence had been introduced in the Budget, he said. What was the tax on expenditure, he asked, and answered that because they bought something they had to pay the tax. "This measure of tax on expenditure," he said, "is really an encroachment on the State's sphere of taxation on sales and purchases." They might, he said, read the constitutional position and they would find no provision made for a tax on expenditure. He hoped the legal implications of the taxation on expenditure and railway rate would in due course be examined. Again, an agricultural article had been treated as a manufactured article and this was an encroachment on the rights of the States. He thought that the States which got doles from the Central Government were not going to contest the position. If duty could be levied on extraction of oil then excise duty could be levied on rice also.

Indian Editors Abroad

K. Balaraman, the U.N. correspondent of *the Hindu* at New York, sends the following news to his paper.

The five top Indian editors who have come here under the auspices of the International Press Institute headed for Boston and the Niagara Falls to-day after four days in this metropolis of concrete sky-scrapers and asphalt canyons. During their stay here, they were wined and dined by Indians, official and non-official, and smiled upon by the pleasant spring weather. However—and this must have come as an unpleasant surprise to them that they who have thrown open the hospitable columns of their respective newspapers to every Tom, Dick and Harry delegation from abroad which has visited India—they have so far been completely ignored by the American Press. Neither the American Committee for I.P.I. which is supposed to be in charge of the arrangements for their visit here, nor the large-numbered Public Relations Staff of the Government of India located here, who could have utilised this opportunity of the editors' visit to get some favourable publicity for India seem to have devoted any thought to the public relations side of the editors' delegation, with the result, not a single line has appeared about them in the newspapers. Some Deputy Minister from India has only to come and the entire Government of India's Public Relations team here goes around the Press hawking news of the visit. Evidently. India's top editors are not important enough people.

The Foreign Policy Association gave a dinner for the visiting editors last night and Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* made a speech, which doubtless the Press Trust had dutifully cabled to India and has been splashed in the Indian Press, but both the function and speeches have gone completely unnoticed here. The editors met the U.N. Secretary-General yesterday, for which they have to thank India's live-wire permanent delegate, Mr. Arthur Lall, who at my request, arranged the meeting at short notice.

The Defence of India

The news report, from the *Statesman*, given *infra* would indicate that there is at least one Elder Statesman left who is not befogged and bewildered by shibboleths and fetishes, like our myopic and hag-ridden tin-gods.

New Delhi, May 22.—"A few hours before the Lok Sabha was due to discuss the official resolution criticizing the production of nuclear weapons, Dr. H. N. Kunzru, who has been associated with more than one military committee, created a

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stir in the Rajya Sabha by demanding that the Indian Army be equipped with atomic weapons.

"Much as he regretted the use of such weapons, he said it was necessary to face facts. India could not afford to have weapons inferior to those possessed by her neighbours.

"He also suggested better amenities for officers and men and the purchase of submarines to protect the air-craft-carrier India would soon acquire."

Working Committee News

We append below a report from the *Statesman* on the latest deliberations of that effete body, which has been completely emasculated since the Congress came into power, the Congress Working Committee.

Time was when the Working Committee—and through it the Congress—was the last court of appeal of a helpless people against the bloodless, soulless and ruthless workings of the administration. Today the administration has swallowed the Congress, its sole function being to approve and applaud.

New Delhi, May 27.—"Devoting the best part of its seven-hour meeting to the problem of revitalizing the party organization, the Congress Working Committee today took two important decisions.

"One was to make the Congress more 'functional' by 'collectively affiliating' organizations such as Women's Councils, trade unions, Kisan Sabhas and co-operative societies. The other was to make the elections within the party—except those to the basic units, the mandal committees —indirect.

"The committee felt that indirect elections would eliminate much of the rancour and rift inherent in the present system of direct elections and that new elements brought in by 'functional affiliation' would make the party more broad-based.

"A special sub-committee, headed by Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, was formed to prepare, in the light of today's decision, a detailed scheme for the consideration of the All-India Congress Committee, meeting here on June 1 and 2.

"It was also decided that apart from this sub-committee's report, which will be presented to it in the form of a resolution, the A.I.C.C. should consider two other official resolutions relating to the food problem and the country's general economic situation.

"These resolutions will be drafted at an informal meeting of the Working Committee on the eve of the two-day A.I.C.C. session.

"While explaining today's decisions of the Committee to reporters, Mr. Shriman Narayan, Congress General Secretary, categorically denied a Press report that a proposal to ask Mr. Nehru to step down from the office of Prime Minister had been 'discussed at the highest level.'

"He said that one of the non-official resolutions tabled for the A.I.C.C. did contain this proposal and the Working Committee had generally examined its admissibility along with other resolutions. But he could not say immediately if the resolution would be admitted for discussion at the A.I.C.C.

"Informed sources, however, said subsequently that the resolution in its present form was bound to be ruled out of order. It is learnt that when the resolution was read out at the Committee's meeting today, along with other non-official resolutions, the only reaction it evoked was general laughter.

"Once again Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari was present at the Committee's meeting which continued for a short while the overnight discussion on the taxation proposals.

"While agreeing that it was 'absolutely necessary' to raise resources for the Second Five-Year Plan, the Committee laid stress on the imperative need for economy in governmental expenditure and for creating an atmosphere of austerity and simplicity in the country.

"It was specifically suggested that expenditure on huge buildings should be avoided and that Ministers and Congress leaders should use smaller cars.

"Mr. Nehru's review of foreign affairs is understood to have been exceedingly brief. The subjects referred to were the Middle East and Indo-Pakistan relations. He is reported to have said that the overall international situation continued to be 'bad'."

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THE ROLE OF OPPOSITION IN THE HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE (1952—1956)

By Prof. C. P. BHAMBHRI, M.A.

Parliament is the centre and focus of a Parliamentary democracy, and the real basis of the latter lies in the toleration of the opposition, which keeps the Government and the civil servants on toes. The Indian-Constitution-makers also accepted the principle of Parliamentary democracy for their country. The Indian Parliament consists of two Houses. The Upper House is known as the Council of States; and the Lower House is known as the House of the People. The members of the Lower House are to be elected directly on the basis of adult suffrage. The first election to the House was held in 1951-52. The first House under the Republican constitution met on Tuesday, 13th May, 1952. As party Government is the vital principle of representative Government, many parties took active part in the elections. The Congress Party, which was able to capture the majority of the seats of the House of the People, formed the Government, and many other groups and independent members, who were in minority, formed the opposition. The percentage of votes polled in favour of the Congress party in the general election of 1951-52 of the House of the People was 45.01, and it was ab'e to capture 364 seats out of 499 seats. The rest of the seats were occupied by the opposition groups and independent members.

Before we discuss the actual role of the opposition in the House of the People, it is essential to know, what the opposition is actually expected to do. The attack and criticise the Government and individual Ministers is the function of the opposition. The duty of the opposition is to oppose. It adopts Sir Tobby's advice, "So soon as ever thou seest him, draw; and as thou drawest, swear horrible." (quoted from W. I. Jennings' *Cabinet Government*).

If Parliament's main function is to criticise the Government, the opposition is its most important part. Its members are, so to speak, critics by profession. The Government has its majority and so can govern; but it must do so under a constant fire of criticism from the opposition. Opinion outside is assumed to be divided; therefore it is desirable that inside the House Ministers may be reminded of Cromwell's injunction, "I beseech you, by the bowels of Christ, think it possible that you may be mistaken."—Jennings: *The British Constitution*, p. 81.

Moreover, the opposition of one day will be the government of the next, but the condition is that it shall maintain its identity and appear always with an alternative programme, which will be regarded by the electorate as a pledge.

> "Opposition parties play a necessary role in a democracy by providing a training ground for politicians who may at any moment be called upon to discharge the functions of Government."—A. B. Lal: *The Indian Parliament*, p. 270.

Thus opposition provides an alternative Government also.

The immense public benefit of an organized opposition has been fully recognized. It is a great check upon corruption and defective administration. It is, too, the means by which individual injustice is prevented. It is the public duty of the opposition to raise questions of corruption and mal-administration. It is a duty hardly less important than that of Government. It is due to this fact that in England, "His Majesty's Opposition" is regarded second in importance to "His Majesty's Government." It is known as "His Majesty's Loyal Opposition" in England. The leader of the opposition is paid £2,000 a year. In Canada, the salary of the leader of the opposition has been provided since 1906. In a Community where no opposition parties are permitted, the alternative Government is one of 'courtiers, policemen, soldiers and gangsters' and it is only by violent methods that the Government may be ousted. An effective opposition renders a government a going concern. It prevents the formation of monpolies in politics. It ensures a neutral and non-political civil service and armed forces.

To find out whether a people is free it is necessary only to ask if there is an opposition and if there is, to ask where it is. The existence of a strong opposition is the greatest guarantee that there shall be no tyranny of the ruling party. Due to the non-existence of the opposi-

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tion parties in Soviet Russia, she is very rightly described as a totalitarian State. Wherever only one party is allowed to exist, civil service, army and judiciary, all become party affairs fully controlled by the party in power as in Soviet Russia. Thus liberty of the individual for which he has been struggling through all the ages, is sacrificed at the altar of a monolithic party.

Thus an effective opposition is very necessary for the right functioning of a Parliamentary democracy. But it is not the business of the opposition to obstruct the Government. Its purpose is to criticise not to hinder. Obstruction brings Parliamentary Government into contempt. The Government must govern and the opposition must oppose. The Government has the power to obstruct the opposition, and the opposition has the power to obstruct the government, but neither kind of obstruction is desirable because it leads to confusion and results in inefficiency.

Types of Opposition in the House

Inside the House there are many opposition groups and also many independent and unattached members. Sri Nehru has said that they can be represented in colours from scarlet, various hues of red, pink and yellow, to deep blue. Traditional classification of right, left and centre is inapplicable to the various groups as represented in the Lok Sabha. We can divide them into extreme left, extreme right and moderate left. The ruling party is attacked from the extreme right by Jan Sangh and the Mahasabha. It accuses the rulers of resorting to radical social and economic reforms in the society and advocates an aggressive policy towards Pakistan. The second type of attack is made from the extreme left that is the Communists, who form the largest single group in the Lok Sabha. They advocate radical social reforms and economic changes. "It criticises the ruling party from the angle of the toiling people." The third group is represented by the Democratic Socialists and the Praja Socialist party. They are moderate leftists. They also believe in social and economic changes, but they are not as aggressive and violent as the Communists. Then there are many unattached and independent members who are mainly guided by the principle of 'opinion shall be expressed as the occasion arises.' Thus the opposition consists of various divided, even antagonistic groups which are fundamentally and ideologically opposed to each other. Sri Nehru observed about the nature of the opposition that

> "They hold together, I suppose because of the stress of circumstances and sometimes there are marriages of convenience, sometimes followed by rapid divorces, and on the whole we find these strange bed-fellows consorting together because of a certain spirit of opposition to the majority group."

The opposition benches were graced by great personalities like the late Dr. S. P. Mukherji, Sri N. C. Chatterji, Prof. Hiren Mukherji, Sri Ashoka Mehta, Dr. N. B. Khare, Sri H. V. Kamath, Acharya Kripalani, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, etc. The opposition has great speakers. Dr. Lanka Sundaram speaks with an average of 200-220 words a minute in English:

> "There is the perennial word-spinning of Hiren Mukherji, the logistics of N. C. Chatterji, the crisp uncouth aphorisms of N. B. Khare and the skilled machine-gunning of Renu Chakravarty."

Had Dr. S. P. Mukherjee lived longer, he would have contributed greatly to make the opposition more effective than it is today. Mr. S. S. More once said regarding the opposition members:

> "We do command, on our side, though small, some ex-Presidents of the Congress, some ex-General Secretaries of the Congress, some doughty fighters in the cause of freedom who still carry on their faces the scars of the freedom's battle. We have some ex-Judges of High Court."

Thus opposition benches were occupied by some great brains of the country.

Attitude of the Government Towards the Opposition

Before we discuss the actual role of the opposition we should know what was the attitude of the government towords the opposition. The attitude of the government can best be described in the words of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru who was the leader of the ruling party. He said:

> "We welcome the coming to this House of the members of the opposition whoever they may be, and however much we may

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differ from them in many matters we welcome them, because undoubtedly they represent a certain section of Indian opinion, because it is good in a House of this kind to have a vigorous opposition so that whether it is government or the majority party, they do not become complacent. If I may strike a personal note, regardless of the present differences, when I see many faces of o'd comrades who belong to the opposition now, some memories of the past come to me. I do not wish to forget them, and I cannot imagine that ways may not be found for a measure of co-operation with those with whom we have co-operated in the past." —Sri Nehru, 22nd May, 1953, *Parliamentary Debates.*

He once again said:

"I invite members of the opposition, not only members of the House, but others outside this House to come and confer with us in regard to planning in general or in regard to our Five-Year Plan. . . . As a matter of fact, our attitude here in regard to the opposition ought to be appreciated not only with respect to organizations which openly have the po'icy of conducting activities which can only be called subversive activities but with every kind of opposition. I should like to know in what country in Asia, America or Europe or Africa opposition of this type has greater freedom? . . . The House will remember that on a previous occasion I said that I would welcome as much co-operation as possib'e from members opposite, in fact, from the whole House. It is very difficult to find out a method or to organise a method for that co-operation. . . . And I mentioned to the Members of the opposition that I would like to confer with them on any important matter that arises and a few days ago we had such affairs. . . . I am not ta'king of co-operation in this House but actual consultations, etc., in regard to important matters . . . In administration there are many things in common which any political party would have to do anyhow."

Whatever has been said above about the freedom of the opposition parties and the consultations of the Government with the opposition, was it a fact or a lip-service only? As far as freedom of the opposition parties was concerned they were real y free. As far as consultation of the Government with the opposition was concerned, whether it was a fact or not, is to be known by the election of the Speaker and other important Parliamentary affairs.

Opposition and the Election of the Speaker

The new House of the People was to elect its chairman (Speaker). There is a very hoary and exemp'ary convention which is followed in the British House of Commons, that is, the Speaker is elected unanimously. The convention has a great practical advantage. The office of the Speaker is of great responsibility and it demands impartia'ity from the holder of the office. If you want to guarantee his impartiality, he should be elected unopposed. An elected Speaker on a party basis cannot be as impartial as a non-party Speaker.

The new Parliamentarians did not take advantage from the experience of the Mother of Parliaments. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru proposed the name of the late Sri G. V. Mavlankar, and A. K. Gopalan the name of Sri Shata Ram More. The House was divided. Ayes were 394, Noes were 55. The Congress candidate was elected as Speaker.

This even is of great significance. It shows clearly that in the future Parliaments when the opposition groups shall be stronger as it should be in the interest of true Parliamentary democracy, the office of the Speaker shall be a greatly contested office. Though he will behave in an impartial way in the House, psychologically he cannot forget that he was opposed by many honourable members of the House, and many members a'so cannot forget that they had opposed the Speaker, and if such a member's motion for adjournment is disallowed or he is not allowed to speak on any occasion when he likes to speak, though perfectly according to the rules of procedure, the member should think that the Speaker is taking revenge. Thus the *bonafides* of the Speaker should always be in doubt. Impartia'ity of the Speaker is not only desirable but nonetheless essential. Opposition today has to fight the steam-rol'er of the Congress. There are so many victorious leaders of the victorious party in the House and it is not

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unusual that the wine of victory goes to their heads and the minorities suffer. Protection of the interests of the minorities is in the hands of the Speaker.

Opposition had a grievance that it was not consulted by the majority party in the election of the Speaker. The late Dr. S. P. Mukherjee said:

> "We would have been happier if you had stood for re-election as an independent candidate and not as a candidate on behalf of any particular party. That is a convention which is accepted throughout the world and no one opposes such a re-election of the Speaker. Again, Sir, in your selection it would have been better if the leader of the House had consulted the opposition at least informally before your name was selected."

There would have been a practical difficulty with the majority party, how to consult various opposition groups and many independent members. This difficulty does not absolve them of the responsibility of starting a bad tradition. The conventions and traditions laid down by this Parliament shall be followed by later Parliaments and also by many State legislatures. Moreover, a non-party Speaker was very essential because Parliamentary life has only recently begun in our land and it is yet a tender plant that requires delicate and careful handling and careful nursing. The late Mavlankar rightly observed:

> "To expect the Speaker to be out of politics altogether without the corresponding convention (unopposed election) is, perhaps, entertaining contradictory expectations."—13th May, 1952, *Parliamentary Debates.*

His partisan election aroused suspicion and a vote of censure was moved later on. This we shall discuss afterwards.

The vote of censure moved against the late Mavlankar did not change the ideas of the majority party. They refused to learn anything either from the experience of the British House of Commons or from their own experience, and on 8th March, 1956, Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyanger was elected Speaker on party basis and Sri H. N. Mukherji said:

> "I feel, for example, that your election to this office could have been, perhaps, more felicitously pursued if different parties and groups were really and truly consulted before the Government Party made its decision and announced it in the Press. The Minister of Parliamentary affairs (Sri S. N. Sinha) is a very pleasant man. No wonder, like the *kasturi* deer who exudes his own perfume, he exudes a sense of strength and self-confidence because of the serried ranks of his party and of course, he told us about the fact of your having been chosen by the Congress party. But that was merely an intimation of a decision and not the intimation of an intention that the Congress party wanted to discuss it with other Members of this House . . . that a convention should be created whereby election to the chair is preceded by consultation not merely in an informal sense but in a formally substantial sense between the different parties and groups in this House."

Opposition and Motions for Adjournment

An adjournment motion is a device to bring something before the House, which is not included in the agenda or the order paper. It is something like taking up a new matter which was not intended to be taken up. There must be extreme urgency or emergency regarding the matter included in the adjournment motion. An adjournment motion should be a matter of exception and not a general rule.

In the House of the People it had become a fashion or a matter of habit with the opposition to place before the chair the motion for adjournment. From 13th May, 1952, the first day of the session of the newly elected Lok Sabha up to 12th August, 1952, a duration of three months, the following adjournment motions were put forward:

1. May 16th, 1952—Three motions for adjournment on food subsidies.
2. May 20th, 1952—Motion for adjournment: Train accident near Bihar. Three notices of adjournment motions.
3. May 22, 1952—Motion for adjournment: Firing on railway employees.
4. May 27, 1952—Motions for adjournment: (*i*) Rioting near Civil Court (*ii*) Tension in the City of Delhi

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5. May 28, 1952—Motion for adjournment: Fast by Swami Sita Ram, residence, Andhra State.
6. May 30, 1952—Motion for adjournment: Tension in Agartala or Tripura.
7. June 2, 1952—Motion for adjournment: Closure of Mills in Indore.
8. June 25, 1952—Motion for adjournment: Bombing of Yalu River Electric Plants by American planes.
9. June 30, 1952—Motion for adjournment.
10. July 15, 1952—Motion for adjournment.
11. July 16, 1952—Motion for adjournment: Use of force by police in Calcutta. Food policy *re*: West Bengal.
12. August 2, 1952—Motion for adjournment: Anti-Hindi agitation in the South.
13. August 4, 1952—Motion for adjournment:
Accident in Champion Reefs Mine on March 9, 1953.

The following motions for adjournment were moved:

(i) Firing on refugees at Yole Camp;
(ii) Arrest of three members;
(iii) Ban on procession in Delhi;
(iv) Interference with rights of three members;
(v) Lathi charge and tear gas on a public meeting in Bara Tuti.

From 13th May, 1952, up to 18th December, 1954, about 89 motions for adjournment were moved.

Opposition did not use its sense of discretion while moving a motion for adjournment. Some motions for adjournment were disallowed by the Speaker because they pertained to States over which the Central Government had no say. Thus the principle of division of powers on which the whole structure of federalism is based was not properly understood in certain cases and a motion for adjournment was moved *e.g.*, lathi charge by police in Calcutta. Certain motions for adjournment related to trivial matters; for that the work of the whole House could not be suspended, *e.g.*, on 28th May, 1952, fast by Swami Sita Ram *re*. Andhra State. Now in a country with a population of over 350 million people, one sane or insane man goes to a fast for a right or wrong purpose. How can you adjourn the work of the whole House? There was also a great deal of duplication in the adjournment motions. Here is a concrete example of a divided opposition. One adjournment motion which was allowed was by Dr. Lanka Sundaram, on February 18th, 1954. All other adjournment motions up to that date were disallowed by the Speaker. There was a great grievance in the hearts of the opposition members against the Speaker on the issue of adjournment motions. As we shall see later on this was one of the grounds of censuring the Speaker in the motion of censure.

But, did they serve any purpose? Yes, by moving adjournment motions sufficient information was obtained from the Government. It could also bring to the notice of the general public, the blunders of the Government. Though adjournment motions were disallowed, it shows that opposition was very vigilant and it wanted to bring to the notice of the House and the Government any and every matter of public importance beginning from the fast of any man, firing, accidents, Sec. 144, etc.

Opposition and the Committees of the House

Every Legislative Assembly takes the help of a large number of Committees in the business of law-making. In a House of 499 members (as our House of the People is) it is very difficult that every member may get an opportunity to express his opinion on every bill. The real scrutiny of the bill takes place in the committee. As far as membership of these committees is concerned it is not the privilege of only the majority party to have all the members of the various committees of the House from its own party. Members of the Opposition are also duly represented in the committee of the House. There they play a very important role. In the committees the members can make greater contribution, and it is here that the barricades of party or group, which are put in open debates under the procedure, fall, and each member can go ahead with full steam, and even completely dominate the committee with special knowledge.

Thus in each and every committee of the House members of the Opposition had their representatives, *e.g.*, opposition had its representatives in the panel of chairman, *e.g.*, in 1952-

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53, Sri N. C. Chatterjee, Srimati Renu Chakravarty, etc., were there. Renu Chakravarty was also found in the committee on petitions of 1952-53, on committee of privileges. Sri A. K. Gopalan, the late Dr. S. P. Mukherjee, Sucheta Kripalani, etc., were representing Opposition.

The following case will be interesting to note. A point of privilege was raised by Sri A. K. Gopalan on 23rd June, 1952. He wanted that certain papers laid on the table by Dr. S. Sinha should be referred to the Committee of Privileges. Gopalan himself was a member of the Privileges Committee. A member wanted to know whether A. K. Gopalan will take part in the discussions and also vote in the committee when the matter is discussed and the Speaker said all these questions shall be decided by the Privileges Committee itself.

The opposition members played an important role in the deliberations and discussions of the committee though this is an aspect of their role which is least publicised and is more or less completely hidden from the gaze of the public.

Time Facility to the Opposition in the House

Sufficient time was allotted to the opposition to take part in Parliamentary debates and discussions. There was the difficulty regarding the apportioning of time among the various groups, parties, and individuals of the Opposition Benches, in addition to ensuring that the party in power is allotted its due share. The result was that the debating time of each sitting which was four hours after the question hour, was divided *pro-rata* on the basis of the actual strength of the Congress party on the one hand, and the opposition parties, groups and individuals on the other hand. The following, for example, was the division of the debating time (excluding the question hour) as fixed on February 20th, 1953:

Parties and individuals	*Strength*	*Out of four hours daily*
Congress party	364	2 hrs. 24 mins.
Communist group	35	25 minutes
National Democrates	31	22 minutes
Independents (Tulsidas-'ed)	26	18 minutes
Praja-Socialists	23	16 minutes
Unattached Members	16	15 minutes

Since this allotment was made by the Speaker, there have been many changes in the composition of these groups of the opposition and the time was re-allotted.

The implication of this allotment of time is that there was reasonable facility regarding the time available each day for each of the organised parties, groups and individuals, and it was for the parties and groups to allot the time among its members. Time was also allotted on a block basis for each bill or resolution, with the result that recognised parties and groups knew in advance the total time available to them in a particular debate. It enables them to select their own speakers and notify their names to the chair for being called in the appropriate order to maintain a proper balance in debates. Thus opposition got ample time in the debates to express its opinion and ideas. There were occasions when leaders of the parties and groups consumed all the time available to their section in the House, and sometimes these leaders completely prevented any other member of their party or group from intervening. The late Dr. S. P. Mukherjee used to do this quite often and the latest example is that of Acharya Kripalani, who took nearly an hour and a half on the Preventive Detention Bill Debate (Autumn Session, 1953), with the result that he almost blocked every other speaker from his group.

Opposition and Question Hour

The most interesting and the most important hour in the House is the question hour. This, also, provides the best opportunity to the members of the opposition to perform their duty of a critic. They put many questions, either to the individual Ministers or to the Cabinet as a collective body, regarding various departmental matters or national problems. A Minister has to be very alert while answering various questions. Government may give oral answers to the questions or written answers to the questions put by the opposition. The opposition could get much information by these questions and supplementary questions. In the answers to the questions, Government gave many assurances and they were later on placed on the table.

"The essence of democracy is the answerability of Ministers to Parliament. It is the privilege of members to ask questions

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demand information otherwise on matters of public importance. Some of the questions cannot be answered fully even at reasonable notice. Some of the information demanded cannot be furnished immediately. On such occasions, Ministers have naturally to promise the House to furnish information in due course. Responsible government implies that Ministers' promises should be fulfilled."

On May 5, 1954, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. S. N. Sinha, said: "I beg to lay on the table the following statements showing the action taken by the Government on various assurances, promises and undertakings given by Ministers during the various sessions as shown against each:

1. Consolidated statement, sixth session, 1954, of the House of People.
2. Supplementary statement No. V, fifth session, 1953, of the House of People.
3. Supplementary statement, No. X, fourth session, 1953, of the House of People.
4. Supplementary statement, No. XV, third session, 1953, of the House of People.
5. Supplementary statement, No. XV, second session, 1952.
6. Supplementary statement, No. XVI, first session, 1952.
7. Supplementary statement, No. VII, fifth session, 1951, Prov. Parl.
8. Supplementary statement, No. XI, fourth session, 1951, Prov. Parl."

Opposition and Debates and Discussions on Bills

The Opposition participated in debates of the House and moved its amendments to various matters which were meant for discussion on the President's speech to the first Lok Sabha; the opposition moved about two hundred amendments, on ninety different subjects. In the end, 27 amendments remained, opposition withdrew 25 amendments, only two were left for voting. One amendment was put to vote and was lost. The other was withdrawn. Thus the motion of thanks was passed. Thus the opposition could not succeed where voting took place because it was numerically weak as every Parliamentary opposition is. So we cannot measure the success of the opposition in this way. We can measure its success in a qualitative way. Whether it was able to change or influence any plan or policy of the Government? Whether any amendment against the Government bill was accepted by the Government? Could the opposition take any promises from the Government for any future question?

Yes, in these fields the Opposition was successful up to some extent. All the cut motions moved by the opposition members against the Railway Budget of 1952 were defeated. But it does not mean that the defeat of the cut motions was the total annihilation of the opposition. Many informative points were put forward by the opposition which influenced the policies of the Government. The Hon'ble Lal Bahadur Shastri said:

> "About ten cut motions have been moved by various members of the House. I shall deal with the subject-matter of those cut motions which have been discussed on the floor of this House. I need not assure the other members of this House that the suggestions made by them either from this side or that side will be looked into, and I propose to ask the Railway Board to take special care in sifting the various suggestions made here and put up a note to me as to how and when the suggestions made would be translated into action."—*Railway Budget*, 1952.

Sri C. D. Deshmukh said on Indian Companies Amendment Bills (July 17, 1952):

> "I have made a note, I may say of the various observations, which have been on the whole very helpful, and we shall certainly bear them in mind, particularly the point about location, I am sorry to say, and that point is very much in our mind that the location should be diversified."

In Indian Companies Amendments Act, Sri C. D. Deshmukh himself accepted an amendment moved by Sri N. C. Chatterji. In Delimitation Commission Bill, 1952 an amendment was accepted by the Hon. Minister himself. The resolution regarding President's Proclamation on P.E.P.S.U., 1953, was passed as amended. Many Government bills were passed as amended in which the Government itself accepted the amendments.

Sometimes the opposition members carried

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the House and even the Government with themselves. Though such occasions were very rare. The most famous example is that relating to the motion first debated in May, 1953, on the suggested association of members of the Rajya Sabha with the Public Accounts Committee of the House of the People. The Congress party had decided upon this course. The Prime Minister as leader of the House, had submitted in his name the appropriate motion. He also spoke on it. A three-line whip of the Congress party was issued. Dr. Lanka Sundaram opened the debate from the opposition side. Even before he had concluded his speech, there were hurried consultations between the Prime Minister on the Front Treasury Bench and the Government agreed to the postponement of a decision on the motion till the next session—it was a great success for the opposition when moneys were voted for various departments, the whole departments' activities are scrutinised and the opposition gets ample opportunity.

Opposition and the Preventive Detention

When Preventive Detention (Second Amendmentt) Bill was moved in 1952, and Preventive Detention Bill debate took place (Autumn Session) 1953, the members of the opposition were very much excited and they very vehemently opposed the bill. They were fearing that it might be used against them. Dr. K. N. Katju replied from the Government side:

> "This Preventive Detention measure is directed against persons, not parties who may be interested in causing harm to our Defence, to the conduct of the External Affairs and to the security of India."

He again said pointing out towards the opposition parties:

> "If we talk of democracy, if we talk of the horrors of detention without trial and the ultimate right of every individual to go and defend himself, the condition precedent is that there must be obedience to law. If you defy the law and say 'I am going underground. I will not leave my address. I will run away to Vienna'—we are all accepting democratic principles, we talk very glibly about totalitarian tendencies and authoritarian rule and the Congress being bent to crush the liberties of the people. But, if they had done it in the slightest manner you would not have been here and the speeches that you are delivering would not have been heard."

So the opposition members feared that they may be harassed by the Executive officials. They feared that the Preventive Detention may be used against them. No doubt, assurances of the Government were there, no doubt, opposition was not crushed with the help of this weapon, but what is the guarantee that in the future Preventive Detention will not be used against the opposition parties? The majority party with the wine of victory in its head, may crush all the opposition with the help of Preventive Detention where there is no *Habeas Corpus*.

> "A man can never go to his bed without fearing a knock on his door in the middle of the night, the sudden irruption of guards or police, his being dragged from his bed and hauled away for trial before a biased court for a crime known to no existing code of law, then being consigned after the mockery of a trial to prison or concentration camp, whence all too often, the next and last that is heard of him as a summons to his wife bidding her attend to receive the unrecognisable remains of his body, or to carry away a box or casket containing what are alleged to be his ashes."
> —A. B. Lal: *The Indian Parliament.*

Opposition and the Walk-outs

The method of a walk-out was adopted by the members of the opposition as a protest against the rulings of the Speaker. Opposition members characterized it as perfectly democratic. Others defined it as perfectly undignified and unparliamentary. This practice was also followed by the Congress during the rule of the Britishers. The past action of the Congress can be justified on the ground that they wanted to break the machinery of the administration. They were fighting against the foreign rulers and then it could be said that everything is fair in love and war. But now the conditions are fundamentally changed. Members of the republican Parliament should not copy the devices of the members of the slave-day's Parliament. The Speaker very rightly

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observed that the members should say, "I protest against your ruling, could you reconsider your ruling?" Thus it is below the dignity of the members of Parliament to adopt such methods while other very dignified remedies are available.

Opposition and the Vote of Censure Against the Speaker

On 18th December, 1954, the Opposition moved a resolution regarding the removal of the Speaker. The resolution read as follows:

"That this House, having taken into consideration the conduct of the Speaker of the House as regards giving his consent to adjournment motions, disallowing questions, etc., feels that he has ceased to maintain an impartial attitude necessary to command the confidence of all sections of the House.

"That in his partisan atttude he disregards the rights of members of the House and makes pronouncements and gives rulings calculated to affect and undermine such rights, that he openly espouses the version of the official spokesmen on all controversial matters as against information by other members of Parliament.

"That all these constitute a serious danger to the proper functioning of the House and ventilating effectively the felt grievances of the people . . ."

Why the *bonafides* of the Speaker were doubted? Firstly, because he was elected by the help of the majority party without the consultation of the minority parties. Minority parties, whenever the Speaker gave any ruling against them, psychologically felt that the Speaker was taking revenge and also he was acting as a spokesman of the majority party with whose support he was elected. Thus the responsibility for this vote of censure also lies on the shoulders of the members of the majority party, who under the intoxicating influence of power had disregarded the opposition at the time of the election of the Speaker.

Secondly, the late Speaker was himself responsible for it. He, just after his election, remarked, "I do not cease to be a Congressman." No doubt, he acted impartially, but how could you convince the members of the opposition who knew that he was a party man and continues to be so.

Leaving aside these reasons, one can only feel sorry for the hasty action on the part of the members of the opposition and Pandit Nehru very rightly observed:

"It is one thing not to like a ruling or to disagree with it or even to feel, if I may say so, slightly irritated about something that has happened. But it is completely a different thing to challenge the *bonafides* of the very person in whose keeping is the honour of this House; when we challenge his *bonafides* we betray before our countrymen and, indeed, before the world that we are little men and that is the seriousness of the situation. It is for you to decide because we are displaying to the world and to our country that we are little quarrelsome men who indulge in frivolity, who indulge in accusation without thinking what the consequences of it might be."

Though the motion was negatived, it has left a far-reaching effect. Posterity shall laugh at the wisdom of their forefathers who indulged in such undignified and irresponsible things.

Opinion of Certain Opposition Members

Sri N. C. Chatterji observes:

"The most distressing symptom in the working of the Indian Parliament, specially after the lamentable death of Dr. S. P. Mukherji, who was undoubtedly the ablest Parliamentarian in the House, is that the opposition is weak and somewhat ineffective. It is the result of the co-existence of too many parties or groups. Possibly it is the inevitable consequence of the emergence of a new democratic set-up in the country."

He further says that

"There have been Parliamentarians of eminence, both on the Treasury Bench and also on the Opposition Benches, who have maintained a high tone of debate, and very often the level of Parliamentary eloquence has been quite high. Yet there is a certain amount of unreality as the Government has a 'Sledge-hammer' majority behind it and seldom condescends to treat political opponents seriously, on the other hand, multiplicity of groups in the opposition tends to develop individualism and makes corporate expression of political opposition difficult or unreal. A monolithic party in office with practical monopoly of political power tends to

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become a clog on democracy and may develop totalitarianism which eliminates effective opposition and means the setting up of an authoritarian Government with unbridled power and resources, influence, mass opinion and behaviours."

The Communist party's attitude towards Parliament is best described by Prof. H. N. Mukherji, a Communist M.P. He says:

"My mind goes back, as I write, to May, 1952, when we, of the Communist party, entered Parliament as the leading group in the opposition. I am not sure what exactly was Government's expectation of us and our conduct in the two Houses. May be, there were some who feared that brickbats thrown from our benches would not always be wordy. Even they must have soon discovered, however, that we meant business and were not interested in stunts. Everyone knows that we do not make a fetish of Parliament and its often outmodeed forms. As I said once in the House, when the coals of anger glow in the hearts of our people at some act of omission or commission on the part of authority, we do not, for we cannot measure our steps sedately as some would wish, even within the four walls of Parliament. But we are, if anything, a serious-minded political party. We went in there just because we knew we had there a job of work to do, and we set about learning how to do it as effectively as we could in the circumstances that prevailed."

A. K. Gopalan, while describing Communist party's attitude towards Government, observes:

"In India, the recent developments in national and international arena have strengthened a new powerful democratic trend which demands fundamental changes in the existing social and economic relations. If the ruling party takes this trend into consideration and brings in legislative measures to expedite these changes, the democratic opposition led by the Communist groups supports those measures. But, on the contrary, if the ruling party tries to suppress the rising progressive trends and bring in legislative measures like the amendments to criminal procedure code, etc, the democratic opposition pools all its strength to put up an effective opposition to such measure. Hence, there is opposition for opposition's sake, and the attitude of the opposition to any particular measure of the Government is decided by the effect of that particular measure on the vested interests of the common man."—*The Indian Parliament.*

Critical Estimate of the Role of Opposition

Parliamentary democracy is Government through debate, the opposition demolishing the battlements of Government, and compelling it to change its policies on many occasions. The opposition should not let anything go unchallenged which it considers challengeable. The opposition in the House of the People was vigilant, active and alert. The lynx-eyed opposition always sat suspiciously and the Government was always compelled to show that it was governing openly and honestly and that it was meeting the criticism not by secret police or concentration camps but by rational arguments. We have seen above that on a few occasions Government acceded to the demands of the opposition. But if a balance-sheet is prepared regarding the influence which the opposition exercised on the policies of the Government, it can be said very safely that losses were great and gains very little.

There were certain reasons for this phenomenon:

Government had a rock-like majority behind it and its leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had an unchallengeable authority. Thus with absolute majority and popular leadership provided little scope for the opposition to exercise any great influence on the policies of the Government. If the opposition provides an alternative Government, the Government party is more considerate towards the opposition. In Lok Sabha, the problem of alternative Government did not arise, naturally the Government party was not accommodating as it should have been.

The opposition itself was divided and weak. It was not one opposition, but many opposition consisting of many groups and independent individuals. These groups and individuals had different policies and programmes. They could not form a united opposition. How can the divided groups and stray individuals op-

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effectively a majority of 364 members. The late Mavlankar rightly said at the Speakers' conference at Gwalior in 1953:

"The difficulty is that one should reckon with the vagaries of the mammoth official party, which has a three to one majority in the House, while the opposition is a heap of contradictory and conflicting elements."

One important factor, which has prevented the growth of an effective opposition in India is the undue stress laid on personalities in politics. Policies of parties do not influence the electorate, it is the particular person and his personality. Witness the results of elections from the South-East Calcutta constituency. From this constituency at the general elections Dr. S. P. Mukherjee, an outstanding Jan Sangh leader, had been elected with a majority of over 20,000 votes. But after his death in the by-election in November, 1953, Jan Sangh candidate got a little more than 5,000 votes and Mr. Bachan Gupta, a popular Communist, got a majority of over 20,000 votes.

Opposition members are frustrated and disappointed because they could not get any great encouragement from the majority party. But there is no question of frustration. The example of the Labour party of England should be before them. After a struggle of decades, Labour came as the single party in opposition and then afterwards she formed the Government. The opposition should fight against the majority party with clear-cut policies and programmes. The public should be convinced about the policies of the opposition parties and then success is theirs. An alliance of many opposition parties, simply to oppose the Congress is not going to bear great fruits. It should be the battle of policies and ideologies and not of opportunism. The Labour party had patience and succeeded. Opposition parties in India should also work patiently, but energetically and actively the voter should be approached with a constructive programme. Success lies with him who makes efforts.

Earnest Barker, in his book *Essays on Government* points out that Englishmen, indeed, have some peculiar qualities and naturally some peculiar defects, which make it easy for them to work a Parliamentary system.

"They have generally the quality of being tolerant, they have generally the defect of being empirical and illogical, and both the quality and the defect enable them to work a system of Parliamentary debate and deliberation, which demands the gift of tolerance for your opponents, and requires the empiric habit of plodding along with makeshifts and compromises."

The problem of human government is a problem never solved. There is no *nirvana*, no paradise of absorption in the nursing arms of perfection as long as man retains the dignity of man. So there is a great necessity for various parties to work in a Parliamentary system, one ruling and the other reminding and criticising that here you are wrong, here you are mistaken, mend yourself, otherwise in the next election you shall be no more on the Treasury Benches. The lessons learnt from the English system should be a future guide for us and the greatest lesson which we learn from the English system is that the majority party should show tolerance towards minority and the minority party should work with the spirit of patience. Indian political parties should also try to follow these principles for the success of Parliamentary democracy in India, otherwise the future shall be like that of the post-war Germany and Italy. Some Mussolini or Hitler will occupy the Rashtrapati Bhawan and more than 350 million people, who are just free from the bonds of foreign rule, will be in the worst kind of slavery. As a matter of fact, the ugly child of Fascism, to grow up into the bloody monster of today, was conceived in the womb of Parliamentary democracy, and the lack of proper opposition was one of the contributory causes which helped in the growth of Fascism.

The Books Consulted

1. W. I. Jennings: *Cabinet Government.*
2. W. I. Jennings: *The British Constitution.*
3. *Debates of the House of the People,* 1952-56.
4. A. B. Lal: *The Indian Parliament.*
5. Harold J. Laski: *Parliamentary Government in England.*
6. Herman Finer: *Theory and Practice of Modern Governments.*
7. Earnest Barker: *Essays on Government.*

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SANSKRIT EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL AND ITS FUTURE IN INDIA

Historical Retrospect

By J. LAHIRI, M.A., B.T., DIP. ED (LOND), TEACHERS CERT (CANTAB), W.B.S.E.S. (Rtd)

MANY of our present-day problems of Sanskrit Education have their roots deep in the past and, as such, cannot be understood without a reference to the historical forces which have brought them into being. I, therefore, make no apology for placing before you first the landmarks in the evolution of the present lay-out of our educational system in which we have here in West Bengal the unique phenomenon of indigenous Sanskrit Tols, carrying on somehow their somewhat shrivelled existence side by side with the High schools and institutions of higher learning in the Colleges and the Universities under the State system as against the practice in all Western countries where classical education is an integral part of University education and has no existence outside the Universities.

The first landmark in the educational lay-out of the country is the establishment of the Calcutta Madrassah by Warren Hastings in 1781 and of the Sanskrit College at Banaras (then included in the Presidency of Fort William) by Jonathan Duncan a few years later, maintained by the State out of an annual grant of Rs. 30,000, partly to win over the elite of the newly-conquered people of Bengal, through appreciation of their culture and partly to obtain supplies of competent Indian scholars to assist the European judges.

The second landmark is the apportionment of a lakh of rupees by the East India Company for the revival and improvement of literature in 1813, followed by the establishment of the Calcutta Sanskrit College in 1824 for the preservation and cultivation of the literature, laws and religion of the Hindus. While these interesting developments were taking place, the demand for English teaching became more and more insistent—a demand made vocal first by the writings and speeches of Raja Rammohun Roy and, latterly, by Macaulay's Minute of 1835 which was ultimately instrumental in setting up High English Schools throughout the country. Bengal had already taken to English education earlier than most of the other Indian provinces with the starting of the Hindu College by some prominent Calcutta citizens in 1817, *i.e.*, 18 years before Macaulay set at rest the controversy between Anglicists and Orientalists. It is significant that notwithstanding its name the 'Hindu College' totally excluded all oriental learning from its scope and brushed aside everything that was distinctive in our ancient culture and tradition through Sanskrit learning. When subsequent Government Resolution of 1[illegible] declared English education in terms of "bread and butter" by directing for the first time that for public employment in every case preference would be given to those who had been educated on English lines, the victory of the new education was all but complete, although the two institutions on oriental lines, *viz.*, the Calcutta Madrassah and the Sanskrit College were just suffered to exist in order to cater for people who had "hopeles tastes" and "to encourage certain antiquarian and philosophical pursuits." Young Bengal was, then, carried away by the ferment of new ideas and, as such, could hardly be expected to have attained that balance of mind that judgment and discrimination which a liberal education should bestow and in the onrush of new ideas they had no time to pause and look back and justly appraise the claims of Sanskrit learning which contained our priceless cultural heritage.

It was not till the end of the last century that this mistake was detected and a reaction set in, which synchronised both with the awakening of our political self-consciousness and the reorientation of our educational policy which demanded, among other things, the adequate study of the national language and literature and in particular, of classical Sanskrit as the Western system had been "barren of results and had failed to fertilise the intellectual life of the people of the country," the reason being that those who were charged with its direction and control had ignored India's racial psychology, history, literature, philosophy, art and religion. Sporadic attempts were, then, made to strike out new pathways and experiments in "national education" which could not possibly dissociate itself from our priceless heritage, our civilisation and culture evolved through the ages. But it was not till the dawn of independence that no new and organised plans could be made in the altered condition of the country for rectifying the grave mistake made by British rulers in their educational

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policy. It will not be extravagant to say that Sanskrit studies furnish to the educated youth of the nation the key to a deeper understanding of our culture—our traditions—of our way of life—of our thought structure and, as such, they should be assigned a well-recognised place in the fabric of our educational system.

History of Sanskrit Association

It will be pertinent at this stage to enquire into the conditions which led to the establishment of the Bengal Sanskrit Association. In 1818 the first Title classes to serve as models for non-Government Tols to follow, were instituted. In 1819 Government ordered a survey of "Tols" and decided to provide for increased Government grant to these institutions, the number of which had appreciably dwindled as a direct result of the great impetus that English education received from the Hardinge Resolution of 1844 and the great educational Despatch of the following year. In 1878 the Title examination was first introduced by Government in order to bring about some uniformity in the practice of conferring titles on Sanskrit students. In 1897 all the "Tol" examinations were centralised under the control of the Principal, Sanskrit College, who was called the Registrar of Sanskrit Examination. In 1908 a Board of Sanskrit Examination was formed with 11 members with the Principal, Sanskrit College, as its ex-officio Secretary. This Board is the first predecessor of the Calcutta Sanskrit Association consisting of a deliberative body, i.e., a Convocation with 500 members and an Executive Council of 20 members formed to advise Government generally on all matters connected with Sanskrit learning, and in particular, the conduct of examinations and the award of titles. But this Convocation could never meet under the stress of the war and consequential financial stringency of Government, the Executive Council alone conducting the examinations of the Association. In 1923 Government appointed a Committee to make enquiries and recommendations regarding the working of the Association and the system of aided Tols. Pursuant to the recommendations of this Enquiry Committee, the Calcutta Sanskrit Association which had never been fully operative, was replaced in 1933 by the Bengal Sanskrit Association with a central organisation of 99 members in place of the Convocation and the Executive Council of 10 members, besides the President and the Secretary. The Committee of 1938 was formed to make recommendations regarding the constitution, working and other matters relating to the Bengal Sanskrit Association. The recommendations of this Committee have not been given effect to as yet. In March 1948, a Committee of 13 members was constituted to enquire into and report on how far effect might be given to the recommendations to the two Committees of 1923-26 and of 1938 and what further steps might be taken to develop the Sanskrit College and improve and organise Sanskrit Education as carried on in the Tols in West Bengal.

Present set-up of Sanskrit Association

The Committee of 1948 recommended that the Bengal Sanskrit Association should be a distinct and separate body working independently of the Sanskrit College with separate officers and staff of its own and the Principal of Sanskrit College should not be its ex-officio Secretary. In pursuance of the recommendations of the Sanskrit Education Committee, the Bengal Sanskrit Association renamed as "Bangiya Sanskrita Shiksha Parishat" is functioning as a general or deliberative body corresponding to the Senate of the Calcutta University with an Executive Council or "Karma Sabha" corresponding to the Syndicate, constituted in such a way that it may ultimately be converted into a full-fledged Sanskrit University in the not very distant future. Government also agreed that the "Parishat" should have a whole-time Secretary whose duties and status would be analogous to that of a University Registrar. The general body or the "Samiti" has now a total of 30 members. The Executive body or the "Karma Sabha" consists of the President, Secretary and 8 members of whom 3 are nominated by Government from among reputed Sanskrit scholars or benefactors of Sanskrit learning and the remaining 5 members are elected by the Samiti annually every year, the members holding office for one year only. The main function of the Executive Committee is the conduct of examinations, distribution of grants to Tols, stipends and scholarships to students, construction of curriculum, selection of text-books by Boards of Studies and the grant of affiliation to Tols on the basis of recommendations made by the Inspector of Tols. It is interesting to note how the Bengal Sanskrit Association which was formerly only an examining body and the general adviser of Government in all matters

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connected with indigenous Sanskrit learning, has now been developed as an autonomous and statutory body with powers of affiliation, inspection, direction and control of *Tols* and by recent Government order with full control over its income and expenditure and with power to make its own rules and regulations within the framework of it's constitution.

TOLS IN THE NEW SET-UP—THE ASHRAMA IDEAL AND WHAT IT SIGNIFIES

One of the important terms of reference of the Committee appointed by the Government of West Bengal in the Ministry of Education in March 1948 was the improvement and organization of Sanskrit Education as carried on in the Tols of the State. One might ask: why did Government seek to reform Tol education and retain it side by side with University teaching which has arrangements for higher Sanskrit education and research in its B.A., M.A. and Ph.D degrees, instead of integrating and strengthening the latter as is the practice in all free Western countries where classical education is an integral part of University education? The reason is this: Tols are time-honoured institutions or *academies of Sanskrit learning and constitute an important and distinctinctive feature of ancient Indian education dating back to the time of the Vedic period* and has a value and importance of its own in our cultural life, the loss of which it would not be possible to replace by pure University education. These are for the most part private academies where Sanskrit learning was cultivated by teachers of renown acquiring celebrity in particular branches of study, whose reputation and scholarship determined the number of students who flocked to a particular Tol or academy and who actually lived with their teachers. They have preserved a worthwhile ideal in the proper relationship between the disciple and his teacher instead of fostering what may be called "an *unarmed belligerency between the bench and the chair*" which is becoming all too frequently an unhappy feature of our Collegiate and University education today. They preserve what may be called the *Ashrama ideal* or the *forest home school* where teachers and pupils lived together in communities in the spirit of common service to the cause of education and understanding—where the pupil's life with his Guru was completely dominated by his attitude of reverence, renunciation and humility—where the pupils learnt some of the deepest lessons of life in a harmonious environment in a spirit of reverent dedication under the guiding inspiration of their Guru, where the programme of work provided for the integrated and balanced development of the growing personality of the disciples through all activities—physical, mental, moral and spiritual and where the imparting of knowledge was of the nature of a sanctification. As Maxmuller and other Indologists have said, the Ashrama ideal summarises the educational thought of India, seeking, as it does, the ultimate union of the individual with the Eternal, through self-expression and activity, through harmonious co-operation with Nature and by looking on education as in every sense "complete living." It was not the gorgeous buildings, furniture, laboratories and accessories that made the ideal Ashrama—it was something far more real, far more spiritual, far more enduring—and that thing was the conscious growth of the pupil in perfect freedom and spontaneity towards self-realisation. Education in the Ashrama was thus a unifying factor, for the rich as well as the poor lived together with their Guru,—who was the living example of a dedicated life—as comrades serving their teacher and begging food for themselves as well as for their teachers. It was quite democratic, therefore, in that it recognised the inherent worth of the individual, the dignity and value of human life—it recognised that the true educator must understand the psychological make-up—the *swabhaba* of the pupil and adapt his individual method to the mind of the pupil. Education, according to the Ashrama ideal, was then not merely a means of earning a living but also an initiation into the life of spirit, a training of human souls in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue—*a second birth, as it were.*

Considering the background and traditions of Tol education, the Sanskrit education Committee decided to revive, reorganise and reorientate it, instead of placing the entire charge of Sanskrit education at the hands of the University. The Committee recognised that Tol education had deteriorated in modern times owing mainly to economic causes, as with the abnormally high cost of living it was becoming hardly possible for the Pandits to continue to give free board and lodging to large numbers of students. Zemindars and benevolent people who used to help

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Tols with endowments, grants of lands, no longer came forward to keep them going and, as such, it now became difficult for the Pandits to maintain themselves in the open struggle for existence. The stereotyped method of learining also badly needed a change in view of the pressing demands for scientific and technical education in modern times and so also its curricula in which there was the great need for introducing modern subjects of general education, a modern outlook so as to instil a spirit of research, and to coordinate Tol education with higher humanistic research at the University stage.

Pursuant to the recommendations of the Sanskrit Education Committee Government have expanded the Tol department of the Sanskrit College by appointing additional teachers to teach Kavya, Mimansa, Sankhya, Yoga and Jyotish and have created a Post-graduate department which has been thrown open to graduates as well as to Tol students obtaining the *Tirtha* title. In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee Government have created four professorships in the W.B.S.E.S. for the Post-graduate department, each having a Research Assistant and honorary research workers under him.

The Importance of Research in Sanskrit

Research is usually associated with natural sciences but it should be readily conceded that if we develop a community with a large amount of material knowledge, power and energy without the sobering and controlling influences of the humanities, that community is sure to be in a perilous condition in this atomic age for lack of that enlarged knowledge, philosophical thinking and refinement of sympathies for complete living which we owe to the humanities. It is only by a combination, coordination and integration of the results of research in natural sciences as well as in humanities that a rue conception of civilisation can survive the disaster that threatens the world today. The humanities have another advantage in that there is no need here of expensive laboratories and those engaged in research can have comparatively greater leisure than in natural sciences. India has been the home of many systems of philosophical school of thought and there is a virgin field for research in humanities, especially in Sanskritic studies. Hundreds of thousands of manuscripts are lying scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land. These have to be collected and kept properly as in the Baroda Oriental Institute Library, the Royal Asiatic Society, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and the Deccan College Research Institute etc., so that research workers can carry on extensive research work. Our present fundamental problem at the moment seems to me to adapt our ancient lore to the exigencies of the new era that has opened up in the country and this may well be a subject for research.

Tols—Government and Aided

The Committee recommended the establishment of 14 properly equipped and adequately staffed Government Tols in the districts. Government have already established two new Government Tols at Nabadwip and Contai, where there was a good tradition of Sanskrit education and where sufficient materials for Sanskrit learning were already obtainable. The next Government Tol is now proposed to be set up either at Labhpur in Birbhum or Cooch Behar or Jalpaiguri. In establishing these Government Tols Government have in view the immediate objective of raising the level of Tol education, of modernising their curricula so as to develop and instil into the minds of teachers a broad and liberal outlook. Each Government Tol is to have a minimum of 9 teachers, *e.g.*, 2 teachers for Vyakarana, two for Kavya, one each for Nyaya, Smriti, Vedanta together with Mimansa, Sankhya, and Yoga and one for modern subjects such as Mathematics, Geography and History besides one for History of Sanskrit Literature and optional English, these latter subjects being taught by trained graduates.

In the pre-partition period Tols used to be given grants-in-aid varying from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per month, except for private Sanskrit Calleges. Directly after partition there were some 652 Tols in West Bengal with 10,986 pupils. The total expenditure was Rs. 3,52,670 to which Government, the District Boards and Municipalities contributed Rs. 1,18,374, Rs. 16,886 and Rs. 26,397 respectively and Rs. 1,91,013 was received from other sources. The number of centres for the Association's examinations rose from 66 in 1943 to 73 in 1947 but the number of candidates which was 5,617 in 1943 dropped to 4.559 in 1947 due mainly to the unsettled political condition of the country—communal disturbances in which students of the Nistarini Hostel of the Tol Department of the Sanskrit

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College were butchered to a man by a Moslem mob and the general economic condition of the country.

When the Sanskrit Education Committee undertook to investigate the condition of the Tols and their decadence, they found that the number of Tols carrying on efficient teaching work would not probably exceed 200. The Committee recommended two different rates of increased grant-in-aid to these 200 Tols which would be found efficient on proper inspection by the Inspector of Tols, *viz.*, Rs. 50 provided that the number of resident students reading in each Tol was not less than 3 and Rs. 75 to Tols having a larger number of resident students receiving instructions in more than one subject from more than one distinguished Pandit. Government also contemplate that funds permitting the number of Tols receiving grants will be progressively raised at the rate of 10 smaller Tols and 2 larger Tols annually till 140 smaller Tols and 30 larger Tols are in receipt of grants, it being laid down that no Tol will be entitled to a grant unless the head of the Tol is competent to teach up to the Tirtha standard and students came out successful in the Upadhi examination in at least three out of the 5 years preceding the year of distribution of grant.

As regards stipends, Government, after considering the recommendations of the Committee about the grant of stipends to poor and deserving students reading in Government Tols, have decided that for the present 10 stipends of Rs. 20 p.m. each should be awarded to Tol students in Calcutta and 10 stipends of Rs. 20 p.m. each to students residing in Government Tols outside Calcutta. As regards scholarships Government agree that 10 scholarship of Rs. 10 p.m. each on the results of the Praveshika and 10 scholarships of Rs. 15 p.m. each on the resuts of the Madhya examination should be awarded annually. Each scholarship would be tenable for a period of 3 years on the usual conditions of good conduct, regularity and satisfactory progress in studies.

Government have accepted the syllabuses and courses of studies for the various stages of Sanskrit education as proposed by the Sanskrit Education Committee, which are calculated not only to widen the mental horizon of Tol students but also to raise their standards. It will thus be seen that although many recommendations have so long been made by various Committees appointed by Government from time to time ever since 1923, hardly any step worth mentioning could be taken before partition for the development of Sanskritic studies in the State. It redounds to the great credit of the present Government to have implemented so many recommendations of these Committees. It is now hoped that a new era of development of Sanskrit learning will now commence and the very best hopes of Cultural renaissance will be realised in the not very distant future by the establishment of a Sanskrit University with a network of institutions affiliated to the Bengal Sanskrit Association (already there are 33 such affiliated institutions outside West Bengal) spread throughout the length and breadth of India.

The Scheme of Research in Sanskrit and its Future Possibilities

The Scheme

The Department of Postgraduate Training and Research at Sanskrit College, Calcutta, owes its origin to the recommendation, substantially accepted by Government, of the Sanskrit Education Committee of 1948, presided over by the late Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherji. The Committee was of opinion that if Sanskrit education in Bengal is to be liberalised and made really fruitful, provision should be made for such a Department at the Sanskrit College. The scheme of training and research, as outlined by this Committee, was considered and formulated in detail by a Sub-Committee appointed by Government in 1950; and on the lines of these recommendations the Department was formally opened by H.E. the Governor of West Bengal on March 1, 1951.

The proposed object of this Department is:

(1) To formulate systematic and co-ordinated schemes of research in Sanskrit, all work being based upon a direct and intensive study of original texts;

(2) to train prospective research workers and scholars in the Department in modern methods of research;

(3) to guide research scholars of the Depaftment for the preparation, if they wish, of theses for doctorate degrees of the University, or the Acharya title of the Vangiya Samskrita Siksha Parisad;

(4) to publish independent pieces of research work accomplished by scholars and professors of the Department;

(5) to prepare for publication critical

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Nana Sahib

Bahadur Shah

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editions, translations or intensive critical studies of important or unpublished Sanskrit texts;

(6) to co-operate, if necessary, with other recognised research institutions in any planned research work of all-India importance.

To realise these objects Government decided, in accordance with the recommendations of the above Committee, to create four Professorships in diffedent subjects which have importance for West Bengal or for which enough facilities exist. Each Professor will have under him one stipendiary and some honorary research scholars. Two Professorships, respectively in Sanskrit Language and Literature and Indian Philosophy, have already been filled up; and selection will be shortly made of stipendiary and honorary research scholars. An Expert Committee has been formed to consider all academic questions relating to scheme and conduct of research, selection of research scholars, library, publication and other research requirements of the Department.

Its Requirements

For the proper functioning of the Department and for making it a really useful institution, it is urgently necessary that the following matters should receive adequate consideration:—

(1) The two remaining Professorships respectively in Vedic Language and Literature and in Smriti and Purana should now be filled up;

(2) Adequate provision should be made to develop the library and bring it up to date. The Library had all along been nothing more than a College library; it is hardly adequate for the large purpose of advanced research work. There should, for instance, be complete sets of standard oriental journals, standard reference books on oriental subjects, critical editions of texts and critical publications, in all of which the college collection is particularly poor. Lists have been prepared of such publications as are urgently necessary; but for this considerable initial grant will be required in addition to a recurring allowance.

(3) The small (about 5000) but valuable manuscript collection which had so long been a part of the general library, should now have a separate existence for its proper utilisation by the Research Department. Very little has been done, so far, to acquire fresh manuscripts, or take as good care of the existing manuscripts as they deserve. It should be recognised that original manuscripts are an indispensable aid to research work; and that they should be under the care of one who has special training and experience in dealing with manuscripts. The ordinary librarian, who has other duties, is hardly competent for this purpose. A specially trained Manuscript Assistant will be required if the collection is now to be properly utilised. Apart from fresh acquisition and preservation of already acquired manuscripts, it will be his duty to furnish information regarding particular manuscripts, to get careful transcripts or facsimiles prepared of decayed or rare manuscripts, to arrange for loan of manuscripts from other libraries when necessary, and to revise the existing descriptive catalogue which has outlived its usefulness. Applications are often received, and will be received more abundantly hereafter, for loan of manuscripts from our collection; but since loan is not always possible and since some of the old manuscripts require careful handling, transcripts have to be supplied. As this is a laborious and not always a satisfactory process, it is suggested that a photostat or rotograph machine should be acquired as soon as the Department develops further.

(4) The inter-collegiate arrangement of studies with the Presidency College has, no doubt, released some rooms, but the accommodation available for the Debartment is not fully adequate. The library, for instance, is now accommodated in rooms which lack proper space, light and ventilation. Small cubicles have now been assigned to Professors by partitioning one or two rooms, but this is hardly a satisfactory arrangement.

(5) As soon as the Department is ready, provision should be made for periodical publication of its output of research work, either in the shape of Bulletins or as independent volumes.

Its Future Possibilities

As the object of the Department is to provide facilities for Postgraduate Training and Research, any research scheme, to be effective and fruitful, must be a fairly long-term one, involving a considerable amount of expenditure. It is well known that oriental research in this country has had to proceed against heavy odds,

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but there is as yet no central organisation for encouraging or co-ordinating research, or for offering necessary assistance to earnest workers. There is also not much provision, as there is in Europe and America, for proper training in methods of research, without which all work, however well-meant, would be haphazard or unsubstantial. We must not also forget that the career of research is a slow, and sometimes a costly, affair. It takes long years of patience and persistence for a piece of work to mature; and sufficient funds should be made available for books, manuscripts and other requirements. The development of the Research Department, therefore, would depend upon carefully planned and properly financed research, and not merely on sporadic and isolated attempts of individual scholars.

The Sanskrit Education committee of 1948 expressed the opinion that "this Department should be constituted on modern lines, as for instance on the lines of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute or the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, both of which provide excellent examples of modern oriental research work." If the Department constituted on these lines proves successful, as we expect it to be, it is bound to develop further as a unique institution of its kind in Bengal, so that it would become the nucleus of a full-fledged Research Institute for Sanskrit studies. This should be our ultimate objective. Other States have their Research Institutes; it is hoped that in course of time West Bengal would have one fully developed from this small beginning.

It is scarcely necessary to say that in every branch of Sanskrit learning there is yet scope for much work and improvement. The field for research is indeed so vast, and the material which is actually brought to light and which is still lying undiscovered in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, in Indian Philosophy and Religion, in Indian Art and Culture, in ancient socical life and institutions, is so immense that only a fringe of the whole has been touched so far. A Research Department or Institute for oriental learning, therefore, has immense work before it and immense possibilities of development in various directions.

In this connexion attention should be drawn to an important point. The Department will train and give guidance to research workers and would itself undertake research work through its professors and scholars. This is very important work, no doubt, but this should not be enough. There are numerous problems which can be tackled by such single-handed attempts of individual scholars, but there is also a large number of subjects or schemes which await organised co-operative effort.

In order that our Post-graduate and Research Department gains in usefulness, prestige and stability, it is necessary that it should undertake, in course of time works and schemes of much larger and wider interest and importance. A complete Dictionary, for instance, of Sanskrit on historical and critical principles, on the lines of the great Oxford English Dictionary (the completion of which took 45 years and a large body of workers), is an urgent necessity. The work has been undertaken by the Deccan College Research Institute, but it also depends on the ready co-opration of other research bodies and individual scholars in the different branches of study. In this matter, our Research Department can be of assistance. But more than that. Critical editions of the *Ramayana* on the lines of the Poona edition of the *Mahabharata*, of the principal *Puranas*, of important philosophical works, of many classical dramas and poems including those of Kalidasa, as well as comprehensive critical studies and surveys have yet to be undertaken. All this cannot be fully realised by individual and isolated efforts and it would spread over a considerable stretch of time and require ample funds. But we cannot not refuse to recognise that these are some of the worthy objects of any Research Department or Institute if it is to develop along right lines.

It is hoped that the Sanskrit Education Commission, recently appointed by the Government of India, will give every consideration to the above lines of development on an all-India basis in their recommendations and report which is expected to be submitted to the Ministry of Education by the end of May 1917.*

* Being a Research paper read at a meeting of the Directorate Officers' Club presided over by Dr. P. C. Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal.

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SOME FACTS ABOUT THE SEPOY MUTINY (KANPUR MASSACRE)

From Contemporary Records

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE, M.A.

I was lucky enough recently to read through the good offices of a friend of mine a compilation of some contemporary records about Kanpur outbreak and massacre and the part played therein by the Nana Sahib of Bithoor. These records are statements by survivors and were compiled by one J. F. Bellamy, Englishman Press, in the very same year as the Mutiny, *i.e.*, 1857.

Now that an attempt is being made to have an impartial history of this epoch-making rising, whether we call it a rebellion, a faction, a mutiny or the first war of independence, it is interesting to sift the evidence historically and logically without any prejudice or bias. It is known that different elements with different objects in view, patriots with a high sense of duty to brigands who thrive on chaos or disorder, people with a deep religious sentiment to gay cavaliers, people who wanted Hindu domination to people who wanted the Imperial Moguls to recapture the rapture of their vanished glory, men dissatisfied, men who had an axe to grind, men who had grudges or grievances against the British rule, disgruntled feudal elements, army rebels, all combined to join this movement which, to be more correct, was more factional than national, heterogeneous than homogeneous. We were told that there was no unity of purpose, no methodical approach, no definite idea of what the national commitment was going to be, yet to a certain extent, at least in local areas it was the advance spark plug of a national dissatisfaction against British rule and contained the rudiments of a popular resistance.

At this stage I would confine myself to the extracts from the records quoted above. These refer particularly to the Kanpur incidents. There is no question that the evidence recorded refers to a gruesome story though it has to be examined from other records whether they give the entire picture. A discount has also to be made that it was a record at the heat of the moment and with a sense of injured grievance. There is also the fact that the tragedy did happen and was not only most unfortunate but cruel as well. Yet a historian's task is to sift facts and present them.

A brief account of the outbreak at Kanpur and the disasters which resulted therefrom to the Christian community of the station is contained in a report dated 29th August, 1857, which was apparently sent to Calcutta. The report says:

"Previous to the outbreak at Cawnpore, reports of different kinds were afloat in the station,—from all of which it was ascertained that the Native soldiery, whenever they should break out into open mutiny, would, on no account, molest or hurt the European community at Cawnpore; and the informers employed by General Sir Hugh Wheeler, on all occasions confirmed the same. They reported that the three Infantry Regiments (1st, 53rd and 56th) appeared well-disposed towards our Government, with the exception of a few sepoys of really bad character, but that the 2nd Regiment Light Cavalry (who were discontented) were endeavouring to persuade them to rebel, when all should join and proceed in a body together to Delhi, after possessing themselves of all the Government money lodged in the Collector's Treasury, which they proposed taking on as a present to the newly created King there, whom they acknowledged to be their true Sovereign.

Under the above supposition, the European merchants and others of the station, though they had at first provided themselves with boats and other means of escape from Cawnpore, abandoned the idea of deserting this place; the only precaution that appeared to be necessary was to avoid the fury of the mutineers, at the moment the outbreak might take place.

For this purpose almost the whole of the non-Military residents were promised shelter in the entrenched camp, then under preparation under the General's direction; this promise appears to have completely satisfied them, and

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all determined to continue to stay at Cawnpore."

* * *

"About this time the 'Nana' of Bithoor, offered his services, and pretending to be a most faithful subject of Government, undertook to protect the Treasury in conjunction with our own sepoy guard, with a couple of his guns, and about two thousand men in his employ; very great confidence appears to have been placed in him, as his services were accepted; and in the meantime about a lakh or upwards of rupees was withdrawn and placed in the entrenchment, under the plea of meeting the salaries of the Troops, etc., for May, leaving about eight and a half lakhs in the Treasury."

* * *

"For the first four or five days of the outbreak, our Artillery kept up a brisk firing, but after that it was considered inadvisable to exhaust our Magazine, for the rebels took great care to always keep well under cover, and we could not do much execution among them.

The heat was very great, and what with the fright, want of room, want of proper food, and care, several ladies, and soldiers' wives, as also children, died with great distress, many officers and soldiers also were sun-struck from exposure to the hot winds. The dead bodies of our people had to be thrown into a well outside the entrenchment, near the new unfinished Barracks, and this work was generally done at the close of each day, as nobody could venture out during the day on account of the shots and shells flying in all directions like hail-stones; our entrenchment was strewn with them. The distress was so great, that none could offer a word of consolation to his friend, or to attempt to administer to the wants of each other. I have seen the dead bodies of officers, and tenderly brought up young ladies of rank (Colonels' and Captains' daughters) put outside the veranda, amongst the ruins, to await the time, when the fatigue party usually went round to carry the dead to the well as above. For there was scarcely room to shelter the living, the buildings were so sadly riddled that every safe corner available was considered a great object."

* * *

"A message was sent by the Nana to General Wheeler, offering to let him and all his people go to Allahabad unmolested, if he would consent to vacate the entrenchment and abandon Cawnpore and at the same time make over to him all the public treasure, the guns and magazines in the camp."

* * *

"All hostile proceedings were stopped on both sides from the evening of the 24th. The 26th was employed by the English people in preparing for their journey, and a few officers were allowed to go on elephants, to see the boats provided as above.

On the morning of the 27th a number of carts, *doolies* and elephants were sent to the entrenchment by the Nana, to enable the women and children and sick to proceed to the riverside; it is reported that the persons that came out that morning from the entrenchment amounted to about 450, and a general plunder took place of what property the officers and others were obliged to abandon in the entrenchment. The men and officers were allowed to take their arms and ammunition with them, and were escorted by nearly the whole of the rebel army. It was about eight o'clock A.M. when all reached the riverside, a distance of about a mile and a half; those that embarked first managed to let their boats go, thus three or four boats got off a short distance, though deserted by their crews, but the rest found difficulty in pushing their off the banks, as the rebels previously had them placed as high in the mid as possible, on purpose to cause delay. In the meantime the report of three guns was heard from the Nana's camp, which was the signal (as previously arranged) for the mutineers to fire upon, and kill all the English, and accordingly, the work of destruction commenced. The boats' crews and others were ordered to get away; some of the boats were set on fire and volley upon volley of musketry was fired upon the poor fugitives, numbers of whom were killed on the spot, some fell overboard, and attempted to escape by swimming, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoys who followed them on shore and in breast-deep water."

* * *

"One young lady, however, was seized upon (reported to be General Wheeler's daughter) and taken away by a trooper of the 2nd Light Cavalry to his home, where she at night, finding a favourable opportunity, secured the trooper's sword, and with it after killing him and the

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others, threw herself into a well and was killed."

There is another account by a survivor which says:

"Next morning the 7th June a letter was received from the Rajah of Bithoor, who was supposed to be on our side, saying he meant to attack us. Soon after, two guns opened upon us from the North-West, and musketry from all directions. On the 8th three more guns were brought against us. The number of guns against us increased daily and on the 11th the enemy had been playing upon us, night and day, 3 mortars, 2 twenty-four pounders, 3 eighteen pounders, one or two twelve pounders, about the same number of nine pounders and one six pounders. On or about the 12th June, the insurgents by firing set on fire the large barracks in which all the women of the 52nd Regiment and the wounded were placed. No sooner was the fire perceived than the assembly was sounded, and every man had to stand to his post as we expected to be attacked. There was no place for the women and children to go to, but the trenches where many of them had to remain night and day. There was no shelter now for the men anywhere during the day and from this date we lost five or six men daily by sunstroke. On the . . . June after having been on half rations for some days the Rajah sent a half caste woman with a note into the trenches to the effect that all soldiers and Europeans who had nothing to do with Lord Dalhousie's Government and would lay down their arms should be sent to Allahabad. General Wheeler gave orders to Captain Moore to act as he should consider best. Captain Moore that evening signed a treaty to the effect that the Rajah should provide boats and carriage for the wounded and ladies down to the river bank whilst on our side we were to give up what treasure we had together with arms and ammunition."

* * *

This is another account called Nujoor Tewarree's Account:

"When the Nana's guns opened on the boat in which Wheeler Sahib (the General) was, it has now been fully ascertained from servants and others who were with the English party, that General Wheeler was not dead before the massacre, but was put wounded on board the boats, —they cut its cable, and dropped down the river.

"Some little way down, the boat got stuck near the shore; the Infantry and guns came up, and opened fire. The large gun they could not manage, not knowing how to work the elevating screw, and did not use it. With the small gun they fired grape tied up in bags, and the Infantry fired with their muskets. This went on all day; it did not hurt the Sahib-logue much; they returned the fire with their rifles from the boat, and wounded several of the sepoys on the bank, who therefore drew off towards evening. The sepoys procured a very big boat, into which they all got, and dropped down the river upon the Sahib's boat; then the Sahibs fired again with their rifles, and wounded more sepoys in the boat, they drew off and left them. At night came a great rush of water in the river, which floated off the Sahibs' boat, and they passed on down the river; but owing to the storm and the dark night, they only proceeded three or four koss (six or eight miles). In the meantime, intelligence of the Sahibs' defence had reached the Nana, and he sent off that night three more Companies of the Native Regiment (1st. Oude Infantry), and surrounded the Sahibs' boat, and so took them and brought them back to Cawnpore. There came out of that boat 60 Sahibs, 25 Mem Sahibs and 4 children,—one boy, and three half-grown girls. The Nana then ordered the Mem Sahibs to be separated from the Sahibs to be shot by the Gillis' Pulton 1st B.N.I., but they said, 'We will not shoot Wheeler Sahib, who had made our Pulton's name great, and whose son is our Quarter Master; neither will we kill the Sahib logue. Put them in prison, then said the Nadire Pultun. What word is this? Put them in prison? We will kill the males.' So the Sahib logue were seated on the ground, and two Companies of the Nadir Pultun placed themselves over against them, with their muskets ready to fire. Then said one of the Mem Sahibs, the Doctor's wife she was (what Doctor, I don't know the name, but he was either Superintending Surgeon or Medical Store-keeper), 'I will not leave my husband; if he must die, I will die with him.' So she ran and sat down behind her husband, clasping him round his waist. Directly she said this, the other Mem Sahibs said, 'We will also die with our husbands, and they all went and sat

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down beside their husbands; then their husbands said, 'go back' but they would not. Whereupon the Nana ordered his soldiers and they going in pulled them forcibly away, seizing them by the arm; but they could not pull away the Doctor's wife, who there remained. Then just as the sepoys were going to fire, the Padre (Chaplain) called out to the Nana and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nana granted it, and the Padre's hands were loosened, so far as to enable him to take a small book out of his pocket, from which he read; but all this time, one of the Sahib-logue, who was shot in the arm, kept crying out to sepoys, 'If you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it quickly, and have the work done,—why delay?' After the Padre had read a few prayers, he shut the book, and the Sahib-logue shook hands all round. Then the sepoys fired. One Sahib rolled one way, one another, as they sat; but they were not dead, only wounded, so they went in and finished them off with swords. After this, the whole of the women and children (that is including those taken out of other boats) to the number of 122, were taken away to the Yellow House, which was your hospital. This was the Bithoor Rajah's house in the Civil Lines, where I and four more sepoys were confined, and where I had the opportunity of talking to the Serjeant Major's wife. After this, when we sepoys were taken down with the Nana to Futtehpore, the women and children were taken away to the house where they were afterwards murdered.

"Were any of our women dishonoured by the Nana or his people? No one that I know of, excepting in the case of General Wheeler's youngest daughter, and about this I am not certain. These are the circumstances: As they were taking the Mem Sahibs out of the boat, a Sowar (Cavalry man) took her away with him to his house; she went quietly, but at night she rose and got hold of the Sowar's sword; he was asleep, his wife, his son and his mother-in-law were sleeping in the house with him. She killed them all with the sword, and then she went and threw herself down the well behind the house."

* * *

This is the Deposition of Marian, an *ayah* in the service of Mr. J. Greenway of Cawnpore:

"It was taken on the 21st August, and is a horrible account of the dreadful massacre:

On the 3rd of May all the Native Infantry and Cavalry Regiments at Cawnpore mutinied, and ran off to loot the Treasury, which they took. Then then burnt the Collector's house and proceeded to Kulinpore, seven miles from Cawnpore and encamped there. At this place the Nana Saheb met them, and said to the mutineers, 'You receive seven rupees from the British Government, I will give you fourteen. Don't go to Delhi, stay here, and your name will be greater; kill all the English in Cawnpore first, and I will give you each a golden bracelet.' On hearing them, all the mutineers agreed to the terms of the Nana. They made a Subadar of the first Regiment, General, and he again made all the Havildars, Naicks, Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns. The Nana said, 'I will supply you all with food.' On the following day the Nana with the above Regiments, proceeded to Cawnpore, looted all the residents' houses, and then set fire to them. All the residents were in the entrenchment; those who did not go there were all murdered, together with the Drummers and Native Christians. It was the intention of some of the officers to blow up the magazine and for this purpose proceeded into the station. When they reached the Canal all the Regiment fired on the party, killed one officer, Adjutant of 2nd Cavalry, and the rest escaped to the entrenchment for their lives; they unfortunately left a gun behind them which they had taken from the entrenchment. On the party reaching the camp, fire was opened on the English people by the mutineers and cannons were placed on the three sides of the entrenchment. On the canal side a 24-pounder, on the Hospital side an 18-pounder, on the third side near Subadar, two 12 pounders were placed."

* * *

"Nana Sahib said to Mrs. Jacobi, 'Will you take a letter to General Wheeler?' She said 'Yes'. The letter was written and sent by Mrs. Jacobi to the General. She was not at first allowed to come near the camp by the soldiers, but when they heard the English voice, they allowed her to do so. The contents of this letter were: 'It is far better for you who are alive to go at once to Allahabad unless you wish to continue fighting; if so, you can do so. Let Cawnpore be given up, and you shall be saved.' On reaching the entrenchment, General Wheeler

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went to meet Mrs. Jacobi, and when he read the note, he said, 'I cannot agree to anything sent this way by letter; if the Nana has any propositions to make, tell him to make it in person.' Mrs. Jacobi took the reply back to the Nana. He said, 'If the Europeans will cease firing, I will go and send a reply.' The General said, 'Let both sides cease firing during the conference;' this was agreed to. On the following day the Nana, his brother Baba Bhut, and nephew, and a large party of soldiers came up to the entrenchment. General Wheeler was ready to meet them. The Nana said, 'Take away all the women and children to Allahabad and if your men want to fight, come back and do so. We will keep implicit faith with you.' General Wheeler said, 'You take your solemn oath according to your custom, and I will take an oath on my Bible, that I will leave the entrenchment.' The Nana said, 'Our oath is that whoever we take by the hand, and one who relies on us, we never deceive, for if we do, God will judge and punish us.' General Wheeler said, 'If you intend to deceive me, kill me at once. I am not armed.' The Nana replied, 'I will not deceive you, rely on us, I will procure food, etc. and convey you to Allahabad.' On this the General went into the entrenchment and consulted with the soldiers, who said, 'There is no reliance to be placed on natives; they will deceive you.' A few said, 'Trust them, it is better to do so.' On this the General returned and said, 'I agree to your terms; see us only as far as Futtehpore, from thence we can get easily to Allahabad.' The reply was, 'No, Sir; I will see you all safe to Allahabad.' Twenty boats were then ordered with covers to them. When the Nana saw all was settled, he said, 'Don't let the treasure be taken away, send that to me.' The General said, 'You may have the money.' There were three lakhs in cash at this time. The Nana said, 'You will breakfast on board the boats at 10 a.m. tomorrow and also dine on board and leave the entrenchment clear by 11 a.m.' The General assented to this. They were all ready, when a message from the Nana came, saying, 'The boats will not be ready to-day, you must leave tomorrow, you had better leave in the evening, etc.' The General's reply to this was, 'I won't leave at night, as you may play us false.' The Nana then said, 'Very well, you can leave at 4 p.m.' On the following day the Nana took away all the treasure. At this time some delay again took place in their departure. All the ladies and children were dressed and ready. The General asked the Nana, 'Are all our servants to go with us, or do you supply us with servants?' The reply was, 'Yes, you can take them.' The next day, though suspicions were entertained of the faith of the Nana's party, still they hoped all was right. The Nana sent word on Sunday to say the servants were not to go; that the ladies and women could look after themselves. On this being heard they were all alarmed. At 7 a.m. the mutineers surrounded the entrenchment and all the English were in their power. The servants ran away and were cut down, a few escaped; all were alarmed. The rebels entered the entrenchment, and said, 'Come to the boats, all is ready.' The ladies and children were sent on elephants, *doolies*, etc., and the men marched to the river, and then embarked in the boats. When they all saw food prepared and all comfortable they were delighted. When a few had gone on board and others were waiting to embark on the river side, a gun opened on them and canister shot (this gun and others had been masked); one boat took fire and then another gun was opened and four boats were fired. Those who escaped the fire jumped into the water. The sepoys also fired with their muskets. The Sowers entered the water on horseback and cut numbers down, fifteen boat-loads of the English were massacred; 108 women and children escaped this massacre but many of them were wounded. The Nana said, 'Don't kill those, put them in prison.' One boat in which was General Wheeler was paddled off by the soldiers. The poor people were crying in the boats and when in the water were calling out on God for help. A daughter of General Wheeler was taken off by a Sowar, and put into his house along with his wife and children near the Chowck Church. This girl remained with this man till night. He went out, and came home drunk and fell asleep. She then got up, took a sword and cut off his head, his brother's head, two childrens' heads, his wife's and mother-in-law's and then went to the back of the hut, jumped into a well and was killed.

"All the prisoners were killed. This was duly reported to the Nana who ordered the ladies to be cast into a well and the 25 women and children who remained alive under the heap

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of dead bodies were killed by executioners and some of the little children were dashed to pieces against the ground. This took place early on the morning of the 17th July and in the evening the Nana ran off to Bithoor. Many wounded women were thrown into the well alive with the dead bodies and earth."

This is the story of the massacre as recorded in the evidence taken. The following facts emerge:

(1) Nana had originally offered his services to the English.

(2) He had, however, subsequently given ample notice of his defection.

(3) Nana had agreed to guarantee a safe journey.

(4) Nana failed to do it. Everybody has assumed that Nana was responsible for this shabby tragedy but it is not clear whether his failure was deliberate or the situation got out of his control or his orders were not obeyed or he was a bloodthirsty man as he has been painted.

(5) Dead bodies heaped on the well also contained bodies of persons who had died a natural death.

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THE CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR CULTURE

By Prof. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.

It is quite natural that our cultural history extending from Mohenjodaro and Harappa up to the present time, and looking forward to the future with hope, should have a number of important and noted characteristics. But before we discuss these important characteristics, it should be made clear that we shall try our best to avoid the prejudices (such as, the idea of Racial or Cultural superiority) which almost invariably affect the judgment of those who write on Cultural History. Our honest endeavour is to try to tell the Truth as it is.

It will be accepted on all hands that the Indian culture is one of the oldest cultures in the world. Long before the modern European nations were civilised, India was at the zenith of her culture. Thus, its roots are very deep. Historically, that has its peculiar importance. It is true, as M. Joubert points out: "The evening of Life brings with it its own light."[1] The Indian culture having reached a long period of historical maturity, has its own light of wisdom to shed on world problem. And with China, another mature civilization, she has become the leader of the nations.

It will also be agreed on all hands that the Indian culture represents a vast unity and a profound synthesis. It is a peculiar feature of the Indian civilisation that the various tribes, races and religious communities, that came to India were all absorbed and assimilated in India's great culture. One of our distinguished poets and great personalities, Rabindranath Tagore has pointed out this great synthesis in one of his famous poems, "Bharata-Tirtha". Tagore writes in that poem that in this "Bharata-Tirtha" (India), all who came lost their narrow individuality and became merged in one great dynamic people. The Scythians, Greeks, Hunas, Indo-Parthians, Pathans, Mughals,—all were welded together in one Great People, by reason of the liberal culture of India. The Muslims took some more time to be absorbed, but with the Bhakti movement in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a new synthesis took place. It was realised in politics by the genius of Sher Shah and Akbar the Great. This synthesis lasted practically for the entire Mughal period, till towards the close of the Mughal period Aurangzeb destroyed it and with it the Mughal Empire. Truly has Prof. Arnold Toynbee remarked that the lesson of history proves in this and similar other cases that "the saviour with the sword fails to save."[2]

Throughout this long period of Indian history there was remarkable peace between

1. M. Joubert: *"Le soir de la vie apporte avec soi sa lampe."* Quoted in Lord Avebury's *The Pleasures of Life*, p. 102.

2. Arnold Toynbee: *A Study of History* (Somerville, page 538).

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various sects and religions. Asoka, the famous Buddhist Emperor, writes in his edicts, "All men are my children,"[3] Harshavardhana, the famous ruler of Thanesvara, bestowed his gifts and charity both on the Brahmans and the Buddhists. The powerful Gupta rulers were patrons of all sects and religions. Recently in a very thoughtful article 'Was There Any Conflict Between the Brahmans and the Buddhists?' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June, 1954), it was very effectively pointed out that the theory of a conflict between these two sects is entirely erroneous, and that there was wonderful amity and co-operation between them. Thus the vast unity and synthesis of the great Indian culture was on the whole maintained with wonderful success throughout the centuries.

It will be agreed that one of the greatest recommendations of this culture was its stress on spirituality and certain eternal human values. The strength of a culture depends on how human it is. The broad humanity of the Indian culture comprises in certain human values that it upholds. Spirituality is one of these values, and a very important one. The instruction of the Vedas and the Upanishads is that we should tear the veil of darkness (*Maya* illusion) and realise the resplendent, effulgent immortal spirit, Brahman. Sankara later on taught the same thing in his *Advaitya-vada* (Non-duality) philosophy. The Brahman (eternal cosmic principle) and the individual (Atman are the same. When the individual realises his true (Divine) nature, he loses his identity in the Brahman, and gets deliverance from the circles (*Samsaras*) of births and deaths. So, this culture points to a lofty goal and eventual salvation and high hopes.

Moral life was very much stressed in this culture. Thus the Upanishads stress: "Speak the Truth. Follow the Dharma."[4] Further it is said: "He who speaks Untruth is destroyed from the very roots."[5] At one place it is stressed: "Do not desire the wealth of others."[6] "Do not fall into delusion"[7] was another instruction so very important for moral life. Thus, almost all the fundamental lessons in basic morality were present in this culture.

Tapasya, or sincere devotedness to work or duty was always insisted on in this culture. The Upanishads taught: "By *tapasya* Truth is attained, by Truth control over mind is attained, by Mind the Self is attained."[8] In the Taittiriya Upanishad we read:

> "He (God) performed *tapas*. Having performed *tapas* he created all these."[9]

Sincere *tapasya* is at the root of all creation or enduring work.

Sense of sacrifice was strongly emphasised in the Indian culture. According to the Gita: "God created man according to the Law of Sacrifice."[10] The Buddha sacrificed everything to find salvation for suffering mankind. The great self-sacrifice of the sage Dadhichi referred to in the Rig Vedic verse (1. 84. 13), and the sacrifice of Sri Rama Chandra, are unique examples of sacrifice in our history and culture.

Thus certain lofty ideals essential in any high and orderly civilisation and culture were abundantly present in the Indian culture.

Education and the eagerness for knowledge was an abiding interest in our history in all ages. The word 'Veda' means 'Knowledge'. It taught the supreme, that is, spiritual knowledge. Chanakya expressed the opinion:

> "The country where there is no Honour, no Livelihood, no Friend, and no Learning; —it is better to leave that country."[11]

The Gita expressed the view:

> "Knowledge has to be acquired through Devotion and through Self-control. Through knowledge one gets supreme Peace at once."[12]

The students were Brahmacharins, for they had to lead the life of self-restraint, renunciation, and dedication, so necessary for intellec-

3. Asoka-Kalinga Rock Edict (Jaugada) *"Save (illegible) me paja".*
4. Taittiriya Upanishad, Cr. I, sl. 11, *"Satyam (illegible) dharmang chara."*
5. Prasna Upanishad, Question VI, sl. 1. *"Samulo (illegible) paribarshyati jo anritam avibadati."*
6. Isovasya Upanishad, Sloka 1, *"Ma gridha (illegible) kasyaddhanam."*
7. Prasna Upanishad, II, 3, *"Ma moham apadyatha."*
8. Maitrayana Upanishad, (Sama Veda): *"Tapasa prapyate satyam satyat samprapyate manah. Manasa prapyate Atma."*
9. Taittiriya Upanishad, Ch. II, 6: *"Sa Tapo tapyate. Sa Tapas taptwa idam sarvam asrajata."*
10. Gita, Ch. III, 10. *"Saha jajna praja srishtwa purobavo prajapati."*
11. Chanakya: *Arthasastra* (1. 8-9), *"Jasmin dese na sammano. na vrittir, no cha bandhava, no cha vidyagamah kaschit—tam desam paribarjayet."*
12. Gita: Ch. IV, 39: *"Sradhyavan labhate gynam tatparah ja sanjatendrya gyanam labdha param santim achirena adhigachhati."*

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tual work. Not through the accumulation of material wealth but, "Through Learning one gets Immortality."[13]

This culture clearly recognised the 'changing process in history': *Srishti, Sthiti,* and *Vinasha* are recognised as the three stages in the historical evolution, corresponding to 'creation,' 'maturity and growth,' and eventual 'dissolution and destruction.' That has been recognised as the eternal law of all historical change. This law is closely connected with the two paths, *Pravritti-Marga* and *Nivritti-Marga,* or the Path of Assertion and the Path of Return or Withdrawal. Every institution or group, after asserting itself in the period of its growth and development in fulfilment of its historic destiny, when its mission on this earth is fulfilled, follows the Path of Cessation, *Nivritti,* and there is the eventual disappearance or end. It is interesting to note that these different changing features in the historical process of Creation, Evolution, and Dissolution (Destruction)—are treated as the different manifestations or aspects of God. "They are the different manifestations of the World's Creator."[14] Thus, the Non-Aryans, the Aryans, the Scythians, Greeks, Parthians, Hunas, Turks, Pathans, Mughals, and the British—all came on the stage, and after fulfilling their destiny departed.

Creativity was another important feature in our cultural history. This wonderful creativity manifested itself in a thousand manners in Art, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music, Literature, Drama and Theatre, as also in philosophical and material progress. In spite of many ups and downs, in spite of many vicissitudes of the political destiny of the country, in spite of many foreign invasions, creativity has never ceased. It has never been destroyed. Whoever came in this country contributed his share in this wonderful process of creativity. Thus the Scythians enriched the Mathura School of Art, the Bactrians enriched the Gandhara School of Art, to which the Kushans also made their contribution, the Turks left their marks in the Art of the Sultanate period, the Afghans in the Art of the Lodhi period, the Mughals introduced the Persianisation of Indian art and enriched it profusely, and finally in the British period certain Western features were introduced. as for example, in the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta. Every religion has its peculiar contribution. The Jain temples at Mount Abu are noted for their decorative and ornamental beauty that is unparalleled in world history. Hinduism and its various schools, such as Vaishnavism and Saivism, have their contributions in art scattered throughout the country. The Buddhist fresco paintings at Ajanta, and the Buddhist shrines at Ellora, Sanchi, Barabar, Kailas and elsewhere, are some of the best specimens of art. Islam with its accurate style and its creed of simplicity, chastity, symmetry, democracy, and monotheism, brought about a profound revolution in art and architecture. It was the genius of Akbar that welded together into the homogeneous Indian National Art, the different artistic gifts of the Hindus and the Muslims. The best example of this is to be found in the Diwan-i-Khas at Fatehpur Sikri. The wonderful creativity in our art was, as the famous art critic Mr. Henri Martin points out, due to its originality, variety and mysticism. "Originality, variety and mysticism, are the three general characters of the Indian art."[15]

Literary progress is an integral part of our culture. The *Vedas,* the *Upanishads, Manu Samhita,* the *Puranas, Rajatarangini, Bikramankacharita* of Bilhana, *Maha Bhasya* of Patanjali, *Mudra Rakshasa* of Vishakhadatta, Panini's *Grammar, Malavikagnimitram* of Kalidasa, *Raghuvamsha,* the two epics, and *Harshacharita* of Bana, are a few of the outstanding creations in this respect. They are the best examples of Sanskrit literature.

The Buddhist Pali literature was also very well developed. Thus we have *Dhammapada,* the *Tripitakas,* the *Jatakas, Deeghanikaya, Samyuktanikaya, Deepavamsha, Mahavamsha, Milinda-Prasna, Mahavamsha,* and the *Sutta Pitaka* some of the best examples. The *Sutta Pitaka* published by Prof. Fausball is also a very good example. This vast literature serves well to give proper instruction in good moral life as a preparation for a proper understanding of the teachings of the Great Teacher.

13. Kena Upanishad, II, 4: *"Vidyaya vindate Amritam."*

14. Svetasvatara Upanishad, Ch. V, 13: *"Visvasya srashtaram aneka rupam."*

15. Henry Martin: *"L'art Indien et L'art Chinois"* (p. 5); *"L'originalite, la variete, et le mysticisme sont les trois caracteres generaux de l'art Indien."*

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In the medieval period also the literary activity was great. There were the works of Tulsidas, Ramdas, Dadu, Kabir, Guru Nanak, Chaitanya, Sankaracharya, Ramanuj, Ramanand, Eknath, Tukaram, Raidas, Garibdas, Suradas, Haridas, Malukdas, Mirabai, Dharanidas, Muhammad Jayasi, Bulleh Shah, Charandas, and others.

In the Mughal period, the major Sanskrit works were translated into Persian mainly by the orders of the Emperor Akbar. Besides the Persian literature grew like anything. *Babarnama*, *Humayunnama*, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, *Makhzan-i-Afghana* by Nimatullah; *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh* by Badauni, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Iqbalnama* by Mutamid Khan, *Badshahnama* by Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Shah Jahannama* by Mohd. Sadiq; *Alamgirnama* by Mirza Mohd. Kazim; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbab* by Khafi Khan; are some of the best examples of good Persian works on historical and general subjects.

In this period Sanskrit works of great importance were also undertaken. Thus, Nanda Pandit, Mitra Misra, Nilakantha Bhatta, Narsimha, Khanda Devi, Raghu Nath Siromani; Jagannath Pandit (honoured by Shah Jahan as 'Kavi Raja'), Rupa Goswami, Krishna Nath, the two scholarly ladies, Vaijayanti and Vallabaha Devi, are some of the great Sanskrit and Hindi writers of the Mughal period.

Vernacular literature developed specially in the Mughal period, which is probably the most outstanding feature in the literary activity of this period. The Provincial vernaculars and the development of Urdu introduced the modern era in literature and thought.

Lastly, we come to the most important feature in our cultural history, the promotion of Peace. The Indian culture has been one of the most peaceful and tolerant cultures in world history. As such it has great utility in promoting international peace today when devastating Western imperialistic doctrines have made the world a veritable hell, and nothing but chaos, ruin and disaster stare us in the face. The Buddha was and will always continue to be the greatest force for peace. Asoka, Harshavardhana, Kanishka, and other rulers have always upheld the ideal of Peace. The Buddhist teaching was:

> "Never does hatred cease by hating, it ceases by love. This is the eternal religion."[16]

Most *slokas* of the Upanishads end with the peace invocation *Om Shanti*. In the Shukla Yajur Veda, we find possibly the best example of a prayer for peace, where peace is desired for the three worlds, for all men, in all ages. The Mahabharata has a famous passage which reads:

> "Absence of enmity towards all creatures in thought, word and deed, compassion on all creatures and charity—these constitute the eternal *dharma*."[17]

The great wisdom that without peace there cannot be a solid foundation of civilization and culture was realised in India long ago. The attitude of peace and charity, and a sympathetic appreciation of all points of view (even the opposite or inimical point of view) is and will always be the secret of civilization and culture. Today the greatest force for international peace is the teaching of Gandhiji, who was the greatest sage of the twentieth century. His message of *ahimsa*, and love is directly derived from the peace ideal of our culture. Today Gandhiji is no more, but Pandit Nehru is carrying on that glorious tradition in promoting international peace and co-operation. At a time when Western militarism and science spell havoc and disaster, making the world a hell, Gandhiji true to the ideal of peace in our cultural history, tried to promote goodwill and co-operation throughout the world. Peace is the mission and hope of Indian culture and Indian history. This message is spreading in the world to bring solace to suffering humanity.

We have discussed the chief characteristics in the history of our culture. But before we conclude it is necessary to note that we do not for a moment suggest that ours is the best culture in the world or that other cultures are inferior. To suggest that would be against the very

16. Dhammapada: Yamakabagga, 5: "*Na hi verena verani sammantidha kudachanam Averena cha sammanti eso dhammo sanangtano.*"

17. Mahabharata (V.P. 297.35): "*Adroha sarvabhuteshu, karamana, manasa, gira, anugrahascha; danang cha satang dharmah sanatanah.*"

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spirit of tolerance and humility that has always characterised our culture. Moreover, we are fully conscious that some of the best features in our culture are also to be found in other cultures and peoples. Thus, the ideal of peace was encouraged in Christianity to a great extent, although the Christian nations taking to other religions, such as 'militarism' and 'imperialism' did not always maintain peace. Voltaire described war as "human folly in all its glory and in all its horror."[18] He was upholding the peace ideal. Coming to more recent times the French Socialist worker, M. Jules Moch, writes:

"There is hardly one choice before humanity which expresses itself in two words—Disarm or Perish."[19]

Mr. Philip Noel Baker observed:

"Our generation must make an end of the armament race,—or else the armament race will make an end of us."[20]

So, the greatness in our cultural history lies in that the wisdom which the modern world is realising now was realised in this country long ago.

18. Voltaire: *"La folie humaine dans toute sa gloire et dans toute son horreur."* (Quoted in Alfred Niyes: *Voltaire*).

19. M. Jules Moch: " *Die Menschheit hat nur noch eine Wahl, die sich in zwei Worte zusammenfassen lasst: abrusten oder untergehen*" (M. Jules Moch: "Appell an die Vernunft" in *Geist und Tat*, February, 1955).

20. Philip Noel-Baker: "Unsere Generation muss mit dem Wettrusten ein Ende machen—oder das Wettrusten wird ein Ende mit uns machen" (P. Noel-Baker: "Revolution im Weltgeschehen" in *Geist und Tat*, April, 1956).

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FROM STONE TO BOOKS

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B., (Cal.), Sahitya-Ratna, (Alld.)

Thomas Bartholin, the Danish anatomist, scholar and librarian, wrote in 1672:

"Without books God is silent, justice dormant, natural science at a stand, philosophy lame, letters dumb, and all things involved in Chimerian darkness."

Indus Valley seal (Mahenjo-daro)

Indeed, without books it is doubtful if the progress could at all have been made. Books now occupy such a place in our everyday lives that we rarely stop to consider what we would be or what we could do if we were without books. The story of the evolution of printed which has given the book its present shape undoubtedly a long one but at the same time most interesting. The desire of leaving a permanent stamp of his activities in the world man to record his ideas and imaginations. The transferring of ideas into practice, however, gave birth to the art of writing which culminated to the art of printing.

Man inculcated the habit of writing from time immemorial. An inscription found in the tomb of an early king of Byblos belonging to the 13th century B.C. shows that the alphabet writing, one of the most important of all human inventions, may be credited to the Phoenician traders. The Greeks borrowed their alphabet from the Phoenicians and the latter became the ancestor of all the Western alphabets. The Greek method of writing was known as 'bonstrophedon' of turning like oxen in ploughing, because the Greeks used to write the first line from right to left, the second from left to right, the third from right to left and so on. This is true for the

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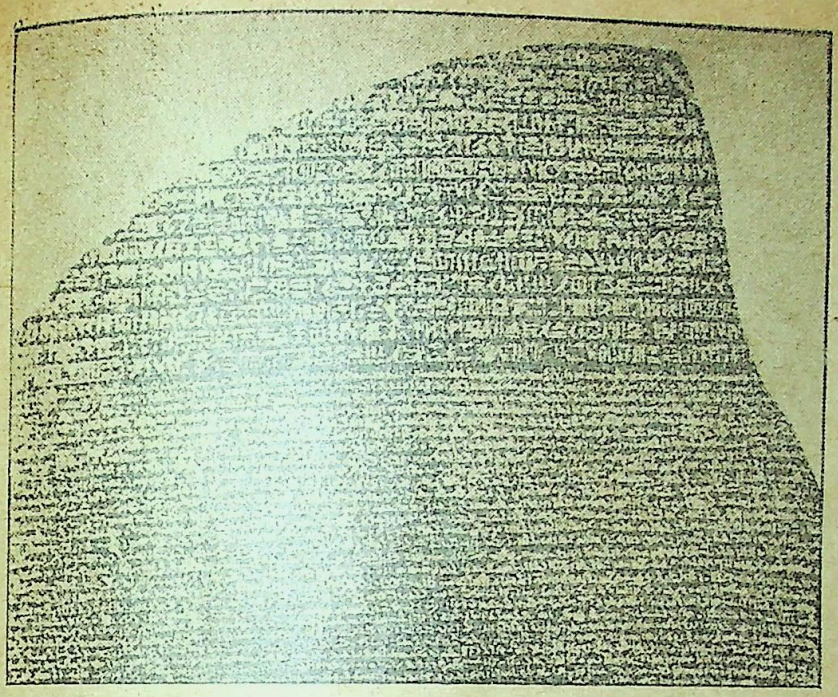

Hieroglyphic text in the Rosetta stone (Egyptian scripts)

as well as for the East, that the first writing was on either a stone or a tree. Stone was by far the most favoured of the materials in Egypt, in Persia and in India, used for recording important royal edicts, and even white marble is found used for this purpose in both Greece and Italy. The Rosetta Stone, the Maobite Stone, the Rock and Pillar Edicts of Asoka bear testimony to this. The friezes became moving pictures of episodes narrated with dramatic art.

"The seductive women and leonine men of Bharut (near modern Bhilsa village in Madhya Pradesh, India) stone of ancient world are not mute and dumb; there was life in stone; the stone speaks about praying women, men and gods, riding, conquering, expressing characteristic moods; animals in realistic or stylised shape; armies, fortresses, processions; ineffable beauty as expressed in the head of a small horse, more noble than any to be found on a race course."

Hanging by branch of a tree the stone-carved Yakshi of Bharut is ready to jump down to the earth and with nimble feet escape our hands over to climb another. Indeed, Indian Art did attain mastery in the technique of expressing the subtle, ecstatic or serene moods of men and women, and not merely in figure and face, but in symbolic movements expressed through the shaded curves of the stone. We can, however, get a compact idea about the religion and its ideology and about the cultural life infused in the society of the people of that period through stone. Writing on stone is still practised in cutting inscriptions on memorials. As for trees Shakespeare noticed that they were carved within the initials of sweethearts.

The discoveries at Abydos, the Holy City of Egypt, revealed convincingly how early was the development of the art of writing whose possession put the ancient Egyptians in the very first rank of the nations of the world. Hieroglyphic writing was the regular means of communication of Egypt. The Egyptians had already discovered the use not merely of phonetic signs standing for a whole syllable, but also of true alphabetic signs, each standing for one consonant. The pictographic seals of the Indus Valley lead us to believe that the civilisation of the Indus Valley was much developed and the art of writing was well known to the Indus Valley people. In China, the earliest records found are those on oracle bones. In Mesopotamia, as well as in India, the earliest writing is found on the seals of haematite, agate, steatite, chalcedony, faience, marble, alabaster, serpentine, conch-shell, etc. Bricks have also been sometimes used as materials for writing. In Ashshur, Nineveh, Tarbis and other places we find bricks bearing names and titles of a number of Assyrian kings that ruled from c.900 B.C. to c.650 B.C. In Nalanda and Gopalpur of India, a few inscribed bricks have been umearthed. In Egypt, Greece and India and many other countries potsherds (Greek—Ostraka) are known to bear inscribed letters.

It is, however, the invention of paper that must have facilitated the craft of ancient scribe. About 800 B.C., in or about the days of Homer

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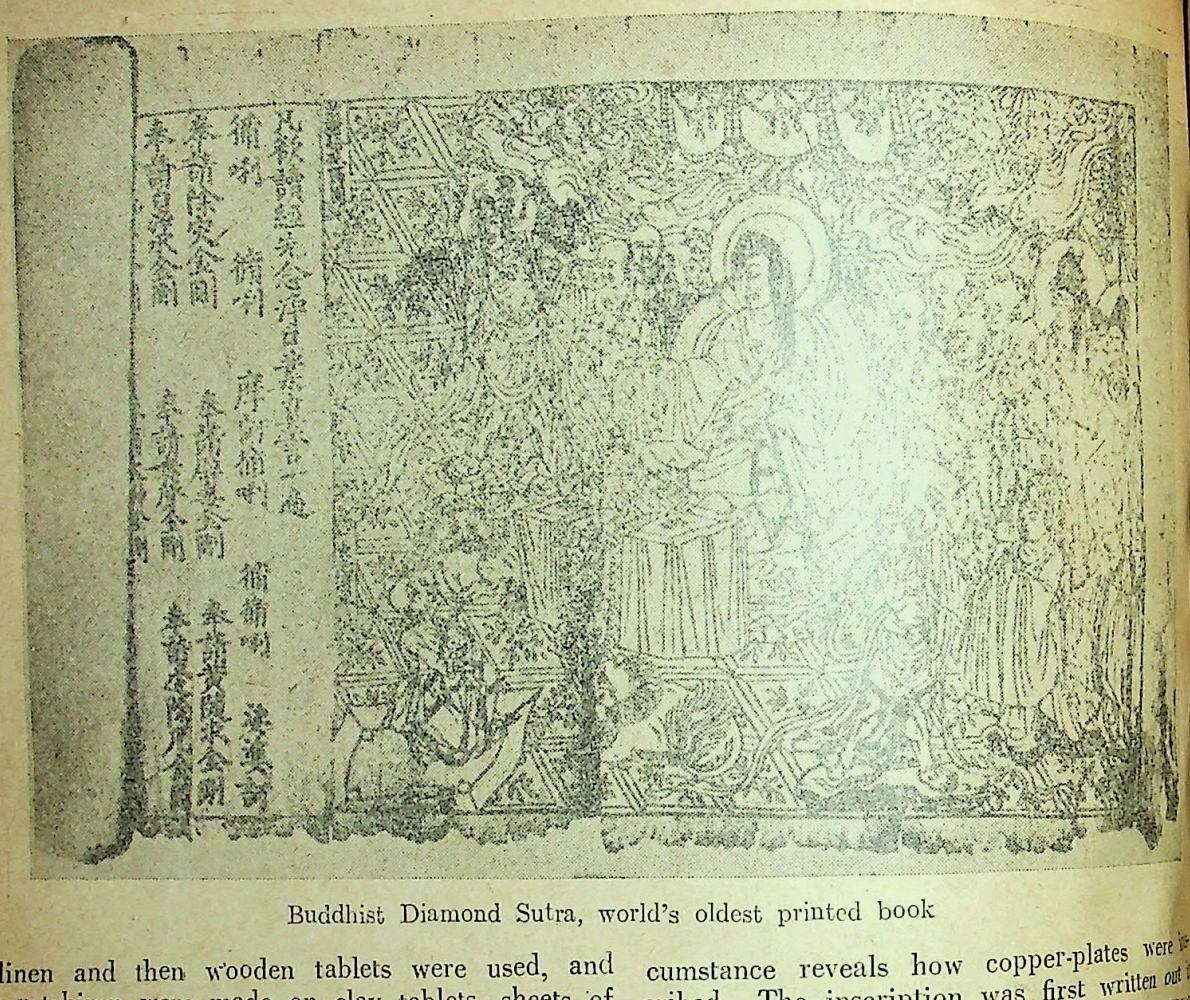

Buddhist Diamond Sutra, world's oldest printed book

linen and then wooden tablets were used, and scratchings were made on clay tablets, sheets of lead, wax and other materials. Paper made its first appearance in Egypt and then in China. At that time a sheet of ordinary papyrus cost about 1 d, and a sheet of the best quality valued about 8 s. It is said that in the year 125 B.C. a Chinese Minister of Agriculture succeeded in making paper out of cotton. Gradually in China paper was made of the stem of a fibre plant of the same name, that grows to over 20 feet. The stem was split into thin strips, which were joined together by gum or paste into a sort of "smooth, tough, pale-yellow paper," One of the largest of such papyrus is No. 9999 of the British Museum, which is as much as 135 feet in length.

Writing in ink was already known in Egypt; at Chunhu-daro, a small pottery jar that could hardly be anything other than an inkpot was found. Potsherds, written over with ink, have been found at Luxor and other places in Egypt, right down from the time of XIIth dynasty. The most interesting record relating to the use of ink is a remarkable Buddhist copper-plate found at Kasia where the first line is engraved and the rest of its lines were written in ink. Tre circumstance reveals how copper-plates were ins-cribed. The inscription was first written out in ink on the plate and then given to the engraver to cut the written letters into metal. Even in the Pyramid Age we find that scribes of the offices of revenue and treasury had begun writing in ink by means of a pen made of reed. Such reed pens are still in extant in India; in Bengal they call them 'Khangra' and the Maharashtrians term them 'Boru.' In Mohenjo-daro certain thin pottery plaques, rectangular in shape, were found; these may have been intended for writing tablets. The plaques are of small size ranging from four to seven inches in length and there is no doubt that they were once covered with a smooth substance, from which the writing could be washed after the fashion of wooden tablets still used in India.

Woodpaper was invented at Rogensburg in 1760 and the modern paper-making machine was invented by a French clerk named Louis Robert in Didot Paper Mills at Essone, France in 1799 A.D. With the invention of paper progressive measures were adopted in producing books, though neither these books were printed, nor were they available for the common people. They were mostly in manuscript form and controlled by

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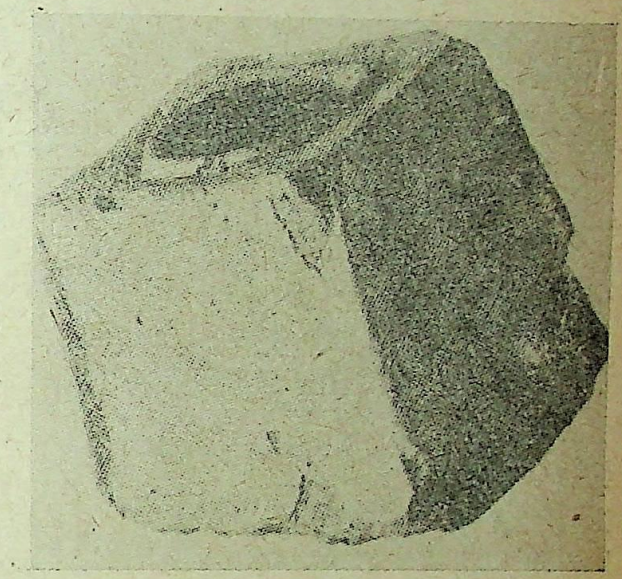
rich, the nobles and the kings. In fact, these hand-written books were too costly and there being no access of them for the public they shed little light into the abysmal darkness of public ignorance. In 1150 A.D. an edition of Levy, an author then recently recovered from antiquity by the finding of a MS, cost 120 gold crowns for which sum a fine estate can be bought. The high cost was mostly due to the decoration of the MSS volumes. There were Bibles studded with precious stones, bound in Babylonian leather, and with ivory pages. Later, the monasteries established 'scriptoria' or writing-rooms, to the end that literary output might be increased. Reference in this connection can be made of the Mauryan scribes as described by Kautilya. But books would no longer remain confined and would come forward to fight out the demon of ignorance from the habitable world.

It is, however, a curious reflection that printing began so quietly that no precise date can be assigned to it. The invention has, however, revolutionized the whole outlook of mankind. Presses had been in existence before Gutenberg arrived in Strassburg for producing 'block-books.' In fact, the "block-books' were the first books printed in Europe. These consisted of pictures and text cut on the same wood-block, a position midway between the single-picture and the book printed in movable type, thus forming a link in the evolution in printing. Movable type was used by the ancient Roman potters to imprint on their productions the names of their firms, but no one thought of adopting the idea to print books. The oldest book extant in China was a block-book which was a copy of the Buddhist Diamond Sutra, printed in China in A.D. 868 and found 1032 years later in the Chinese Province of Karsu. In Europe these 'block-books' or Xylographica were produced chiefly in the Netherlands and Germany. The earlier were printed in their pale brownish ink on one side of the leaf only. Since the content of each individual page had to be engraved upon a block of wood, the making of a block-book was a laborious process. These books were generally of a popular nature, mainly concerned with religious instruction or pious edification. Typical examples were Biblia Pauperum, a series of pictures from the life of Christ, accompanied by parallel subjects from the Old Testament. The epoch-making difference between typography and xylography blocks is that while the latter could be used only for the particular work for which they had been cut, the movable type, being composed of separate letters, could be used over and over again for any book, with corresponding economy in time and material. But owing to the varied and different characters of the Chinese script movable types had an absolutely different influence in China. This is because of the peculiar word-unit character of Chinse scripts. A very interesting point may be cited in this connection; Shakespeare, in course of his



Pottery inkpot (Chanhu-daro)

writing out different dramas had used about 20,000 different words and a Chinese compositor would need a type-case of the size of a tennis court to meet the demands of Shakespeare's works. Whatever might be the effect of the invention of this new art over other countries it began to be highly appreciated by the men of the continental Europe during the 15th century.

With the 15th century the scribes under the careful and wise direction of the artists and scholars turned aside from their inherited black letter and devoted their energy in the transcription of classical texts. Born in 1397 in Mayence Johannes Gensfleisch (Gutenberg) discovered that individual types might be joined together in some way to print words. The Mainz Catholicon was perhaps printed by him in 1460; the credit of printing the famous 36-line Bible, completed at Bamburg before 1461, also goes to Gutenberg. Some scholars think that this Bible was the first printed book in Europe and sometimes known as the Mazarin Bible or the most commonly known the 42-line Bible. The first book to be printed in the English language was a translation Recvil des Histoires de Troye; the credit of printing of this historic book goes partly to William Caxton. The second book to be printed in the English language was a translation of a French allegorical treatise on the game of chess. Caxton was determined to simplify the

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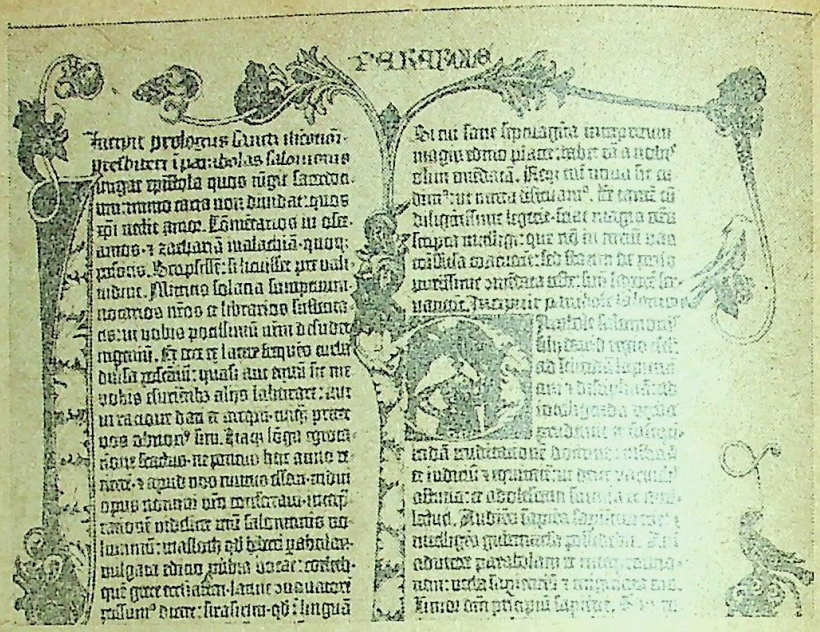

A portion of the fascimile page from the famous "42-line Bible"

complex English language. Another Englishman, John Baskerville, invented a process of "surfacing" paper. In India, Ambalakaddu, near Trichur, South India, was the place where the art of printing started about 1577 A.D. It is said that Shivaji, the Great Maratha ruler, was the first Indian who wanted to set up a press, but owing to certain difficulties he could not set his ideas to practice and sold the press in 1674 to Bhimaji Parakh of Gujarat. Bengal, under the leadership of William Carey, Ward and Marshman and with the assistance of the genius like Panchanan Karmakar and his nephew Monohar gave a new vent to the history of printing in India. The 19th century carried the print work a little deeper into the lives of the comm people. It also saw the foundation of the period press on a national scale. But with the interv tion of the two world wars, 'printing flourished a a trade and slowly died as an art,' so to say. It is in the hands of the artists and typographers that our hopes for the future rest. This is in short the most interesting story of mankind fro stone to books. From the engraved stones o different countries we know the rich treasures and the legacies of the past; on the printed books to-day we will leave our ideas, our imaginati our present heritage to posterity.

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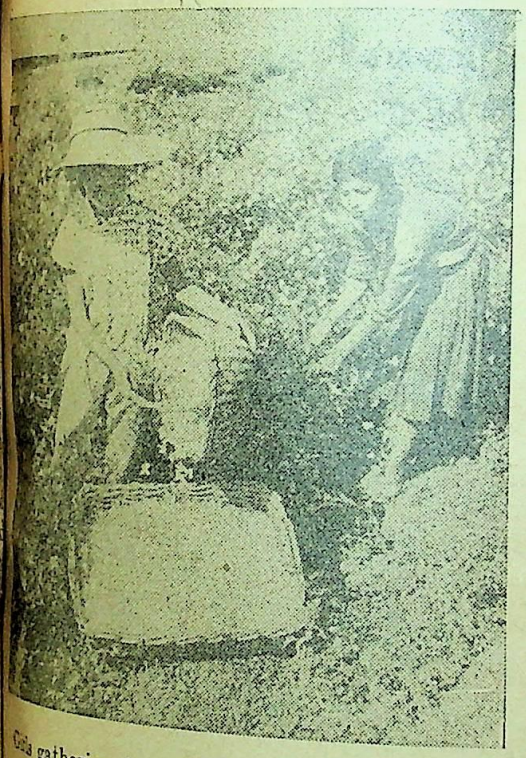
ALLURING CANNES : THE FRENCH RESORT

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

"Is Cannes a paradise on earth ?" is what the world tourists often ask. It is a challenging question that needs a deft answer. If paradise refers to a place of perfect bliss and celestial charms of Nature, surely then Cannes *is* a paradise, for it makes one live and enjoy life in the real sense.

Situated opposite to the picturesque Esteral hills, Cannes, the Pearl of the French Riviera, is one of the most sought-after seaside resorts facing the Mediterranean. With its warm and agreeable climate, green vegetation and lofty structures, the town is inhabited by 50,000 care-

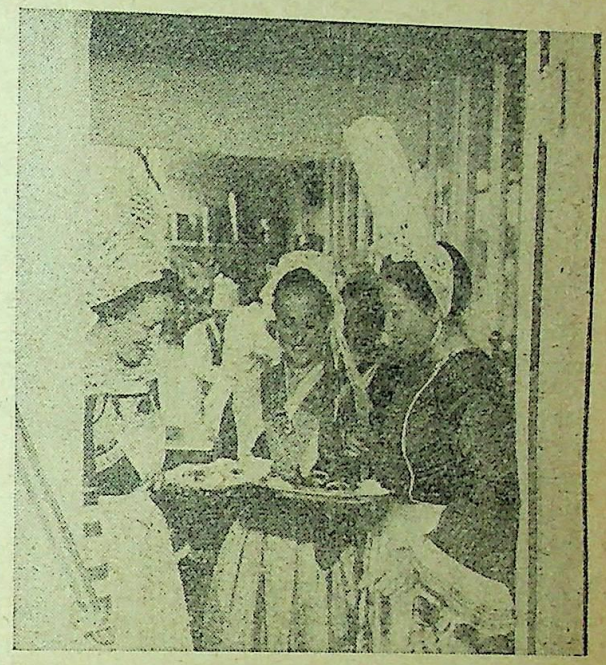


Girls gathering flowers at Grasse, the "perfume town"

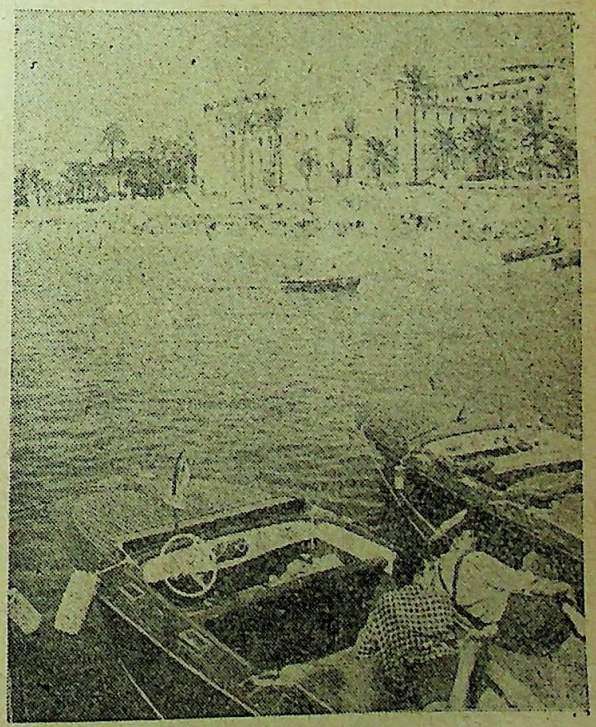
free and fashion-loving people. With its glistering restaurants and dainty shops of the Riviette, galas and fashion-parades, regattas and beach-games, Cannes welcomes the tourists from all corners of the world.

Ah, the ever-new charms and the hilarious fun on the golden sands of Cannes ! There is pleasing activity at all hours on the beach gaily washed by the graceful tides of the ocean. The display of fashions and tastes by the holiday-makers heightens the scenic beauty of the resort. People of every shade and creed can be seen relaxing in the lap of the shore. One can see here the latest fashions displayed by the most beautiful women of the whole world.

Cannes is God's Chosen Land for lovers of fun and pomp. There is no end to the bewitching programmes which make the people spell-bound. The leading aristocrats and celebrities



Cannes women in a festive mood



The beach at Cannes. The boat-race is about to commence

of society life assemble at the Municipal Casino to participate in the fabulous fetes and dancing competitions. The Palm Beach Hotels and the

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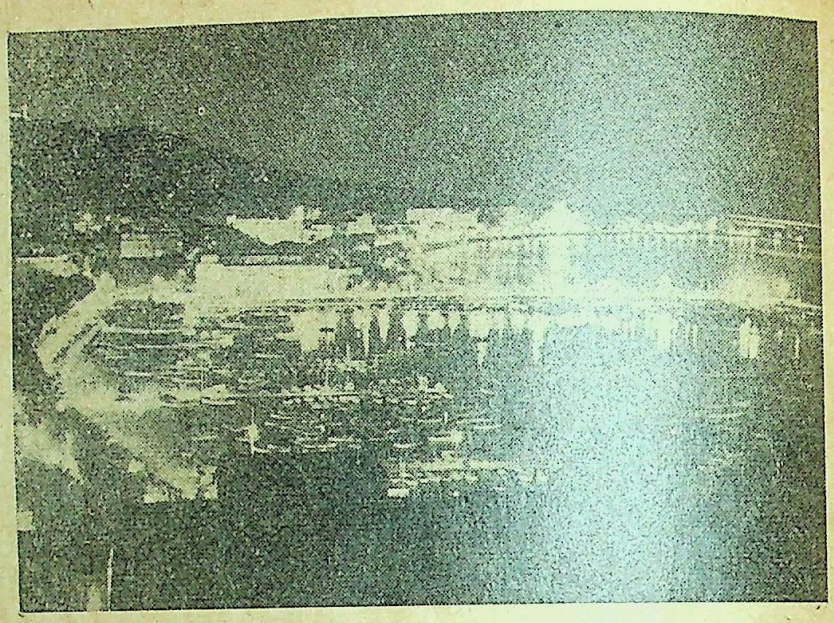

Alluring view of Cannes taken at night

Casino are packed with people, elegantly dressed in their best, who gather here for fun and exhilaration. The International Sports and Games Competitions, "Battles of Flowers" and musical evenings are an added attraction to the novelty of Cannes. The International Film Festival held here every year is perhaps the most outstanding event which attracts the greatest film artistes and the fans alike.

Many an exciting excursion can be arranged from Cannes. Go to Grasse, the nighbouring "perfume" town of great natural beauty. The name of Cannes is automatically associated with this lovely place where many thousands of jasmines, daphnes, roses and violets bloom. The scent-making industry of France is indebted this quiet town of different flower-fields. S boat-trips can also be arranged to the picture Lerins Islands which are renowned for s and peaceful atmosphere.

The people of France are by nature of festivals and fun. Yachting, regattas motor boating are as essential to them as and drink. They cannot live without spen some delightful hours on the beaches. They a are responsible for having created a new way life, so very attractive and exhilarating.*

* Photos by the courtesy of the Director, Government Tourist Office, Bombay.

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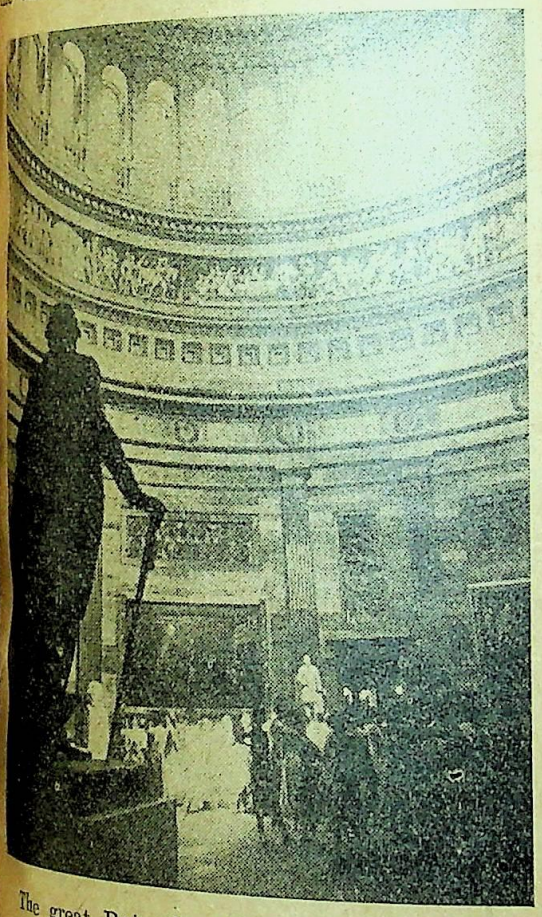
INSIDE THE U.S. CAPITOL

Though they may tramp their weary feet off in the track of the trumpet-voiced guide, the hundreds of thousands of tourists who yearly surge through its history-laden halls see only a fraction of the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C. There is much more in the massive building where U.S. laws are made than the fabulous collection of sentimental relics and the brief glimpses of the Congress' two houses—Senate and House of Representatives—included in the official tour.

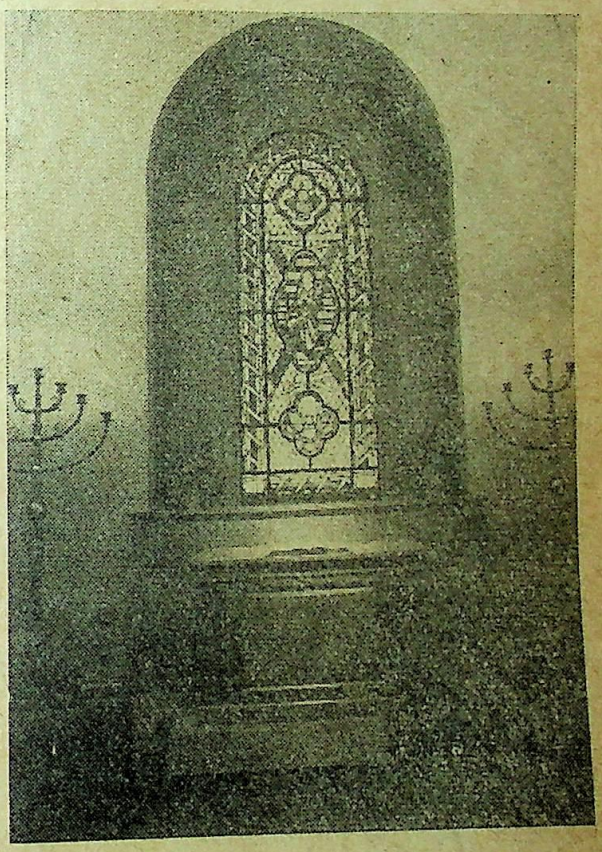


The great Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol in Washington

Variety and motion pulse throughout the building. Just before noon, for instance, when out front tourists swarm the thickest, it is also busiest backstage.

In a committee hearing room, Members of Congress and witnesses, many known to newspaper readers worldwide—personalities diverse, positive and articulate—may be hotly debating a great public issue. At this hour, in a beautiful old office Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House, an almost legendary figure whom reporters call "the second most powerful man in the country," usually holds his press conference. In the Senate kitchen, readying for the luncheon rush, chefs and helpers hurry sizzling meats and steaming rolls from the ovens. At opposite ends of the Capitol, House and Senate chaplains pace the lobbies behind the two great chambers waiting the stroke of twelve to open each session with prayer.

The original portion of the Capitol was designed by a doctor in the West Indies, William Thornton, an amateur architect (and poet and horse-racer), who in 1793 submitted his simple, classic concept in response to an advertisement



Prayer room set aside for use by individual Congressmen

offering a $500 prize for "the most approved plan."

As 1790's agrarian population of some 3,929,000 swelled to today's complex industrial society of 170,000,000, the number of States grew to forty-eight, each sending two senators to Washington; the number of representatives in the House, which is based on population, increased to 435, and the number of problems raised by this dynamic nation multiplied beyond measure. The Capitol added wings and then a new dome to balance the wings. Within, successive revisions left odd nooks and crannies. bizarre architectural compromises. On Capitol Hill other buildings went up to fulfil functions that one had originally served: House Office

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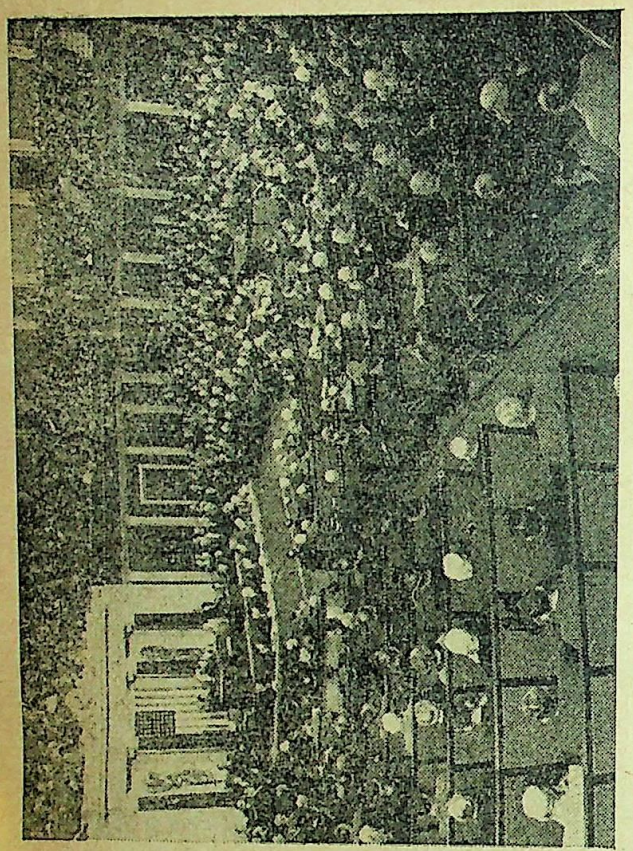
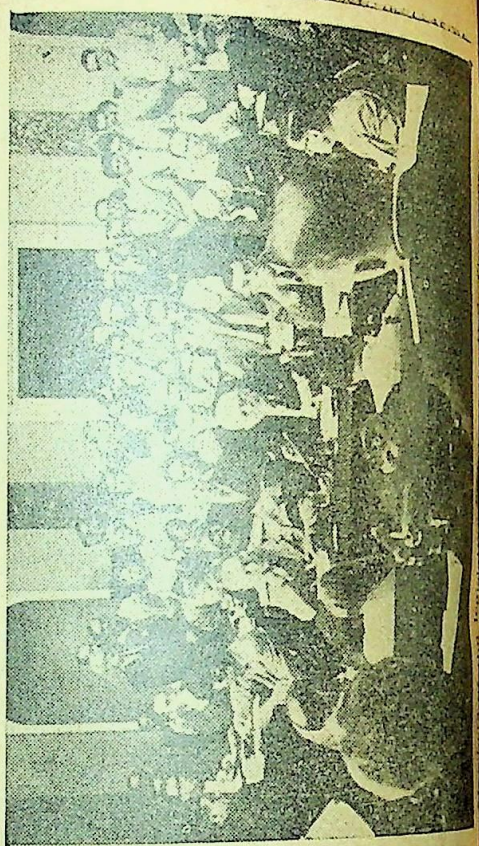
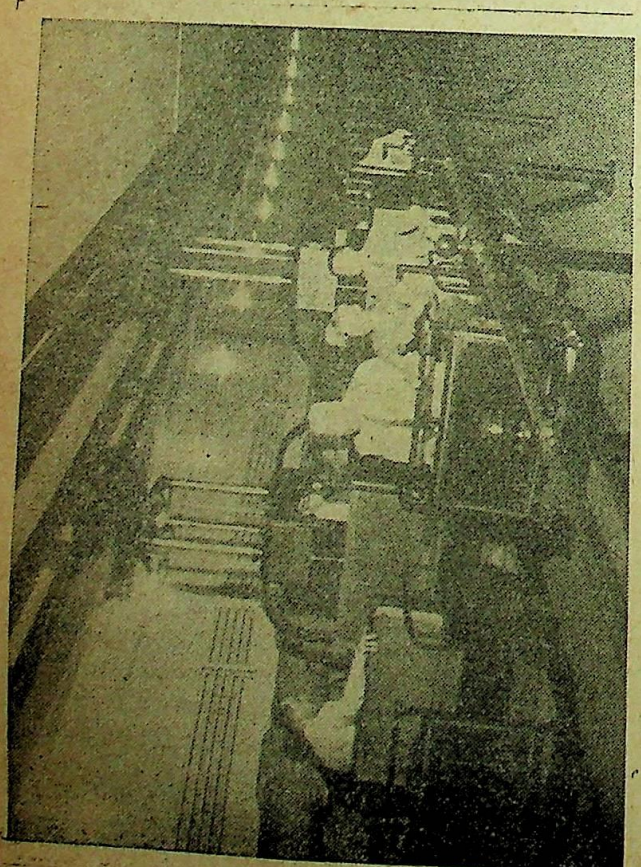
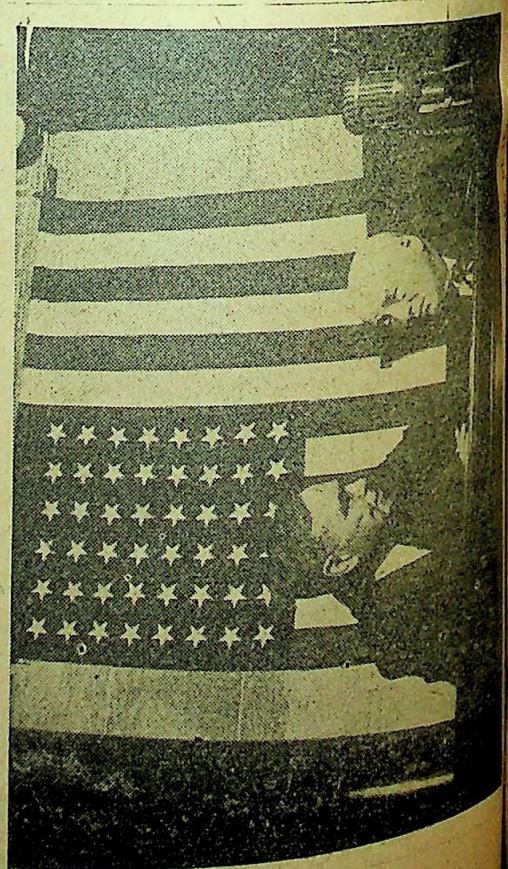


President Eisenhower delivers his State of the Union message to the two Houses of Congress, meeting in joint session in the House Chamber





Senators ride between the Capitol and the Senate Office building on an underground monorail system whose rolling stock consists of these two cars



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Buildings, Senate Office Buildings, the Supreme Court Building, the Library of Congress.

Today Congress is charged with some of the biggest problems in the history of Statesmanship. Pressures—for momentous and sometimes trivial, idealistic and sometimes selfish causes—bear on Members from every side, through personal contacts, by telephone, by wire, by mail. The task of balancing such pressures, of managing a vast nation and solving its highly specialized problems within the framework of constitutional government, has made necessary the committee system. Ninety per cent of the work of Congress is now done in committee rooms, leaving the legislative chambers as the scene only for formal debate and action. All bills, after being introduced by Members, are referred at once to appropriate committees. Each house has committees on agriculture, appropriations, the armed services, banking, labour, foreign affairs, the post office and government operations, to name but a few.

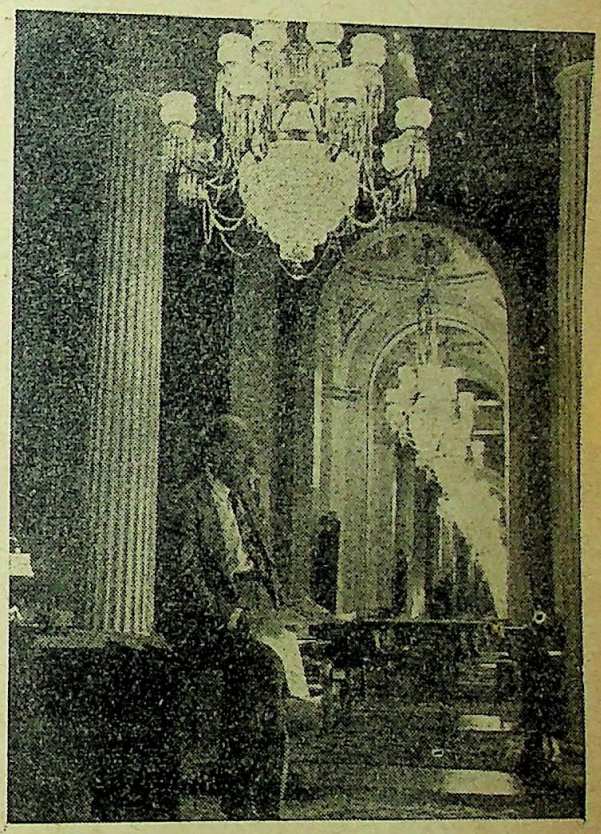
A committee has enormous power; it can report a bill back to House or Senate in its original form, vote against it, change it and report it out, or allow it to die by failing to act on it.

Oratory has lost some importance. In making decisions on complex issues and problems Congress has come to rely more and more on research in addition to debate. It is dreary but vital work, calling for painstaking detail. But the decisions arrived at—whether or not they stand the test of history—are at least guaranteed the benefit of full knowledge and balanced weighing of all the factors.

If a matter is of great importance, will affect many people or is controversial, a committee holds public hearings on it. Interested persons receive an opportunity to testify and answer questions. Anyone may request this opportunity. Other interested persons compose the audience. In the larger, modern committee rooms of the Office Buildings, Washington ladies often come and bring their knitting. Most important, there is criticism or approval from a highly articulate, widely informed, crusadingly watchful and utterly free press.

The anomaly of newsreel floodlights under chandeliers brought from seventeenth-century Paris expresses the whole Capitol's fascinating inconsistency. Blotting sand and snuff are kept in supply for Senators just because they always have been, although their use—except for an occasional head cold—is mainly as visiting constituents' souvenirs. Long-time functionaries keep fresh the lore essential to ritually prescribed

The famous bean soup cooked in the Senate Restaurant



An old senator in the marble Reading Room

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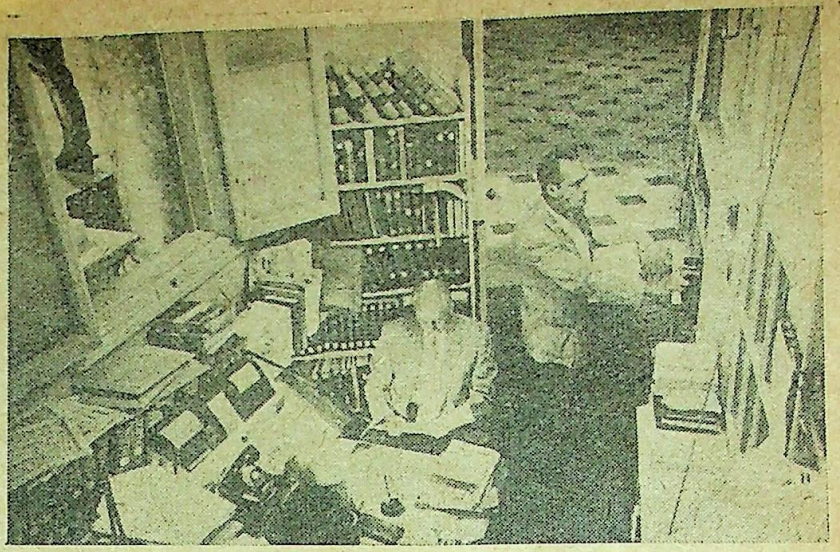
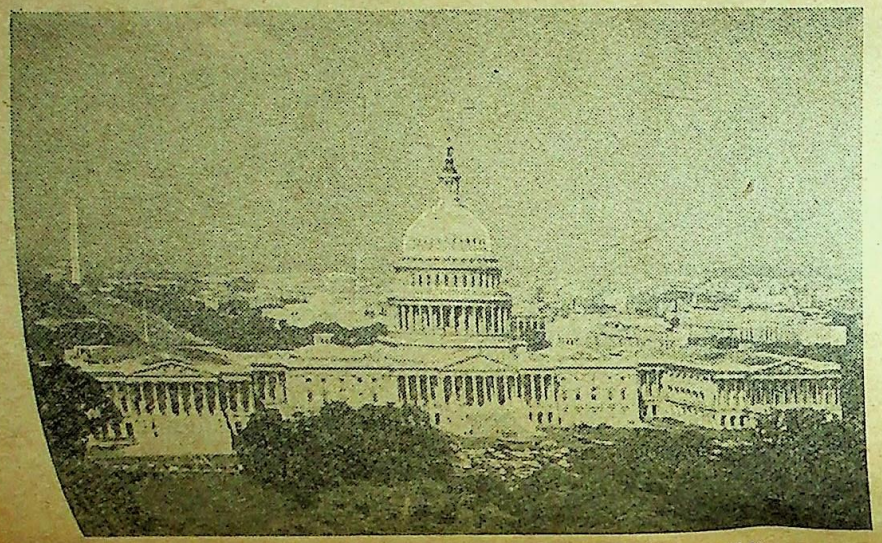
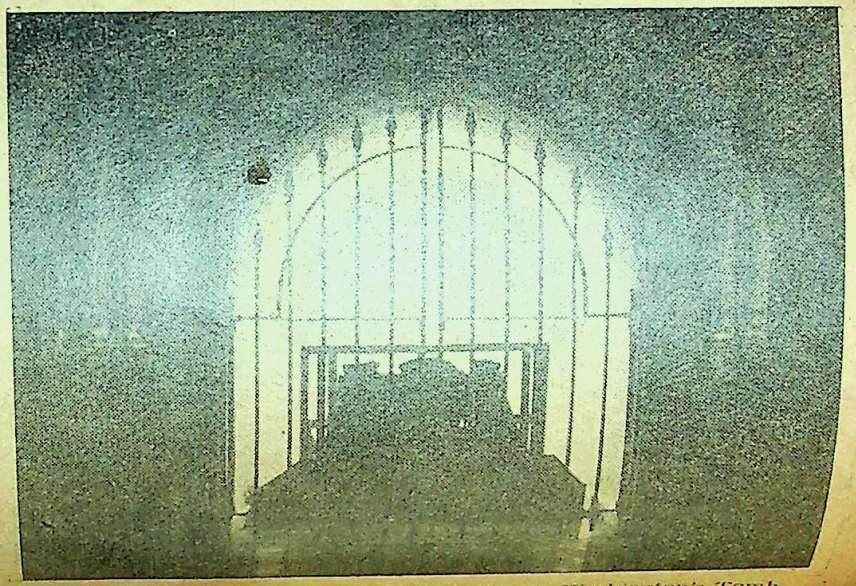
A Senator, before he appears on the floor of the Senate, must deal with his office work



Statutory Hall contains one of the world's smallest libraries



The Capitol grew as the country grew, enlarging buildings some [illegible] the Senate



Under the [illegible] centre of the Capitol, George Washington's Tomb

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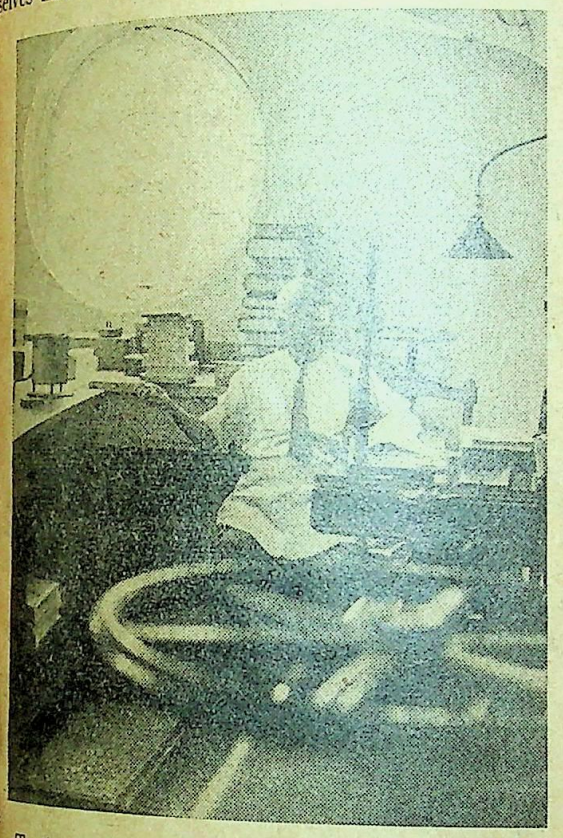
duties. Similarly, sentiment deters the Congress from moving to a new, modern, wholly utilitarian building, as has often been proposed, and leaving this labyrinthine and sometimes inconvenient old structure to the swarming sightseers whose free men's pride in free men's ability to govern themselves has made of it a national shrine.

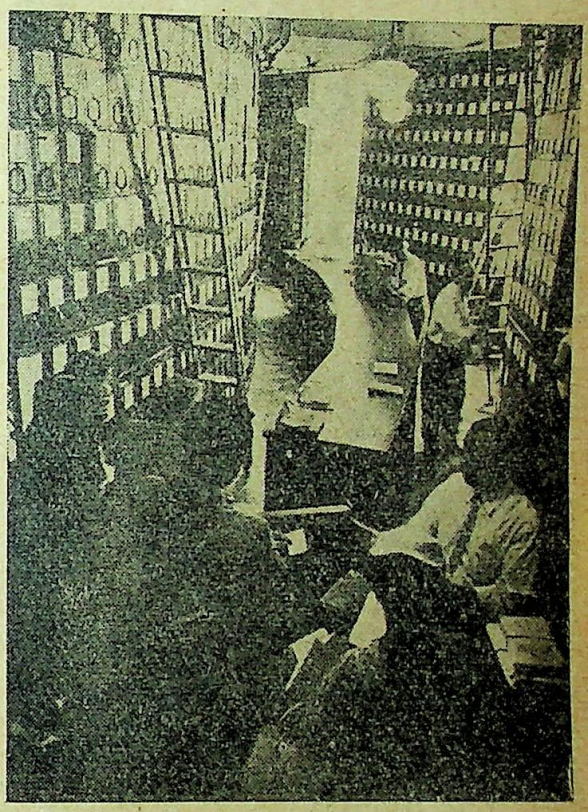


Testimony taken in committee hearings is printed and bound by machine

A complex and dynamic nation is governed in the beautiful old chambers of the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C. Successive revisions and enlargements of the building have left odd nooks, crannies and other architectural compromises, for the number of senators and representatives to the U.S. Congress is based on the numbers of states and of citizens and these figures have vastly multiplied over the years. But the notion of moving Congress to a new, streamlined, wholly utilitarian building has long been held off by the sentimental and the reverent. Perhaps, after all, the structural compromises are appropriate being symbolic of the processes of free men's government, in which all factions enjoy the right to expression and each new generation the right to amend.

The tour of the building will show visitors chambers where debates have altered the course of world history, plus some fine art like Houdon's statue of the first U.S. president, George Washington (foreground) and much art only of sentimental value.

The Capitol grew as the country grew, with but one setback when fire set by British troops in 1814 gutted the two earliest units, sandstone buildings some distance apart (now topped by small domes) which housed the Senate (right)



Curving around Statutory Hall, the House of Document Room contains printed copies of bills. Afterwards they pass into laws

and House of Representatives (left). The cornerstone had been laid in 1793 when Washington was a raw young town and 15 states comprised the Union. By 1859 the nation stretched to the Pacific Ocean and 32 states were sending legislators to sit in the huge new marble wings of House and Senate. Finally—balancing these additions—the present great cast-iron dome replaced a small wooden one.

Congress' daily labors are performed mostly in committee. Senate and House members meet in a joint conference to evolve a mutually satisfactory version of a pending bill, in the Committee room. This room and many others in the Capitol were decorated with frescoes by a political refugee from 19th-century Italy—Constantino Brumidi, who proudly signed one painting, "Citizen of the United States."

Under the very center of the Capitol, George Washington's Tomb holds only an empty,

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black-draped bier in a glass case. The first President is buried at Mount Vernon, his country estate in Virginia, as his will directed. Ponderous walls up to ten feet thick sustain the 4,455-ton dome high above.

The mace, symbol of authority in the House of Representatives, is borne into the House by the Sergeant at Arms as the daily session opens

Senators ride between the Capitol and the Senate Office Building on an underground monorail system whose rolling stock consists of two cars. Representatives reach their office buildings through a tunnel, too, but they walk. (The Second Senate Office Building, now under construction, will be ready for occupancy after January, 1958.)

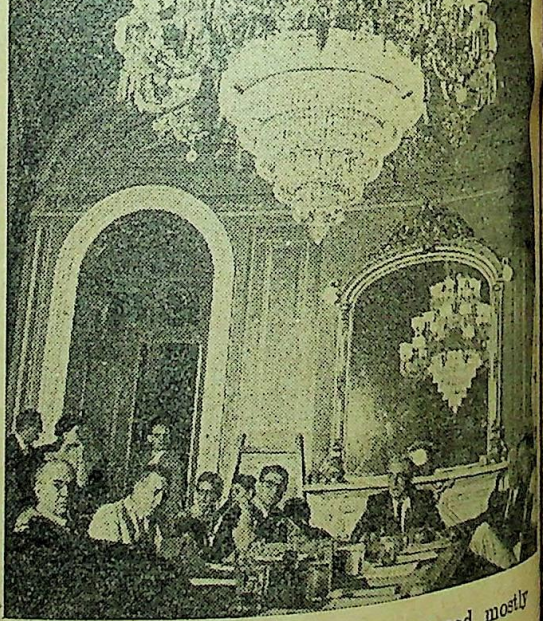
Seated where once Supreme Court justices sat, members of the legislative branch of the U.S. government question representatives of the executive branch on the conduct of their administration. The Constitution of the United States provides that the three equal branches of government—legislative, executive and judicial—check and balance each other.

Curving around Statuary Hall, the House Document Room contains printed copies of bills in the various stages through which they pass into law; as introduced, as reported out of committee, as altered on the floor of the House, and so forth. All these modifications of a bill illustrate the operation of different pressures of disagreements and compromises, under the system of legislative checks and balances.

An odd little pocket of space off Statuary Hall contains what may be one of the world's smallest libraries. This is a station of the Library of Congress, where references are quickly looked up for Members of Congress, and research or books ordered from the main Library are received through a pneumatic tube in seven minutes.

In the hushed and secluded Prayer Room, set aside for use by individual Congressmen, light falls on an open Bible. The cloistered retreat, non-denominational, represents the Congress' recognition of the need for divine guidance and blessing and is almost the only place on Capitol Hill where a Member of Congress can find tranquillity.

The mace, symbol of authority in the House of Representatives, is borne into the House by Sergeant at Arms as the daily session opens. It is a bundle of thirteen ebony rods, symbolizing the thirteen original States of the Union, surmounted by a silver globe and eagle. On the very rare occasions when a session has become stormy and disorderly the mace has been presented before the offending persons and effected immediate order.



Congress' daily labours are performed mostly in committee

The millions of words of testimony taken committee hearings are printed and bound by machine. But the Senate Library's copies hand-sewed.—*USIS*.

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THE PLACE OF HOME SCIENCE IN THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

The majority of Indian women get married at a comparatively early age, and do not go in for a professional career. The home is the proper field of work, and their main occupation consists in home-making. Although the present economic condition of the country sometimes renders it absolutely necessary for women too, to earn their living or to act as the bread-winners of their families, still a great majority of them do not take up outdoor employments and adopt a career. They are mainly occupied with household duties and the rearing of children, which engross most of their time and energy. But these prospective mothers and house-wives of the country, too, need to be trained in the art of home-making, so that they may thus be able to run their future homes on sound and efficient lines. "The greatest good of the greatest number" is a principle that holds good in the present case also. It is a great pity that so far very few attempts have been made to adopt the curriculum to the special needs of women or to prepare them for the important function of maternity as well as a domestic career. As a rule, identical education is being provided both for men and women, and the same courses of study are being prescribed for the pupils of both the sexes. The fact that, biologically, women are fitted and equipped by nature to fulfil a different function from men, and that the biological needs of the two sexes are quite different can hardly be ruled out. When drawing up an educational programme for women as such, the educationists of the day should not lose sight of this important fact. The emancipation of women being the watchword of the feminist movement all the world over, the educated women of the country are clamouring for equal rights with men. In the new constitution of India, equal rights have been declared for both the sexes, and no discrimination is to be made in the matter of education and appointments on the ground of sex only. Today a much bigger number of employments and professions for which formerly men only used to be considered eligible have been thrown open to women, too, the sex being no bar to such appointments. In this respect India can claim to be on a par with the other civilized countries of the world. She can pride herself on her women M.Ps, women politicians, women ministers and ambassadors, women M.L.As. and M.L.Cs., as well as women doctors and lawyers and female officers holding very responsible positions in each State and at the Centre as well. During the last few decades, the impact of the last two World Wars on the national economy of the country has helped to precipitate matters and facilitate the emancipation of her womenfolk to a great extent. At the present moment the middle class people really find it hard to keep their body and soul together and to make both ends meet with the meagre income of the male members of their family. Innumerable women rendered destitute by famine and communal riots have been thrown back entirely on their own resources. They have to eke out a bare living and struggle for existence, along with men. Sometimes women are being compelled to supplement the family budget by taking up odd jobs. The disruptive forces of the last political upheaval, in which Indian women fully participated, and fought side by side with men, so as to free their motherland from the shackles of the foreign yoke have also much to do with the present changed social and economic set-up of the country. Today, Indian women have been able to achieve their economic independence to some extent, and are trying to fight out their rightful place at home and outside, as also to contribute their share to the political, economic and civil life of the country. They have mostly been able to shake off the *purdah* system. The gradual abolition of the *purdah* system is occasioning a good deal of the free mixing of the sexes. Equal educational facilities are being made available to women, too, who are very often achieving brilliant results at the public examinations, and are topping the list of successful candidates at these. All this amply testifies to the intellectual ability of women, and belies the common belief that they are intellectually inferior to men. In India, although much lee-way is yet to be made up in the field of female education, still education is no longer considered to be the special prerogative of men only. Co-education is being provided

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at every stage of education, with a view to affording both the sexes equal educational opportunities and facilities. The present number of girls' schools and colleges being still too small to cope with the ever-increasing demand for seats, co-education has to be resorted to very often, and the former prejudice of the average guardian against it is fast disappearing. The demand for a more adequate number of educational institutions of all types for women is getting more insistent everyday. The number of the educated women of the country is going up by leaps and bounds. Indian women are proving their worth and efficiency in every sphere of public activity. So the equality of the sexes can be taken for granted at the present time. But still there is some fundamental difference inherent in the very natures of men and women, which cannot be overlooked. There is no denying the fact that the psychology of a woman is quite different from that of a man. Tagore has very aptly remarked in his famous article entitled "Woman and Home":

> "If woman begins to believe that, though biologically her function is different from that of man, psychologically she is identical with him; if the human world in its mentality becomes exclusively male, then before long it will be reduced to utter inanity. For life finds its truth and beauty, not in any exaggeration of sameness, but in harmony."

A similar idea finds expression in the oft-quoted lines of Tennyson too:

"Woman is not undeveloped man,
But diverse; Could we make her as the man,
Sweet love were slain; his dearest bond is this,
Not like to like, but like in difference."

Quite apart from this psychological difference, psychologically women are handicapped by certain inequalities, which cannot also be ignored altogether. This fact should be kept in view by the educationists of the day, when formulating a scheme of education. But unfortunately so far very "little thought has been given to the education of women as women," as has been stated in the report of Radha Krishnan Commission. Very little efforts seem to have been made as yet to provide an educational course more befitting women as women, and suited to their requirements. It does not, of course, mean that women should be debarred from going in for higher education or from adopting a career, if they so desire. Their general education should be the same as men's and they should be afforded equal opportunities too. But the opportunities need not necessarily be identical. Higher education cannot but result in the general broadening of our outlook on life and widening our mental horizon. So the educated women of the day cannot be expected to be thoroughly satisfied with a limited sphere of action and to confine their activities within the precincts of their home. But that is no reason why they should not be taught to discharge the duties, appropriate to them as women, properly and efficiently—to rear their offspring and to run their homes on modern scientific lines. Mainly, as a result of their economic dependence on men, they were relegated to a subordinate position at home and in society. At the present moment the educated women of all the civilized countries of the world are awakening to the need of asserting their civic rights and legitimate claims, and are voicing their protest against the legal and social disabilities they have been labouring under for ages together. So all of them can hardly be expected to be contented with a purely domestic career. They may feel inclined to equip themselves for a more ambitious career or for a profession that calls for a good deal of administrative ability, technical skill, and specialised knowledge. Today a good many qualified women are scrambling for gainful occupations and lucrative jobs in open competition with men. But they are exceptions rather than the rule. A vast majority of their less ambitious sisters need to be educated and trained for the immensely responsible task they are destined to fulfil in life as mothers and wives. So far the women of our country have been able to secure very little vocational guidance in such important matters from those entrusted with the shaping of the educational policy of the day. The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. There is no gainsaying the truth of this statement. So one of the most pressing educational problems of the country should be how to turn out more efficient mothers and house-wives, who have got a significant role to play in the rearing and training of children on proper lines.

Besides, one of the main defects of

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present-day educational system of the country is that the instruction imparted in the class-room is totally unrelated to the everyday activities of children, and is entirely divorced from their practical interests in life. Attempts are seldom made to link the activities of the school to those of their everyday life and to teach the school subjects in and through actual life-situations, whenever possible. So, the average guardian does not believe in female education and fails to realize the necessity and importance of it. If female education is to be popularized in the rural areas of the State of West Bengal, which are still very backward, instruction must be made both useful and attractive. Grown-up daughters, as a rule, prove of great help to their mothers in performing household duties and rearing children. The average indigent mother, who can hardly afford a house servant, very grudging'y sends her grown-up daughters to school, and naturally looks upon the years of their schooling as sheer waste of time. If schools aim at providing an adequate training for girls in the art of home-making, their mothers can be easily induced to send them to school, as they cannot but appreciate the value of such training. This necessitates the provision of an alternative course in Home Science for women in general, which will help to divert the terrible rush for admission to general colleges and will also relieve the congestion in these institutions to some extent.

Now the problem is how to evolve and provide a sound and well-thought-out course in Home Science, designed to turn out more efficient mothers and home-makers. Such a course should be an extensive one, and should include such subjects as house-wifery, cookery, laundry work, needlework and tailoring, hygiene and nursing, and the care of children, domestic farming and the like. Instruction should be imparted both in theory and practice. The students of Home Science need to be given a sound knowledge of health and sanitation. An advanced course will be incomplete without an elementary knowledge of psychology and physiology, which is essential for teaching and nursing as well. The pupils should be taught on practical lines how to balance their diet and to take care of babies. They also need to learn how to select and provide the right type of food and dresses for the members of their family. They should be given an elementary knowledge of dietectics. They need to be taught how to make their own dresses as well as those of the other members of their family. Attempts should be made to teach them some decorative arts, too, which will enable them to furnish and decorate their homes tastefully with the minimum of expenditure with simple and most inexpensive materials. They should be trained in some useful arts and crafts, also, which may prove of some help to them in supplementing the family budget, and contributing their share to it. In a word, the students of Home Science should be acquainted with all the technical knowledge and practical skill essential for the art of home-making. Such pupils as will specialise in an advanced course of Home Science should also be provided with suitable employments in this line. They may be employed as teachers of Home Science in high schools and colleges of Domestic Science or Home Science on decent and attractive salaries. New avenues of employment will thus be opened for women.

It is a pity that Domestic Science colleges and training colleges are still so few and far between in our country. More colleges should be set up on the lines of Lady Irwin College of Delhi, which awards a B.Sc. degree in Home Science, and in which provision has also been made for a teachers' training diploma of the Delhi University in Home Science. The Home Science College of Baroda also awards a B.Sc. degree in Home Science of the M.S. University of Boroda. The Bihari Lal Mitra Domestic Science Training College of the Calcutta University also awards a teachers' training diploma in Domestic Science. But according to some provisions in the Deed of Trust executed by the donor, women other than Hindus cannot be admitted to this training college. So the pupils of all communities fail to avail themselves of the facilities afforded therein. The trainees are mostly undergraduates, the minimum academic qualification that is insisted upon being the Intermediate examination certificate. The standard of the course as well as of the examination does not seem to be very high. Degree colleges of Home Science should be started, and provision should be made for a B.Sc. degree at the end of prescribed course. After graduation from such colleges, the students may undergo a

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course of post-graduate training in Home Science and may be awarded a teachers' training diploma. So post-graduate training colleges, also, need to be set up for the purpose.

That Home Science has been included in the new syllabus prescribed for the Junior High Schools for girls in West Bengal from Class VI upwards seems to be a move in the right direction. But it only touches a fringe of the problem. Home Science is an optional subject that can be offered by girls only at the School Final examination. The subject is very poorly taught at the average girls' high school in West Bengal. Trained teachers are very hard to find. More stress is laid upon theoretical instruction than upon practical training. At the School Final examination too, candidates are examined in theory only, there being no provision for a practical test. In only a handful of good schools, practical lessons on laundry work and cookery are arranged. In such girls' schools as are held in the buildings of boys' high schools in the morning, there is hardly any time for such practical lessons, the hours of tuition being not sufficient. Quite apart from anything, a practical bias needs to be given by all means to the purely bookish education that is generally imparted at the average school today. In girls' schools, such domestic work as is taught in the Home Science classes may constitute an important basic craft, in correlation with which quite a number of subjects may be taught through the activity methods, envisaged in the curriculum of basic education. Such methods involve the important psychological principle of "learning by doing" or "learning by living" too. The acquisition of knowledge is thus motivated by children's innate urge to solve certain live problems, to which they may be pinned down in the class room.

———:O:———

THE LIFE AND ART OF ROBERT LYND

By Prof. MIHIR KUMAR SEN, M.A.

I

Lynd the Journalist

Born in Belfast on the 20th of April, 1879, Robert Lynd, the last great writer of the short essay in English, came of a line of Ulster Presbyterian ministers traceable to the United Irishmen of the 18th Century. The second of his parents' seven children, Robert was educated in the Royal Academical Institution and Queen's University, Belfast.

After a brief career on the staffs of *Northern Whig* in Belfast and *Daily Dispatch* in Manchester, Lynd found out that his 'style was too flowery for a daily paper' and became a free-lance. His first noteworthy work as a Columnist was the sketch of an Oxford-Cambridge boat-race—which he never saw—for Jerome K. Jerome's *To-day*. Earlier he had done a few short sketches for *Outlook*, London. His honeymoon with Sylvia Dryhurst in Achill Island on the edge of poverty made him realise that the security of regular farthings was preferable to earning an occasional penny. Shortly afterwards (1909) he applied for and got the job of a leader-writer in *Daily News*, where Andrew Lang and A. G. Gardiner had been two of his predecessors in office. He retired in 1947 as literary editor of *Daily Chronicle*, the succesor of *Daily News*.

While on the staff of *Daily News*, Lynd started his free-lance career a fresh start. He started writing essays and reviews for *The New Statesman and The Nation*, In the last years of his life Lynd's work appeared mostly under his pen-name "Y.Y." on the columns of the *New Statesman and the Nation*. For a number of years, he was John O' London in *John O' London's Weekly*. From time to time his writings were collected and published by Methuen and Dent. He passed away, full of years and honours, on the 6th of October,

II

Lynd the Man

Robert Lynd was tall, had raven hair, a thinker's forehead, beaked nose and fine bones and looked gently charming.

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took no care of his appearance. A lock of hair used to hang down over his forehead. A cigarette always dangled between his lips. His clothes were good and from Saville Row. But he took little care of them. He used to put his grey felt hat on the table and rest his arms on it! He would also thrust letters, proofs, newspapers, and even books into his trouser pockets, so his clothes often looked strange in their scarecrow outlines. As he was a chain-smoker, whenever he rose after a long sitting, his coat and waistcoat were covered with cigarette-ash. Once Lynd in such odd garments was taken for a pedlar of pornography and refused entry in a tea-shop by the manageress! Mr. Lionel Hale who had for some time worked for Robert Lynd, has written to me that Mrs. Lynd had occasions to ring up his assistants and request them to take him out to buy new shirts, jerseys or trousers.

Lynd was essentially gregarious and talked wonderfully well while sipping in tiny tots of Scotch Whiskey and Apollinaris. As Mr. Norman Collins, the novelist who worked with Lynd for some years on *News Chronicle*, tells me in one of his letters, Lynd's house in Hampstead —within a stone's throw of Keats's house—was an evening saloon for writers such as Joyce, Wells, Beerbohm, Bennett, Walpole, Priestley, Galsworthy and many others. His wife Sylvia, herself a noted poet and critic, used to preside over those informal meetings in their residence. Lynd felt happiest when in conversation, and the table-talk tone in his *belles lettres* is not to be missed.

Lynd sincerely believed that every human being had something praiseworthy in him or her; that is why he was never heard speaking unkindly about another person. It was difficult for others in his presence to think or speak meanly or ungenerously about anybody. 'Gentle' was the word for describing him though he became tired of being referred to in the same breath as 'gentle Lamb,' another Irishman.

Few can beat Lynd in versatility of interests. He had the Irishman's passion for backing horses (though with small sums only); rarely missed an International rugger match; developed a naturalist's fondness for birds and insects; appreciated painting; read books omnivorously, loved to call at eating-houses, and was fond of occasionally looking up his horoscope. He believed that, born on the same day as he, Adolf Hitler must have had the same horoscope and rejoiced in the event of a personal misfortune, thinking that the Fuehrer, too, was suffering at the same time!

III

Lynd the Litterateur

Lynd could love his fellow-creatures without being sentimental because he looked at the world from odd angles. This twist of observation is a noteworthy feature of his style. Goldsmith sympathised with the citizen of the world; yet he drew our attention to the oddity in the man-in-black. Lynd, also Irish, viewed the temperamentally forgetful man with lenience—what with his broad human sympathies, what with he himself being one—yet he has helped us look at the forgetful man from unusual angles and to laugh at his expense.

"It is the efficiency rather than the inefficiency of human memory that compels my wonder," Lynd says in his memorable essay on forgetting. "Modern man remembers even telephone numbers. He remembers the addresses of his friends. He remembers the dates of good vintages. He remembers appointments for lunch and dinner. . . . How many men in all London forget a single item of their clothing when dressing in the morning? Not one in a hundred. Perhaps not one in ten thousand. How many of them forget to shut the front door when leaving the house? Scarcely more."

Then he snaps up, ". . . . At the same time, ordinarily good memory is so common that we regard a man who does not possess it as eccentric. I have heard of a father, who, having offered to take the baby out in a perambulator, was tempted by the sunny morning to pause on his journey and slip into a public house for a glass of beer. Leaving the perambulator outside, he disappeared through the door of the saloon bar. A little later, his wife had come out to do some shopping which took her past the public house, where to her horror she discovered her sleeping baby. Indignant at her husband's behaviour, she decided to teach him a lesson. She wheeled away the perambulator, picturing to herself his terror when he would come out and find the baby gone. She arrived home, anticipating with angry relish the white face and quivering lips

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that would soon appear with the news that the baby had been stolen. What was her vexation, however, when just before lunch her husband came in smiling cheerfully and asking: 'Well, my dear, what's for lunch to-day?' having forgotten all about the baby and the fact that he had taken it out with him. How many men below the rank of a philosopher would be capable of such absentmindedness as this? Most of us, I fear, are born with prosaically efficient memories."

Then comes the last twist of Lynd's Knife: "If it were not so, the institution of the family could not survive in any great modern city."

The above passage has all the criteria of an essay that Sir A. C. Benson had laid down in *The Art of the Essay*.

"One does not go to an essayist with a desire for information or with an expectation of finding a clear statement of a complicated subject; that is not the mood in which one takes up a volume of essays. What one rather expects to find is a companionable treatment of the vast mass of little problems and floating ideas which are aroused and evoked by our passage through the world, our daily employment, our leisure hours, our amusements and diversions, and above all, by our relations with people—all the unexpected inconsistent various simple stuff of life."

Lynd always forgave but never forgot those who borrowed money from him. He makes the typical borrower the object of the sallies of his wit in *The Money-lenders*. He starts that essay raconteur-like, as did Goldsmith in *The Citizen of the World*. But his is a sharp break from Goldsmith's. After giving an account of how one day he was hoodwinked by a gang to sign his name and incidentally help them some money, he ends thus:

". . . . . It was the highest price, I must say, that has ever been paid for anything I have written. Mr. Arnold Bennet, I believe, gets something between a shilling and a guinea a word. But those two words that I wrote were, even in the illiterate eyes of a money-lender, reckoned to be worth between six and seven pounds each."

Lynd covered, in his various writings, all manner of topics under the earth ranging from the butterfly to the sea, from the money-lender to the fogetful man, nice behaviour to silence, from pleasing the foreigner to critical appreciation of modern poetry. For he was deeply interested in a wide variety of human occupations and natural phenomena. It appears that he set to work with a positive belief that roughly what interested him would interest a great many other people as well. He never under-estimated the 'fundamental brainwork' of the 'common reader'; and there lay the key to his popularity. A 'personal' note running through all matters of 'human' interest never missed the mark. And how easily does he mix 'instruction' with 'delight' in his discourse on *Going Abroad*:

"Time passes, however and, even though abroad, we begin to feel at home. Things no longer please us merely because they are novel. We pass the shops with as little interest as if they bore above their windows such accustomed inscriptions as 'Family Butcher,' 'Stationer,' or 'Italian Warehouseman'! We cease to notice that the policemen differ from any other policemen. The trams no longer excite us by their unusual colour and design. The streets become our familiar walks. We find it extraordinarily easy to pass the church without going inside. The flavour of the food becomes monotonous."

This passage clearly indicates how very easy, pleasing, fluent his style of writing was and how uncommonly keen were his observation of human conduct and insight into human nature. It did not really matter what the subject of his essay was. He wanted to establish friendship with his readers, whose intelligence he neither over-estimated nor under-estimated. And this he undoubtedly did by giving his writings, above everything else, a good-humoured and rational shape. It is also remarkable that Lynd used the same 'pleasing style' throughout the entire gamut of his panoramic sketches, be the subject reflective or descriptive, serious or half-witty, literary or political. This is a striking feature of his writings.

Lynd's 'sympathetic' attitude to his readers might have been a lesson that years of practical journalism taught him. The daily newspaper picks out an universally intelligible style for communicating its message to a heterogeneous body of the reading public. Lynd obviously thought it wise to cut his cloak according to his cloth.

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and the readers of *The New Statesman and The Nation* were never disappointed in their expectation of something exceedingly delightful from the weekly notes from "Y.Y." In course of time, "Y.Y."'s essays deservingly became indispensable to the anthology-compilers in England and abroad. Lynd has often been said to have been 'confidential' like Lamb and 'a pleasing story-teller' like Goldsmith; yet his style was absolutely free from the urbanity of Lamb and from the 'sentimentalism' of Goldsmith's.[1] Moreover, his style was simply an age racier than Lamb's or Goldsmith's.

Lynd firmly refused to write his autobiography. In a letter written to me, Lynd's elder sister—Mrs. R. M. Jones—rightly holds that Lynd would live in his works. His was a unique art that made us feel that we were coming across the topics for the first time in our lives. It is due to this 'perfected' art of imparting freshness to whatever topics he dwelt upon that Lynd's writings are always fresh in our memory, in spite of the fact that no biography has so far been written of him.

IV

Lynd the Pamphleteer

Lynd had emigrated to England when he was barely 21, with a view to launching on a journalistic career; yet he never lost touch with Ireland.[2] There was a tradition of independence in the Lynd family, and his grandfather had runaway slaves in his manse as guests.[3] "Ireland's struggle for freedom," writes his daughter—Mrs. Wheeler[4]—"was the thing he felt most passionately about." The reasons are not far to seek, therefore, for Lynd's early enthusiasm for the Gaelic League. He wrote for the Sinn Fein ("Ourselves") movement (in which he was joined by two of his younger sisters who are living) from its inception, under the Irish form of his name—Roibeard O' Fhloinn. His daughter Sheila (now Mrs. Wheeler) still respects her father's nationalistic feelings baptising her with a Gaelic name—Sighle (the Gaelic form of "Sheila") by using it occasionally. She is, by the way, a prominent member on the staff of the *Daily Worker* and is known for her sympathies with the underdog.

Lynd detested the sectarian bitterness that caused a schism in Ireland's body politic in those days, and sounded his caution in *The Orangemen and the Nation* (Belfast: The Republican Press, 1907). One notices the same liberal attitude and racy style in this tract as in his writings of a purely literary nature. In *The Ethics of Sinn Fein* (Limerick, 1910) Lynd exposed the new policy for self-government initiated by Arthur Griffith. An essay of his—"If the Germans Conquered England"—played an interesting part in the insurrection of 1916. These more-or-less political writings of Lynd's are not half as known as his other writings, for no faults of their own! To make the readers familiar with these we shall quote representative extracts from them. In *If the Germans Conquered England* Lynd wrote:

> "The Irish national cause is the cause of every nation—England included—which is fighting against tyranny. Ireland does not demand any kind of liberty which she does not wish to see England, France, Belgium, Poland and all the other nations enjoying in equal measure . . . . . Ireland, in her struggle against English Imperialism is the close counterpart of England (and closer still Belgium) in their struggle against German Imperialism. Germany, if she conquered England, could do no wrong that has been done or is not done even now being done by England in Ireland. The chief horror of conquest does not consist in atrocities: it consists in being conquered . . . ."

An intelligent person writing out his feelings, making no bones about them, in crystal-clear language—this is how the passage strikes us.

Such passages abound. Grant Richards of London published in 1919 *Ireland a Nation*, wherein Lynd made an exhaustive study of his

1. *Vide* M. K. Sen: "Robert Lynd" in *Calcutta Review*, April, 1950.
2. From the excellent account of Lynd's life published by the Irish Department of External Affairs in their weekly bulletin—*Eire*—on 17th October, 1955, we learn that Lynd 'conducted an Irish class in London at the Haverstock Hill branch of the Gaelic League.'
3. Writes Sir Desmond MacCarthy in his admirable account of Lynd's life in his Introduction to "Everyman" *Essays on Life and Literature* by Lynd that Lynd's "Great-grand-father had left the church of Scotland and emigrated to Ireland because his congregation had objected to his wearing silver buckles on his shoes."
4. In a recent letter to me.

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mother country. His loyality to the native tradition is revealed in lines scattered throughout this book. His pride on being on an Ulster ministerial line pops up through intervals in between his liberal views. The qualities of his most effective writing stand out—light, incisive and serious yet unoffensive—in such passages as the following :

"The English attitude to Ireland is somewhat paradoxical. Englishmen can hardly be said to dislike the Irish personality. On the whole, I think, they like them better than they like most foreigners. They like them, however, as a holiday people—rather than as a serious people. Even the most fanatical Irishman who, without the faintest gleam of humour in his composition, gives his life for a passionate ideal, is explained away as a person with a hilarious love of fighting for its own sake. In the early days of the war *Punch* had a drawing of an Irishman to whom someone says : 'This is a terrible war, Pat., 'Yes, sorr,' replied the Irishman, 'tis a terrible war; but, sure' tis better than no war at all.' I do not think it is unfair to suggest that this joke vividly represents a common English view of the Irish character. Set out with the idea that the Irshman is an irresponsible creature, and you do not need to consider his demand, for he obviously does not mean it. If he gives his life in the armies of the Allies, it is not because he is a soldier of freedom, but because he is always spoiling for a fight. If he gives his life on the Republican side, well, boys will be boys. If the Irish had not the Germans or the English to fight, we are told, they would fight each other. Is not Ireland the nation of the shillelagh—that knotted bludgeon which is never seen in Ireland except in the windows of shops that cater for the tastes of tourists? How is it possible to regard Paddy with the shillelagh as a potential Abraham Lincoln—a staesman with a constructive mind, tolerant, prudent, and endowed with the civic and commercial virtues? All such a happy-go-lucky creature needs is to be ruled with a firm hand. He is like a high-spirited animal that only becomes naughty if ridden with a loose rein. What he requires is firm and expert government in Ireland, so far as it has a theory, depends upon the belief that the Irishman is a fine specimen of animal, but not a fine specimen of man."

Giving vent to his typical nationalist sympathies in controlled utterances, to his fondness for horse-racing and other characteristics discussed earlier, this book, through passages like the above, brilliantly studies Irish history and literature. Of particular interest and poignancy are the chapters on Ulster's fear of Home Rule and the Ulster Problem, punctuated with those touches of unassuming yet brilliant humour that go with Lynd's name.

In spite of his pronounced sympathies with anything Gaelic, Lynd, mainly for his unoffensive way of showing things in their true colour, never had to face the wrath of the British censor. Not only that : London *Times* came out with the following words in an obituary note on his death :

"A person of great humour, kindness, curiosity and breadth of mind, and of unfailing sympathy and tolerance, he was an Irishman of firmly Protestant type, loyal to the native tradition, dedicated to familiar good sense, and always watchful where any suspicion of obscurantism obtruded itself."

A fitting tribute indeed to his unique gift of humour, sympathy, observation, patriotism, liberalism, insight, incision and flow!

Lynd wrote another pamphlet in 1921, when the Anglo-Irish war was at its zenith, for the London Peace with Ireland Council, and it was named *The Murders in Ireland : Who Began It.* As it is usual with Lynd, liberal views are controlled language distinguished this pamphlet from others on the subject. All such writings, however, show that though Lynd was sometimes of a dreamer in his outward ways and manners he was a society-conscious writer, the type of "those who soar but never roam, true to the kindred points of heaven and home."

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CHRISTOPHER FRY AND THE COMIC SPIRIT IN MODERN POETIC DRAMA

PROF. N. S. SUBRAMANYAM, M.A.

For the reason of laughter, since
laughter is surely
The surest touch of genius in creation....
—*The Lady's not for Burning*

"Christopher Fry, gaily, cleverly, triumphantly offers us," remarks the veteran critic Scott-James, "not despair or renunciation, but life and poetry seasoned with so much philosophy as we may care to add."[1] The primary fact about Fry is that he has been interested in developing a powerful phraseology and in order to achieve that, he uses images from several sources,—mythology and modern science in particular, and juxtaposes them in his lines, as in the few examples taken at random :

"I've a heart this morning as light as a
nebula"
(*Venus Observed*)

". . . . . if Paris had no trouble
Choosing between the tide-turning beauty
Imponderable and sexed with eternity
Of Aphrodite, Hera and Athene,
Aren't you ashamed to make heavy
weather of a choice
Between Hilda, and Rosabel and Jessie ?"
(*Venus Observed*)

". . . . . Surely she knows,
If she is true to herself, the moon is
nothing
But a circumambulating aphrodisiac
Divinely subsidized to provoke the world
Into a rising birth-rate—a veneer
Of sheerest Venus on the planks of Time
Which may feel the ocean but which
fools not me."
(*The Lady's not for Burning*)

In both these well-known plays of Fry, there are extraordinary expressions of abuse, which are interesting etymologically, as the following examples :

'Nattering wheygoose'—ugly toadlike, pale-with-fear dull-witted man.
natterjack—toad; whey—buttermilk (as pale as)

'a lot of amphigonrious stultiloquential fiddle-faddle—so much of nonsensical, absurd, trivial talk' (amphigouri—nonsensetalk; stultify—reduce to absurdity; loquential —using too many words; fiddle-faddle —trivial)

'God give me a few lithontriptical words'—words powerful enough to break up stones in the physiognomy (from Medicine) (lithon-thruptika—communitive of stones according to the Oxford Dictionary)

'operculated prig'—a conceited person, very secretive.
(Biology : operculum—fish's gill-cover)

All the plays that Fry has written hitherto, do not have such riot of words or humour. In his two serious religious plays—*Thor with Angels* (Canterbury Festival of 1948) and *The Firstborn* (Edinburgh Festival of 1948), Fry is an adept at switching over to the mood in which man accepts his Destiny without squirming over it :

"A man has to provide his own providence
Or there's no knowing what religion
will get hold of him."
(*The Dark is Light Enough*)

This latest play of his, *The Dark is Light Enough* (Aldwych Theatre, 1945), Fry takes his title-theme from the allegorical idea of a storm through which the lighter butter-fly goes unharmed, but the heavy screech-owl 'would not dare to forsake the olive tree.' Fry boldly makes out a case for light-heartedness, despite any soul-vibrating crisis—a view all in opposition to the heavy seriousness of Eliot and his followers in the Mercury Theatre :

"There's a dreariness in dedicated spirits
That makes the promised land seem
older than the fish."

Fry's contribution is, he is making the contemporary poetic-play broadbased to include

1. Scott-James: *Fifty Years of English Literature*, p. 229.

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all themes and moods, not merely the monotony of Death and Religious Self-immolation. He seems to have found his own personal attitude, if ever that is required for a poet-dramatist, in this latest play and its mouthpiece is Countess Rosmarin Ostenburg. It is the philosophy of disenchantment, a retrenchment from all that is passionately personal in life :

". . . . It's the perfection of sleep
To be awake to the dream.
If I were going to live forever
This would be the way; unconcerned
And reasonably fond. I am like
an arm or a hand
After a rigorous long time unflexing.
It unclenches at last into an apparition
And touches without feeling.
It is so disenchanted of the body."

The passionate clinging to ideologies, whether in Politics, Science or Philosophy, is self-imposed tyranny. The political clamour about oppression, oppressed and opressors, expoloitation and freedom, is itself a tyranny. People demand and praise consistency—which is after all 'to be identical each day.' Fry seems to say that an attitude of detachment from fixed ideologies or fierce dogmas, may be the best solution for the dilemma facing right-thinking individuals today.

Fry was conscious, when he started his career as a poet of the theatre, of the dogmatic search for values by various contemporary verse dramatists. Eliot found it in the doctrine of Self-immolation which he put through, not only in the early *Murder in Cathedral* (1935), but in the later *The Family Reunion* (1939) and *The Cocktail Party* (1949). Eliot thought that any type of human action is not a movement forward or backward. Basically, 'neither does the agent act, nor the patient act.' Action and suffering are relative and conform to an eternal pattern :

". . . . for the pattern is the action
And the suffering, that the wheel may
turn and still be forever still.
(*Murder in the Cathedral*)

Anouilh, the French playwright, put through plays like *Antigone* (1946) and *Eurydice* (1941), the idea that the most precious values are to be found only in a place beyond earthly life—maybe in Death. Monsieur Henri advises Orphee, the unsuccessful violinist, he should welcome Death voluntarily :

". . . . One must trust oneself to death
without reserve, as to a friend. A friend
with a strong and sensitive hand."[2]

But Fry would emphatically take the view that life is there, whatever be the ugliness connected with it. It is far better to laugh away this necessary evil of living than commisserate one another about the sordidness of existence. Mendip, the man who comes to the Mayor of his town, with the demand to be hanged, is the man chosen to put this attitude, in proper terms.

". . . . Are you going to be so serious
About such a mean allowance of breath
as life is?
We'll suppose ourselves be caddis-flies
Who live one day. Do we waste the
evening
Commisserating with each other about
The unhygeinic condition of our worm-
case
For God's sake, shall we laugh?
(*The Lady's not for Burning*)

Laughter is an explosive escape from man's mind stuffed with 'such greeds and passions;' 'such a phenomenon as cachinnation' is only a loud escape of the perilous stuffed substances. Whatever be the intensity of suffering, the depth of deceit and callousness, still as Fry puts it through Jennet Jourdemayne, the girl whom the people of the medieval town of Cool-Clary accuse as a witch and demand that she be burnt, life is desirable :

". . . . Something compels us into
The terrible fallacy that man is desirable
And there's no escaping into truth the
crime
And cruelties leave us longing, and
campaigning
Love still pitches his tent of light among
The suns and moons . . . ."
(*The Lady's not for Burning*)

Man may appear to be a 'perambulating vegetable, patched with inconsequential hair,' but he is 'desirable.' Man has to accept life as a necessity. Fry puts a very pregnant question through the fair, supposed witch, Jennet, which is not merely meant for the misanthrope

2. *Eurydice of Anouilh* (Act One, towards end).

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Mendip, but to all who preach self-immolation, for whatever reason :

". . . . And do you think
Your gesture of death is going to
change it ?"

(*The Lady's not for Burning*)

The 'comic' approach is after all associated with the recognition of the rights of life—the view that life has its own dues. The laws of Ethics are the products of brains who actually did not experience any event on which they theorise and therefore have no intrinsic value :

". . . . And what is madness
To those who only observe, is often wisdom
To those to whom it happens."

(*A Phoenix too Frequent*)

This assertion that 'Life' has to be accepted at its own value, put forward by Fry, is very timely on the poetic-stage—due to the fact that there have been too many self-immolations and martyrdoms in contemporary poetical plays.

One of his early play : *A Phoenix too Frequent* (Mercury Theatre, April, 1946. produced by Martin Browne), is interesting for the clever use of the regenerating myth of the Phoenix. Dynamene, a young woman, thinks of dying inside the tomb of her husband, Virilius. But she is wooed and won over by a youthful corporal, Tegeus. When he is in loving conversation with her, one of the six corpses he is set to guard, outside the morgue, is stolen away. The two cement their love by Dynamene's bold proposal to exhume the corpse of Virilius and make it take the place of the stolen body. Tegeus is saved by this very unorthodox strategy. The justification for such an act—usually considered sacrilegious, is, that death is for renewal of life, not spreading further misery around about :

"How little you can understand. I loved
His life not his death. And now we
can give his death
The power of life. Not horrible :
wonderful !
Isn't so ? That I should be able to feel
He moves again in the world,
accomplishing
Our welfare ? It's more than my grief
could do.

Similarly Mendip in *The Lady's not for Burning*, is dissuaded from his misanthropic love of death by the force of love for the supposed witch, Jennet Jourdemayne.

Even in his serious religious plays, Fry comes back to the theme of the value of Life. In the magnificent play, *The Firstborn* (Edinburgh Festival of 1948), Moses leads the Israelite people out of their captivity in Egypt, only after the vengeance of Jehovah falling on the Firstborn of the land, starting from the Pharaoh's own son, Ramases. Moses laments that we can 'go forward only by the ravage of what we value.' Moses stands for many a sensitive revolutionary of our own time. In the anxiety to liberate, we have to kill what is to be spared. Man's intention is always to remove what is harmful and preserve what is useful. But in effect what happens is, both good and the bad perish together in the fires of Revolution and War :

"I do not know why the necessity of God
Should feed on grief; but it seems so.
And to know it
Is not to grieve less, but to see grief
grow big
With what has died, and in some
spirit differently
Bear it back to life . . . ."

When human attempt to change forcibly the state of life is attended by destruction of what is to be preserved, the proper course is not that of Moses, but that of Countess Rosmarin in *The Dark is Light Enough*, that of detachment.

Fry has still a long period before him to evolve this concept of life as a necessary episode in the scheme of things, through the dramatic form. Leaving aside his 'feat of verbal legerdemain' (a phrase of J. C. Trewin), Fry has really hit upon a welcome attitude, not touched seriously by any of the contemporary practitioners of verse-drama, namely, the acceptance of life instead of its sacrifice for the sake of higher values.

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Book Reviews

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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR AND LADAKH: *By J. N. Ganhar and P. N. Ganhar. Published by the authors. New Delhi. 1956. Pp. 245. Price Rs. 15,*

Written on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's *Parinirvana*, this work seeks to trace the fortunes of Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh from the earliest times to the present, to explain the contribution made to the development and propagation of the faith by the people of that valley and to assess its influence upon their art and architecture, religion and culture. The first and introductory portion deals briefly with the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha. The second and the longest part traces the history of Buddhism in Kashmir from its supposed first Buddhist king of Kashmir, "Surrendra" down to present times. The third part deals specially with Ladakh and its Buddhist people, while the fourth and the last part describes the present position of Buddhism in the Kashmir State. While full credit is due to the authors for the industry with which they have collected their materials and the lucidity with which they have presented the same, it is possible to make a few remarks for their consideration when a new edition of the work is called for. The authors' decided view that Buddhism was not a revolt against Hinduism (p. 4f) fails to take note of Buddha's rejection of such fundamental Brahmanical beliefs as the authority of the Vedas and the doctrine of the soul. Occasionally we have uncritical appraisement of incidents as in the authors' acceptance of the stories of the early kings of Kashmir in Kalhana's work including the chronicler's account of the first king Gonanda I related to king Jarasandha of the *Mahabharata* fame, that of the first Buddhist king "Surrendra," that of Lalitaditya's expeditions extending "from Bengal to Kathiawad" and "from Malabar to Central Asian deserts" and that of Jayapida's tour of conquest in northern and eastern India ending in his defeat of five Gauda princes and crowning his father-in-law Jayanta as their overlord. The paper and print are of high quality as also the illustrations. Dr. K. N. Katiu contributes an appreciative Foreword. On the whole the present work is likely to be useful to those for whom it is meant.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ANNIE BESANT: *By Sri Prakasa. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay. 1954. Illustrated. Pp. lxiii+173. Price Re. 1-12.*

This is the revised and enlarged edition of a book originally published in 1940 by the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras, with a Foreword by George S. Arundale, its President. In the present edition the author has left out Notes, and appended an Introduction instead, which deals with our freedom struggle since the death of Mrs. Besant in 1932. This should be stated at the outset that the book is not a regular biography. It rather gives a continuous account of the author's memories of this great lady since his childhood. This covers the life and activities of Mrs. Annie Besant for forty years, that is, almost the latter part of her existence in flesh and blood. Besides "Introduction" the book contains the following chapters: I. Early Memories; II. Some Great Characteristics; III. Personal Loyalties; IV. Letters, Lectures and Recreations; V. The Gathering Storm; VI. Some Problem of Life; VII. England and India; VIII. The Parting of the Ways; and IX. As She Lived and Died.

In these chapters the author, while depicting the activities of Mrs. Besant which, he experienced himself, throws immense light on many facets of her life. A first-rank Theosophist, Mrs. Besant came to India as a pilgrim goes to a *tirtha* or holy place like a devotee. She remained here and adopted the country as her Motherland. In order to serve her truly and faithfully Mrs. Besant applied seriously to the study of Hindu religion, thought and culture embalmed in our sacred literature. She travelled throughout the country and chose Benares as her field of work. She chose education as the most useful medium of serving her fellowmen. She started the Central Hindu College at Benares in the nineties of the last century in collaboration with Babu Bhagawan Das, now a nonagenarian, father of the author. Since then till her breach with the latter, the author came in close touch with Mrs. Besant and was inspired by her life and action. During the World War I, Mrs. Besant joined active politics and started the great Home Rule movement. She was incarcerated for some time in 1917. For her devoted service to the Motherland for the quarter of a century, the Indian National Congress honoured her with presidentship in its Calcutta session in 1917. But her political career was short, and with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in Indian politics Mrs. Besant withdrew, never to take political movements actively. But her work for the welfare of India continued as before.

In the course of the narrative, the author presents some interesting facts which are little known to the present-day people. She was a strict disciplinarian and had a love for decorum. It was for this reason that

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the fateful 16th October of 1905, she refused the bare-footed Bengali students entrance into the school! She believed in Indo-British connection, and strove hard to build it on a strong foundation. It was a severe wrench for her to give up her connection with the Central Hindu College, her favourite child as it were. Babu Bhagawan Das took charge of the Institution, which became the nucleus of the Benares Hindu University of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The authorities of the University invited leaders of thought and culture to speak in the inauguration-ceremony week, and Mahatma Gandhi was one of them. He spoke like a people's man. The speech was full of so many home-truths that the Princes, Government officers and *johukums* retired, and the President Pandit Sunderlal dissolved the meeting! The author is a consummate writer: and the narrative is not only full of important facts and events, but also humour and homethruths. The interest is sustained all through. This is a valuable edition to the biographical literature.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

A VISIT TO NEW CHINA: *By Saila Kumar Mookherjee. A. Mukherjee and Co., Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The author paid a visit to China in 1954 as a member of a goodwill mission sponsored by Indo-China Friendship Association. The book under review describes what he saw in China and his re-actions thereto. Shri Mukherjee, full of admiration for New China as he is, yet points out—rightly, we think.—that it would be an injustice to the great Chinese people to confine New China's rapid progress and developments of the Chinese people to the last five (1949-1954) years. The last phase was only the culmination of a long course of history of a great Eastern people struggling against the worst type of feudalism and colonialism" (p. 17).

A few mistakes mar an otherwise excellent account of China's past history given in Chapter III. The first Anglo-Chinese War broke out in 1840, not in 1857. Nor was opium the cause of the conflict as the author would have us believe. The real cause lay much deeper. Opium, in fact, was "no more the cause of war than the throwing overboard of the tea in the Boston harbour was the cause" of the American War of Independence. Kan Youie referred to by the author as evidently Kang Yu-wei, who made a bold bid to set the Manchu house in order in the closing years of the 19th century. He began his reforms during the summer of 1898 and not in 1897.

Chapter X marks out the volume from many another on the subject. The author poses herein a vital question—should India follow China? His answer is 'No.' He, however, is not dogmatic and observes that India's path and policy for the transformation of human nature are different from those of Communist countries and that history alone will show which are better and yield more enduring results.

In consideration of the volume, binding and get-up of the book and the excellent photographs included therein, it is quite moderately priced.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

PROGRESSIVE GERMAN READER (For Arts and Science students): *By Dr. Haragopal Biswas, M.Sc., D.Phil. (Cal.). Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 12-8.*

International understanding and good-will largely depend on constant communion between nations of the world. It is redundant to point out the necessity of learning foreign languages in this context. Dr. Biswas by bringing out the book under review has undoubtedly helped the Indian students intending to acquire a workable knowledge of German language and literature. Dr. Biswas has admirably performed a linguist's task in giving the Indian students ample opportunity for learning German language. But he did not stop at that. His imagination took him somewhere beyond and its impress is evident on nearly four hundred pages that follow the brilliant introduction by Prof. F. W. Levi. His labours in selecting the relevant topics, illustrative passages, exercises, short stories and biographical sketches have been amply rewarded for they have made the book interesting. Selected passages from noted works on Arts and Science have enriched the volume. The introduction of 'Didactic Pieces' and 'Ponderable Pieces' is an added attraction of the book and they take away the last vestige of monotony that is usually found in such primers. The book has also admirably suited the needs of advanced students of arts and science and the research workers on humanities and scientific subjects will find the book very helpful. It does not present us the conventional type of a linguist's publication intended for giving a working knowledge to foreigners. It intends to present much of German wisdom and it has successfully performed its self-appointed task. "The author has undoubtedly laid the Indian student under a deep debt of gratitude by removing the keenly felt need of a book of this type."

Prof. Biswas has been teaching in the university language department for a number of years and his long experience in teaching the subject has made him conversant with the difficulties of Indian students. He has suitably simplified the not-too-easy German grammar and has admirably presented it with copious illustrations making it accessible even to the casual reader. We have been spared the pains of having to refer to the orthodox grammar books with all their technicalities and boredom of unnecessary details. Dr. Biswas, rich in experience both as a scientist and as a teacher of German language and literature, has proved himself to be an invaluable guide in initiating the ignorant into the mysteries of a foreign language and literature. German savants from Goethe to Immanual Kant have been introduced to the readers of the *Reader* and we can say with confidence that a perusal of the book will not only enrich one's knowledge of German language and grammar but will give him a wealth of knowledge both in arts and science from the store-house of Universal Knowledge. The vocabulary is exhaustive and the book will obviate the need of a dictionary.

We welcome the publication of the volume under notice and recommend it unhesitatingly to the reading public who are keen on learning German language and literature.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

OUR FUTURE—ABUNDANCE OR ANNIHILATIONS?: *By Lawrence Benjamin. Published by People's Publishing House Private Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 298. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This book investigates the two conflicting 'ways' today operating in the world; Planning for Life and Planning for Death.

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In the first part, the two ways—USA and USSR—Capitalsm and Socialism in operation are discussed. The author makes a statistical presentation of facts to prove how and why the capitalistic method is self-destructive being the cause of periodic slump and recurrent war.

In the second part, he analyses the socialistic planning in USSR and quotes figures of production from *United Nations' Statistical Year Book, League of Nations' Monthly Bulletin* and statistics to prove tremendous advance in industrial production. From post-war figures, he contends that industrial production in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria has increased immensely compared to countries following capitalistic production. According to him, the rate of production of USA, the most efficient of capitalistic producers, is not significant compared to East European countries which came under USSR orbit and took to socialistic production after the War. The production of European countries which escaped ravages of war was not also very big as they followed capitalistic method. To the author, capitalistic productiin is production for death and annihilation whereas socialistic production is for the abundance of the common man and woman and for life and prosperity. To the author, East Germany is more productive than West Germany because of the ideological and methodical differences of the two units of the same people.

In the third part, the author describes the capitalistic producton for profit with some ability and has made USA a target of his attack. He has a few good words of praise for Roosevelt, Willkie and Hillman but no other American. He holds USA responsible for all evils and troubles of modern times and opines that world-co-operation is possible if peoples of all countries took to socialism. The author in his enthusiasm has made the discussion in Part III more political and controversial than economic and scientific.

The subject-matter of a book of this nature is sure to be controversial but the figures as presented points out the modern economic trends in countries—capitalistic and socialistic. India which follows a mixed economy has lessons from both. No system can claim perfection. Besides human beings do not thrive on bread or material wellbeing alone. The author has drawn widely from UN and other sources to prove his case and as such it is an interesting study although the presentations of facts and figures are not free from bias.

A. B. DUTTA

SHASHVATA DHARMA IN SRIMAD BHAGAVAT GEETA: *By Sri Magdal Rama Chandra. Published by the author from 121 Gitashram, 6th Cross, Chamrajpet, Bangalore-2, India. Pp. 234. Price Rs. 3-4.*

The author of the book under review has been immersed in the study of the Gita for over forty years. As a result of life-long study he has come to the conclusion that the Gita is an independent work, rather than an adjunct to the extant Vedantic literature.. He is definitely of opinion that the Gita deals mainly on Buddhi yoga. Sri Bhagavan tells that He grants Buddhi yoga to the devotees who attain Him by means of the same. Accordingly, the author wrote a book named *Buddhi Yoga* in the local vernacular of Kannada and a subsequent English rendering of it. Both the books have received generous appreciation from the press and the public.

The sub-title of the present book is the Lore[illegible] Science of Eternal Religion. In the eleventh and fourteenth chapters, the term Shashwata Dharma occurs twice at least. Sanatan Dharma and Shashwata Dharma are synonymous terms and scriptural epithets of an ageless faith. It is the invariable and absolute aspect of Hinduism that is termed Sanatan, in contra-distinction to Yuga Dharma, the variable aspect adopted by different sects. It has to be borne in mind that the former is only one, whereas the latter are many. The author asserts in the preface that he attempts 'to adapt the ancient teaching of the Gita to modern conditions.' We are afraid, it falls short of the avowed assertion. It may be at best a common-sense commentary or running explanation of the Gita. The Hon'ble Sri P. V. Rajamannar, Chief Justice of Madras High Court, has contributed a short foreword to this book. He is inclined to think that the Gita is more a symposium of religious doctrines than the presentation of any one religious system. It also appears to him that as if Lord Krishna intends different parts of the Gita for different levels of spiritual capacity. If that be so, then it is better to call the Gita a synthesis rather than a symposium.

The Hon'ble Justice finds this book original and thought-provoking. In fact, it contains more novelty than originality and appears to me at most a new reading, a clear understanding. The technical Sanskrit terms have been throughout retained without giving their English synonyms. It is, indeed, a demerit, since a knowledge of connotations or denotations of important terms is essential for a proper understanding of the Gita.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

KAVYA-JAGATE MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN O MAHENDRANATH: *By Ahibhusan Roy, 101-2, Brindaban Mallik Lane, Kadamtala, Howrah. Price Rs. 2-12.*

Compared to Madhusudan, Mahendranath is almost unknown as a poet, and perhaps he has little claims to be recognised as such; but the writer of the present book thinks otherwise. He lays emphasis more on ideas than on the power of expression. Mahendranath was one of the brothers of Swami Vivekananda and wrote several mythological narrative poems such as, 'Pasupata Astralabha,' 'Brihannala', 'Ushaharuddha', etc. The ideals of heroism and social service in his works have been extolled herein and in these ideals the author finds a point of comparison between the two poets.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

URULI KANCHAN NISARGOPCHAR ASHRAM KI OR SE: *Published by Nisargopchar Gram Seva Trust, Uruli Kanchan, District Poona. Pp. 122. Price twelve annas.*

One of the last activities of Gandhiji was the setting up of a Nature-cure Trust, so that our villagers who can neither procure nor pay for present-day costly medical treatment, may be served effectively and cheaply without running up the usual doctor's heavy bills. The Trust started a clinic at Uruli Kanchan near Poona. The present brochure gives an account of the clinic working since its inception, together with very

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information about diatectics, principles of Nature-cure and cow-keeping. The clinic is conducted by a band of devoted workers, headed by Shri Balkoba Bhave. A clinic like that of Uruli Kanchan in every district will go a long way in facilitating the solution of the difficult problem of how to keep our weak-bodied villagers in good health.

ANKHUN DEKHA ROOS: *By Satyendranath Majumdar. Alma Ram and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a Hindi translation by Shri Vishnudatt "Vikal" of the author's racy account, originally in Bengali, *Amar Dekha Russia*, of what he saw in Russia when he went there in 1951 as a member of the Indian Delegation of Artists. It confirms the belief of all dispassionate observers that the Soviet Union has much to teach us in raising the material standard of living of the masses.

G. M.

GUJARATI

DAKSHIN AFRIKANA SATYAGRAHANO ITIHASH—GANDHIJI (Gandhiji's account of Satyagraha in South Africa): *Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2.*

This is the third and revised edition of the book. It is divided into 49 chapters, the first 24 chapters comprising the first part give us an inkling into the background explaining the history of the movement, the coming of the Indians to South Africa, the birth of Satyagraha, the different stages of the struggle including the publication of the *Indian Opinion*; the second part comprising the last 26 chapters begins with the treachery of General Smuts, the break-up of the struggle, the account of Tolstoy farm, the entry into Transvaal and the preliminary solution. There is a rough sketch map attached, in order to afford sufficient explanation. The whole thing is prefaced by Gandhiji himself in a writing dated 5-7-1925, and that increases the worth of the book.

P. R. SEN.

MUMBAINI PRAGATI KUCHA: *Published by the Publicity Department of the Bombay Government. 1951. Paper cover with an illustration of Minister Tapasi. Pp. 48. Price two annas.*

During its five years' regime, the Bombay Ministry has done useful social work. It has marched on. This small brochure, takes a bird's eye view of those activities, specially the uplift of the backward classes. Some such consolidated finger-post was necessary, by way of a survey of its work, and it is here.

JAMANANA RANG: *By Parast. Printed at the Kathiawad Times Press, Rajkot. 1952. Paper cover. Pp. 78. Price ten annas.*

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K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Intuition in Indian Philosophy

Dr. D. Gurumurti writes in *The Aryan Path*:

It has been the fashion among some Western thinkers to consider Indian philosophy as a system which does not give sovereign place to reason but subordinates reason to scriptural authority, and hence is not a pure system of philosophy like Kant's or Hegel's intellectual constructions. An examination of this contention will take us into the heart of our subject. The question hinges upon the function of philosophy and the place of reason in providing a solution to the riddle of the Universe. Philosophy is the intellectual attempt to explain the nature of Reality and employs the reasoning faculty as its tool. In doing so it assesses the conclusions of the sciences and works them up into a consistent picture giving due place to all the separate insights of the various sciences, reconciling contradictions and dovetailing all the particular bits of knowledge into a connected whole.

In achieving this end, Western thought, beginning from Rene Descartes in the 17th century, has been able to put forward an impressive series of philosophical systems by some of the foremost mind of the Occident, notable among them: Spinoza, Leibnitz, Hume, Kant, Hegel and Bergson. An examination of these systems shows clearly that by reasoning alone we are never able to obtain a satisfactory account of reality. Each of these great thinkers is constrained to seek assistance from a faculty different from reason in order to complete his account of reality.

Descartes, the father of modern philosophy, after clearing his mind of all ideas that can be doubted, came to the foundation of thought, the self-certainty of the thinking self, which, in spite of Descartes' misleading language was not a result of reasoning but a direct insight due to intuition. "It is not an inference, but the expression of a unique fact. In self-consciousness, thought and existence are indissolubly united." Spinoza admits intuitive knowledge, which consists, according to him, of an immediate union with the thing itself. Leibnitz's view of reality as a system of monads in all stages of development is itself due to a brilliant flash of insight, and not due to the conceptual structure that he works out. Kant, by his formulation of the Ideas of Reason as regulative principles of all empirical experience, comes near to the admission that "reason," as used by him, is another name for "intuition." "The highest idea is not derived from sense, or proved by logic, but is founded in the secret places of the soul, and its validity is self-established by reason of the soul's trust in itself." Again, Hegel in his postulation of the One Absolut, which is the central feature of his system, is announcing an intuition and not the result of a demonstration by reason.

Bergson, among modern philosophers, by his theory of Creative Evolution and the *clan vital*, has clearly demonstrated the roles of intellect and intuition in our attempt to grasp reality. Reality being life, movement, duration, concrete continuity, conceptual knowledge can give only static immobilities, timeless and dead. If all knowledge is of this conceptual kind truth is beyond grasp. Intuition, rather than intellect is the proper organ for grasping reality. Among contemporary thinkers, Dr. Radhakrishnan with his theory of Spiritual Idealism has established the autonomous function of intuition as the means of right knowledge. Accepting boldly the challenge of critical reason to be the sole interpreter of reality, he has carried the war into the enemy camp and exposed the limits of reasoning and clearly established the primacy of creative intuition as the means of comprehension of reality. In a very ably argued chapter on "Intellect and Intuition" in his masterpiece, *The Idealist View of Life*—an epoch-making work in modern philosophy—he has once for all unequivocally asserted the vital contribution of intuition in interpreting human experience.

Knowledge, as analyzed by Dr. Radhakrishnan, is produced only in three ways: sense experience, discursive reasoning and intuitive apprehension. While the senses give us knowledge of the external world, discursive knowledge is obtained by analysis and synthesis and is indirect and symbolic in character. Both these enable us to acquire control over the environment and serve a practical purpose. But they are inadequate for the apprehension of reality. In contrast to sense knowledge and conceptual explanation, there is knowledge by which we see things as they are, the unique individuals, which is non-sensuous, immediately arising from a fusion of the mind with reality. "It is awareness of the truth of things by identity." The most convincing illustration of intuitive knowledge is the self-certainty of each individual self. Shankara in his commentary on the *Brahma Sutras* (I, 1) says: "*Sarvo hi atmaslitvam pratyeti, na nahamasmiti*." (Each self verily cognizes the existence of himself; no one cognizes "I do not exist.") The intellect with its distinctions of the Knower, the Known and the Knowledge cannot attain to self-knowledge, but intuitive self-knowledge alone suffices. Further, the deeper things of life are known only through intuitive apprehension. This is borne out by the testimony of the geniuses of humanity in science, art, literature, heroism and saintliness. "Intuition," says Dr. Radhakrishnan, "is the ultimate vision of our profoundest being, possessing certainty and incommunicability as its marks." The function of logical knowledge is to prepare for the rise of intuition. Intuition is not at war with logic but leads beyond its limitations. It is wisdom gleaned from the whole spirit in man beyond the partial revelations of the intellect "with its symbols and shibboleths, creeds and conventions."

In Indian philosophy intuition is given pride of position. As Dr. Radhakrishnan says:

> Hindu thinkers affirm that the sovereign principles which control the enterprise of life are profound truths of intuition born of the deepest experiences of the soul.

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This intuition is also known as *Arshapratyaksha*—the direct insight of the *Rishis*. It is a form of cognition which achieves truth directly without the need for the relative terms of knowledge. This is the *yogic* method of direct comprehension. The *Rishi* or seer is able to place himself at the heart of an object, and grasps its nature entire by an act of identification, getting into tune with the object of study. Keats wrote in one of his letters: "If a sparrow come before my window I take part in its existence and pick about the gravel." This kind of cognition is normally practised by the mystics of all nations. All human beings, some time or other, do exercise this faculty, but it becomes systematic and normal in *Rishis* and seers. When a problem exercises the mind for a certain time and the intellect goes about it and about, there often comes a point when it is baffled. Then comes a flash which at once transforms the situation, which throws a new light on all the details and enables us to see the thing in a new way. This is intuition. Without the help of this faculty our mental puzzles would remain unsolved.

Years ago, the present writer had an opportunity of hearing a celebrated man, the late S. Ramanujam, the well-known mathematical genius, whose acquaintance he had made in college days. Shri Ramanujam explained intuition by an example of a person running a race. In the ordinary three-dimensional way of looking at things, the beginning of a race is one point, the end is another point and the running is spread out in space and time. But, to the intuition, both the beginning and the end of the race are already there. The race is cognized as one unit. What is spread out in time and space is comparable to the work of the intellect. What is grasped is a central event comprising all the details in a single flash. This has been described, in contrast to length, breadth and depth, as "through," looking at a thing's very heart. This is the way of losing oneself at the heart of a subject and touching the essence without the laborious task of traversing all details.

When we go into the presence of a great sage he has no need to inquire into our history and background in order to know what we are. By a flash of intuition he is able to sense the kind of persons that we are, enter into our very heart and know instantaneously our ins and outs. In the same manner all intellectual problems are solved by intuition. The seers of the Upanishads seized the meaning of reality by the exercise of this faculty.

Indian philosophy is primarily not an intellectual quest but a guide to life. As such, it emphasizes a good life rather than an intellectually complete view of things. All the systems of Indian philosophy place in the forefront *moksha* or salvation of the soul, and philosophy is for the purpose of helping souls to achieve it. For this purpose intellect is not adequate. Shankara in his commentaries gives a list of the means to attain *Vidya*—Spiritual Knowledge. They are: *shravana, manana, nididhyasana* and, ultimately, *Sakshatkara*—hearing, thinking over, deep contemplation and, finally, direct realization. This last feature of intuition. The ecstatic seer of the Upanishad stood facing the setting sun and exclaimed:

"Thou resplendent truth hidden behind the disc of gold, unveil, O Sustainer, in order that we may behold the real truth."

This is a case of intuitive realization of a great truth. The glitter and glamour of the intellect have thrown their veil over the truth by their symbols and antinomies. We have to pierce the veil in order to behold reality face to face. Most of the great utterances of the Upanishads and the Vedas are the result of such flashes of intuition. In the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan:

"The acceptance of the authority of the Vedas by the different systems of Hindu thought is an admission that intuitive insight is a greater light in the abstruse problems of philosophy than logical understanding."

Hence, Shankara, the highest representative of Indian speculation, regards *anubhava* or integral experience as the highest kind of apprehension.

Indian philosophy terms all its views *darshanas*. This is the result of *drishti* or insight by those who are qualified to exercise it—the *Rishis*. The results of the intuition of the seers have been embodied in the Vedas and the Upanishads, and have formed the bedrock on which all the systems of Indian philosophy have been built. When the philosopher takes the fundamental insight and works it out into an ordered scheme of thought, the work of the mind is an intellectual construction which we admire as a brilliant piece of workmanship, but the essential insight is provided by intuition. A purely intellectual system of philosophy is only a wearying of the mind unless it is illumined by the power of intuition. The highest achievements of human genius are due to intuition. The reason that Indian philosophy attaches special importance to Vedic authority is that scripture itself is a record of emancipated seers. As he recorded account of the intuitive apprehension of reality, scripture is regarded in Indian philosophy as the highest authority. The Indian philosopher does not mean to worship its letter, but honours the direct experience of the seers. Hence scripture is spoken of as *Apta-vacana*, reliable testimony, which is a higher source of real knowledge than ratiocination.

The emphasis on intuition in the foregoing is not to be understood as derogatory to, or apologetic for any weakness in, Indian philosophy as speculation. Shankara's Advaita Vedanta is regarded by Oriental scholars as the summit of brilliant speculation. Ramanuja's Vishishtadvaita system is the prototype of all personalist theories of ultimate reality. The Sankhya stands as one of the fundamental systems of human speculative thought. But the main argument is that intuition is the basis of our comprehension of reality.

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The Influence of Buddhist Philosophy in East and West

In the course of an article in *The Maha Bodhi*, Helmuth Von Glasenapp observes:

On the occasion of the two previous meetings of our Symposium the Contribution of Buddhism to Art and Letters was dealt with. We proceed now to our discussion on Buddhism's Contribution to Philosophy. Making use of a simile employed by Anandavardhana on poetry I may say this: Art is the beautiful corporal frame of Buddhism, literature is its *prana* or life-breath, philosophy is its mind; so that the topic of our deliberation is, as it were, a task of penetrating gradually more and more into the depth of the inner core of the great spiritual movement which has gi so much to the world.

I feel deeply honoured by having been asked preside over this session. I take it as a distinction so much for my own humble endeavours to fath the profundity of Buddhist philosophy but as award of honour bestowed upon my country, bec especially in Germany, philosophers have since a time shown great interest in Buddhism.

The first Germans who had heard the name of Buddha were probably theologians who had read works of St. Hieronymus, one of the fathers of Christian Church. For this saint mentions the mi culous birth of the Buddha. But on Buddha's doctr nobody seems to have had any detailed knowled during the Middle Ages. It was not until the

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century that a German philosopher obtained some knowledge of Buddhism. It was Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) who took a very keen interest in China, whose philosophy had just been made known to Europe by the works of French Jesuits. Leibniz drew from their books some points of the Buddhist doctrine as taught in the Chinese Empire. In his most famous book, the *Theodicée*, he speaks of Fo, as the Chinese call the Buddha and refers to the Madhyamika-System and its doctrine of Emptiness.

A wider range of knowledge we find with Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). It is not much known that Kant at the University of Konigsberg delivered not only lectures on Philosophy but also on Geography. Without ever having left his native town he had acquired a considerable knowledge of all the parts of the globe by reading books on travel. He, therefore, in his lectures speaks about Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, Japan and Tibet. He draws a very sympathetic picture of the Buddhist monks in Burma. He says: "The Talapoins of Pegu are praised as the world's kindliest men. They live on the food which they beg at the houses and give to the poor what they do not need for themselves. They do good to all living beings without making any discrimination of religion. They think that all religions are good which make men good and amiable."

Kant already knew that Buddhists do not believe in a creator and ruler of the universe who judges men after death, for he writes: "They reject the idea of divine providence, but they teach that vices are punished and virtues are recompensed by a fatal necessity." Kant did not yet know anything about the Buddhist doctrine of Karma and Rebirth, and his philosophy has in no way been influenced by Buddhist ideas. But the doctrine of metempsychosis appealed to him in several periods of his life. Even a short time before his death, when asked by his friend Hasse about the future of the individual after death Kant expressed himself in favour of the doctrine of transmigration. On another occasion he called it one of the most attractive teachings of Oriental philosophy. He himself taught a pre-existence of the soul before man was born and he was of opinion that after death man has to continue his way to perfection in infinite progress. These ideas have, therefore, in this point much in common with Buddhism.

Kant lived at a time when Buddhist texts had not yet been studied and translated by European scholars. It was only after his death that English and French scholars began to occupy themselves with the Buddhist scriptures. In contradistinction to Kant the German philosophers at the beginning of the nineteenth century were better informed about Buddhist philosophy. Thus we find with Schelling and Hegel some more detailed remarks on Buddhism, and in later times with Nietzsche and many other philosophers. An enthusiastic admirer of the great religion of the East was Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860). Since he was introduced to Indian wisdom as a young man of 26 years of age until his death at the age of 72 he read almost every book published on Buddhism and came to the conviction that Buddha together with Plato and Kant was one of the three great illuminators of the world. He was much influenced by Buddhist thought in framing his own system of metaphysics. He believed in a strong consonancy of his doctrine with that of the Buddha. So he wrote: "If I were to take the results of my philosophy as a yardstick for the truth, I would concede to Buddhism the pre-eminence of all religions of the world. In any case I can be happy to see that my teaching is in such great harmony with a religion which has the greatest number of adherents on earth." There are, indeed, many points in which the German philosopher agrees with Buddhists; they both deny the existence of a personal God, they teach that neither a beginning nor an end of the cosmic process can be established. They both assume the existence of a plurality of world systems, they see no essential but only a gradual difference between men and animals and are therefore ardent advocates of the protection of animals against cruelty. They do not believe in permanent immortal souls and metempsychosis, but in a rebirth caused by the will (*sanskara*) which manifests itself in the doings of the previous existence. They both acknowledge a moral law (*dharma*) as the moving factor in the universe. Though they both have a pessimistic outlook on life, they are optimistic in so far, as they are both convinced of the possibility of a liberation from the trammels of existence. Just as for Buddha so for Schopenhauer too the state of deliverance cannot be explained with the help of terms and words belonging to our world of phenomena. Schopenhauer's system being an original and independent outcome of his own thinking it differs, of course, in many other points, from Buddhism. This partly finds its reason in the fact that at the time of Schopenhauer Buddhism was not yet sufficiently known in Europe.

Schopenhauer was the greatest herald of Buddhist Wisdom, ever arisen among the philosophers of the Western world. His works had a deep influence on many other thinkers rendering them, in their turn, very keen on studying the sacred writings of the

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Buddhist faith at least in translations. A remarkable witness of the overwhelming impression that Buddhism made on him are the following words of a great musician, the famous composer Richard Wagner (1813-1883). He wrote: "Buddha's teaching is such a grand view of life that every other one must seem rather small when compared to it. The philosopher with his deepest thoughts, the scientist with his largest results, the artist with his most extravagant imaginations, the man with the most open heart for everything that breathes and suffers—they all find their unlimited abode in this wonderful and incomparable conception of the world."

It is an uncontested fact that Buddhism has played a very prominent role in the realm of Indian Philosophy during the one thousand five hundred years of its existence on the sub-continent. Not only because it produced a great variety of metaphysical systems many of which belong to the most elaborate and sublime ones which the fertile Indian mind has ever created. But the contribution of Buddhism is still greater. Through its very existence it has compelled the Brahmanic and Jaina philosophers to defend their teachings and to improve and remodel them. The discussions kindled by the struggle waged between Buddhist philosophy of permanent flux and the Upanishadic philosophy of unchangeable being have raised Indian metaphysical thought to that high level which has gained it the admiration of the world. Since the celebrated passage in Majjhima-nikaya 22 where Buddha argues controversially against the doctrine of the Vedanta, and Kathaka Upanishad 4, 14, where the Brahmins reject the Buddhist theories of dharmas, the antagonism between Vedanta and Buddhism permeates the whole history of Indian philosophy, just as the fight between the conception of the world of Heraclitos and Parmenides dominates Greek philosophy. As so often in similar cases, each of the two opponents has learned much from the other and taken over some of his ideas. To my mind the monistic Mahayana shows the deep influence which Vedanta has exerted on later Buddhism. On the other hand, the lofty idealism of Yogavasishta, of Gaudapada and Shankara are indebted to Nagarjuna's and Asanga's theories on the unreality of the world.

But the contribution of Buddhism to philosophical thought is not confined to India. Buddhism has been the originator and promoter of philosophy in many countries that had not yet developed a philosophy of their own when the doctrine of the Buddha reached them. Buddhism has stimulated the intelligentsia in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Kamboja, Laos; in Korea; Japan, Tibet and Mongolia to philosophical endeavours. In China, too, which already possessed a philosophy of a high level Buddhism has greatly developed the indigenous metaphysical thought. It is well known that Taoism, at least in its later phases, has been influenced by Buddhist theories. But also Confucianism is indebted to it. It seems to me that the founder of the Neo-Confucianist school, the celebrated Chu Hsi (1130-1200) though a staunch opponent of Buddhism, has much learned therefrom. And Idealists, such as, Shao Yung (1011-1077) and Yang Yangmin (1472-1528) have deeply drawn from the fountain of Mahayana.

Buddhism having had such an enormous direct and indirect influence on philosophical thought in the whole of Southern and Eastern Asia proves that it must have appealed in a high degree to Asian mentality.

It is noteworthy that in contradistinction to the overwhelming importance Buddhism has had in the East, it has till now not been able to fertilize in a comparable way thought in the West. The reason for this fact may have been that its sublime doctrines were not easy to understand for Westerners, though the emperor Ashoka had already sent missions to the Greek kings.

Buddhist Art and Architecture in India After 250 A.D.

Dr. Niharranjan Roy writes in *The Indian Review*:

Art has no lessons to teach; it can only sharpen human sensibilities, and by doing so make man more and more conscious of the realities of life and nature.

Nor is there any art that can, strictly speaking, be called "Buddhist" art. Yet one readily recognizes that this is a most convenient phrase to denote the art that was, for centuries, pressed to the service of Buddhism, and to bring out in visual form some of the specific contents of Buddhist spiritual ideology and way of life.

Buddhist art of India as much as that of China, Japan and Central Asia, of Nepal and Tibet, of Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, of Java, Sumatra and Cambodia is that chapter of each cultural region which deals with Buddhist themes. In form and technique, Buddhist art conforms to the general principles of contemporary art of the respective cultural regions, but in certain phases and periods, specific Buddhist content of ideas and conceptions called for and conditioned correspondingly specific language and form. It is only such phases and periods of art that can legitimately be called Buddhist.

All forms of art, according to the teachings of the Master, the Lord Buddha, are expressions of and lead to *vasana*, desire and nostalgia; they are instruments of 'muhurta' *sukha*, pleasures of the moment, and are therefore, to be shunned by one who aspires nirvana. In its attitude to art, orthodox Buddhism is thus very close to Jainism, the Sankarite Vedanta and Islam.

Yet, paradoxically, as within the folds of the three faiths mentioned, so within that of Buddhism, art did play a role, a great and significant role, one might say, not only in extending the physical boundaries of the religion but also in expressing the subtlest and the most sublime ideas and thoughts of the faith and in the concretisation of the most elusive, abstract of subjective visions.

To prove this statement, one has only to refer to the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures of Sarnath, Mathura and Sanchi of the sixth and seventh centuries, some of the segments of the wide stretches of paintings walls of Bagh and Ajanta, a number of *Vajrayana* and *Tantaryana* cult images in stone and metal of Eastern India of the ninth through to the eleventh century A.D. Needless to say, the list is not exhaustive. Nor does it include examples from outside India. Indeed, the achievements of art in Buddhism and the services it rendered to the faith are eloquent of the creative potentialities of the faith, its depth, refinement, its appeal and strength.

Early Buddhist sculpture in India is fundamentally narrative in character; its main purpose is to tell, by continuous narration, edifying tales, simply and attractively, against the background of contemporary life, tales that were supposed to underline the main principles of the faith and its important historical episodes. Architecturally, the art consisted of solid, massive stupas with elaborate gateways and railings all

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carved in relief, and rock-cut caves-*vihara* and *chaitya*s —with or without sunwindowed doorways and pillared halls. A somewhat primitive solidity and massiveness belonged as much to the spirit of the age as to the rock itself that was their receptacle.

But already by about the second century A.D. certain fundamental changes in attitude seem to have taken place, changes that were ultimately responsible for a definite shift in the form and content of Buddhist art. Buddhism was no longer a simple way of life that the Lord Buddha spoke of, nor the Lord himself simply the mundane historical being that trod the dust of Rajagriha, Budh Gaya and dozens of other cities and villages and ceaselessly strove his way to Supreme Wisdim. The message of the Master was no longer confined within the borders of India nor to sons of the soil. It has come into intimate contact with other peoples, places, cultures and religions including Judaism and Christianity.

Within Buddhism itself and out of its own seeds had grown up powerful sects, each with their own specific emphasis and wty of life. The Sangha itself and its hold on the rich agricultural and commercial communities, sometimes also on the royalty and nobility, had increased in extension. Even from earlier times the Sangha had been drawing its material sustenance from the Sresthis and *Sarthyahas*, the rich banking and trading communities, and the relatively more substantial *Grihapatis*, the agricultural householders. As years rolled on, the Saingha came more and more to lean on these segments of society, and in the second and third centuries of the Christian era, one of its main source of material sustenance, the wherewithal of the elaborate monastic establishments, was the rich Indo-Roman trade of the times.

All this could not but have its inevitable impact on the contemporary Buddhist art of India, and nowhere is the impact so clearly marked than at Mathura and throughout the lower valleys of the Krishna and the Godavari, in the rich and elaborate monastic establishments of the two places the viharas and chaityas and the still more elaborately carved railings and gateways, a fraction only of which have yielded to the excavator's spade. This is true, to an extent, at any rate, of the contemporary Buddhist establishments of Western India as well.

With the creation of a real bourgeois society a change in the social taste and also in the attitude towards life was but inevitable. What this change was like is writ large on the sculptures of Mathura of the first and second centuries A.D., but more on the marbles of Amaravati and Nagarjuna Kunda, Goti and other places of the Krishna-Godavari Valley, and belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era.

In the meanwhile, the image of the Buddha had come to stay, the Buddha as understood either in terms of supra-human physical form and temporal power and dignity, or in terms of Hellenistic iconography, or those of both. The inner meaning of the term 'Buddha,' the Illuminated one, in whom shone the effulgence of the light of supreme wisdom, whose body had shed all its earthly weight and had become like being butter with *Karuna* or compassion, also aglow with spiritual light and energy, was yet to make itself felt in visual art.

Frankly, this was a matter of spiritual realisation, and that realisation becoming a common property of these people including the artists. But the story of India's inner life during the third and fourth centuries is not sufficiently known. Many things happened during these two centuries, and we can only somewhat vaguely feel that a tremendous inner turmoil and searching of hearts had been going on inside all the Indian religions and philosophies, Buddhism and Buddhist thought not excepted, as much as within the various cadres and orders of social and economic life. Out of the seeds of these two hundred years emerge such names as those of Vatoyana and Kalidasa, of Udyotakara and Dinnage, of Asanga and Vasubandhu, and such facts as the final reaction of India's two great epics, of the Puranas and perhaps also a large section of Pali-Buddhist literature, as new Buddhist logic and a new Buddhist ideology.

The last, this Buddhist thought and ideology was crystallised into what is known as *yogachara* very closely related to the evolved *yoga* system of contemporary Hinduism and Jainism. The fluid and luminous ideology of the *yogachara* coupled with the Mahayanist ideal of Karuna or compassion, imparted to the age-old Theravada and Sarvastivada ideologies, a new vision and a new meaning, and brought out fully what was latent in the teachings and practices of the Lord Buddha, himself. Indeed, the full connotation of the term Buddha, the great conqueror of the body and the mind, the supremely illuminated being, yet at the same time soft, tender and melting in compassion for all sentient beings, emerged at last and slowly but surely took shape and form under the hammer and chisel of the sculptor, and the brush and colour of painter.

And thus was born the supremely refined and sensitive and profoundly spiritual Gupta-Buddhist sculptures of the Ganga-Yamuna valley, particularly of Sarnath, of Bengal and Bihar, of Sanchi, and the paintings of Bagh, Ajanta and Sigiriya, all belonging to the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries.

This is, indeed, the peak period of Buddhist art in India as anywhere in the world, and once and for all set the standard of vision and imagination, of form and technique, of conceptions of volume and plasticity, of later Buddhist art in India, of contemporary and later Buddhist art of Central Asia, China and Japan, of Nepal and Tibet, of Ceylon, Burma and Thailand, of Java, Sumatra and Cambodia.

All these local schools and periods drew their sustenance from this golden period of Buddhist art in India and sought to work on their specific local tastes, ideologies and atmospheres in terms of standard of achievement of these few centuries. Indeed, the measure of the aesthetic and spiritual value and significance of all later schools and periods of Buddhist art in India and outside, is the measure of the extent they reached towards the attainment of this ideal.

The first of this high peaks of Buddhist art is the human figure which is the receptacle of an inner dynamism lying latent almost in a state of rest and yet imparting to the body, its limbs and face, to its fingers and its gestures, a form that is vibrant with life and a meaning that suggests calm and contemplative joy. This is true not only of the Buddha figure but of those of the Boddhisattwas and of ordinary human beings, and in an extended manner, of plants and animals as well. Stories from old life of the Master and sometimes from the Jatakas, continued to be sculptured and painted but they had all but lost their narrative character, except in the paintings of Ajanta, and the emphasis centred more and more round the figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattwas.

The story of later Buddhist sculpture in Bengal,

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Bihar, Orissa, as much as in Nepal and Tibet, where Buddhism came practically to be confined during the eighth and the following centuries, is the story of the consolidation of the values learnt and imbibed during the sixth and seventh centurres but with slow but sure lessening of the understanding of inner dynamism of the essential life process as well as of specific Buddhist content of inner spiritual illumination. This led inevitably to a hardening of the plasticity of volume, and increasing petrification of what was once fluid and luminous.

This somewhat stagnating process was, however, relieved to a great extent by the increasingly varied and complex pantheon reared up by the highly esoteric Vajrayana and other later forms of Buddhism. These later schools and sects of Buddhism, all saturated by Tantric ideas and ideologies, had a vigour and vitality of their own which imparted a quality of dynamic naturalism, of a somewhat sensuous character, to the rounded plasticity of volume and to the complexity of the vigorous compositional structure. In the ekpression of sheer vitality and strength, of external dynamism, and in craftsmanship, some of the strength, of Vajrayana—Tantrayana images in stone and bronze, also in manuscript painting, reach the high tide of mediaeval art in India, and did largely influence the contemporary Buddhist art of South-East Asia.

Even in a short survey this purports to be, the paintings of Bagh and Ajanta, deserve more than a passing notice, not merely for the high, noble and dignified quality of the painter's art that Ajanta, and Bagh record for a continuous five or six centuries, a fact which has found recognition all the world over, but for the picture they afford of the specific Buddhist way of life as understood and lived by the contemporary Buddhist Sangha.

Buddhist architecture in India after the third century, has not much to show except in the sphere of structural viharas or monasteries, and in one or two instances of Chaityas and temples.

But contemporary Buddhism made the most significant contribution to Indian and Eastern architecture, in the sphere of vihara or monastic establishments. From primitive rockcut viharas to the elaborate structural viharas built of brick and intended for residence, worship, study and congregation, it is a long story of gradual evolution from simple and rudimentary to complex and elaborate establishments in different segments and in several pyramidally receding storeys. The ruins of the long and elaborate rows of viharas of the university city of Nalanda of early mediaeval times, the ruins of similar viharas at Paharpur and Lauriya Nandangarh, provide sufficient evidennce of what these elaborate monastic establishments were like and what architectural grandeur and magnificence they had reached. They are the great pride of Buddhist architecture in India, these structural viharas, and served presumably as models of the storeyed temples of Pagan in Burma and of the group of Brahmanical temples of Prambanam in Java.

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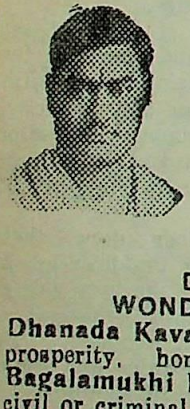

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Alexander Pushkin

On the occasion of the 120th death-Anniversary of the great Russian writer Alexander Pushkin, V. Putintsev observes in the *U.S.S.R. News bulletin* :

The Soviet people reveres with great pride the memory of Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin, a poet of genius and the founder of the new Russian literature. Thousands of Moscow people, when crossing the Pushkin square, halt at the foot of his statue, reading over and over again his prophetic words, inscribed on the monument :

I shall be loved, and long the people will remember
The kindly thoughts I stirred—my music's brightest crown.
How in this cruel age I celebrated freedom,
And begged for ruth toward those cast down.

Pushkin's immortal works were a step forward in the progress in art of the whole of mankind. "He was not merely a great Russian poet of his time, but a great poet of all nations and of all times," worte about Pushkin the great literary critic Belinsky.

Pushkin's creative efforts are part of the mighty surge of the social and spiritual forces of the Russian people. His works reflect the people's striving to win liberty, and the heroic struggle waged at the time by the more advanced sections of society—the revolutionary nobility—against the despotic Russian autocracy. The libertarian ideas of the Decembrists are embodied in Pushkin's writings with the highest degree of art. As the founder of the Russian realistic literature and as the founder of the literary Russian language, Pushkin won universal recognition and world fame for Russian culture.

The poet was born on May 26 (June 6, New Style), 1799, in Moscow. His parents belonged to the nobility. His interest for literature was evident when he was still a child. He was particularly attracted by Russian folk poesy such as fairy tales and songs which he heard from his serf nurse Arina Rodionova. At the Tsarskoeselo Lyceum, near St. Petersburg, where he was educated in the years 1811-17, his first attempts at writing poetry drew the attention of his fellow-students and teachers.

Pushkin appeared on the literary scene at a time when Russian society was in a ferment. As Hertzen pointed out at a later date, the eventful and victorious anti-Napoleon Patriotic War of 1812 had "greatly developed the sentiment of national consciousness." Opposition trends were growing among the more advanced section of the nobility and secret societies of the future Decemberists were being formed. Pushkin was extremely responsive to the freedom-loving political ideas which were getting hold of the younger generation of the progressive nobility. After finishing the Lyceum he was on close terms with future prominent figures of the Decemberist movement and took part in the literary circle "The Green Lamp" which was linked with the Decembrist secret society—"The Alliance of Welfare." His literary fame was spreading rapidly, especially after his poem "Ruslan and Liudmila" was published. But his libertarian verses, such as "Ode to Freedom," "The Countryside" and others, replete with civic spirit and calling to the struggle against tyranny, oppression and serfdom, attracted attention of the Government. Were it not for the intercession of influential friends the poet would have been exiled to Siberia; instead he was subjected to a milder form of punishment—in the spring of 1820 he was exiled to the South of Russia.

In the years he was in exile in the South (1820-1824), Pushkin acquired a first-hand knowledge of actual life in Russia. He met the members of the Decembrist society in the South and its leader Pestel; he promptly responded to the political developments both inside Russia and abroad and took an active part in discussions on Russia's revolutionary future. Pushkin's friends, the Decembrists, for the sake of the poet's safety did not take him into their secret organization which was preparing an insurrection against the tsarist regime; however, his works made him the bard and champion of Decembrist ideas amid the Russian society.

During these years, in addition to civic and lyrical verses, Pushkin wrote romantic poems: "The Captive of the Caucasus," "The Highwaymen Brothers," "Fountain of Bakhchisarai." He also began to work on the poem *Gypsies* and the famous novel in verse *Eugene Onegin* which it took him eight years to complete. The great popularity these works brought to Pushkin and his revolutionary ideas which had become till more marked during the years of exile in the South, were a source of worry for tsar Alexander

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I. In the summer of 1824, on the tsar's personal order, Pushkin was sent to another place of exile under the supervision of the local authorities—the village of Mikhailovskoye in the Pskov gubernia, which belonged to his parents.

The years Pushkin spent in exile in Mikhailovskoye marked the strengthening of the principles of realism in his poetry. During that period, to use his own words, he became "the poet of reality." The romantic personages figuring in the poems he wrote in the South were superseded by true pictures of Russian life, sweeping generalizations of the current reality, which acquired features common to all makind and reflected the actual revolutionary spirit of the author. In this sense a good deal of significance attaches to his poem *The Gypsies*, completed in Mikhailovskoye, in which he cast down the romantic cult of the individual hero. Pushkin continued to work on his *Eugene Onegin* and wrote a tragedy *Boris Godunov*, a work in which he reached Shakespearean summits, and that marked a turning point in Russian dramaturgy on historic subjects. In this tragedy he brought to the forefront the pre-eminent role of the people in the historical events.

It was in Mikhailvskoye that Pushkin learned of the insurrection of December 14, 1825, in St. Petersburg, and of the savage execution of the Decembrists by the new Russian autocrat, Nikolai I. He was shaken by the news. In a number of poems, "Message to Siberia," sent with the Decembrists' wives who decided to share their husbands' fate, "Arion" "October 19," etc., the poet boldly paid homage to the exploit of the insurgents, affirmed the indefeasible bonds that linked him to them and expressed his faith in the triumph of their great cause:

The heavy—hanging chains will fall,
The walls will crumble at a word;
And Freedom greet you in the light,
And brothers give you back the sword.

In the autumn of 1826 Pushkin was recalled from exile.

In 1830 he completed *Eugene Onegin* which Belinsky aptly called "an encyclopedia of Russian life." In this great, realistic work the poet gave an all-round portrayal of Russian society, presenting characters that were typical among the advanced youth, and depicting with biting sarcasm the manners and customs of the nobility. *Eugene Onegin* occupies a place of honour as a work marking the beginning of a flourishing era of realistic novels.

During the same period Pushkin wrote a large number of different poems on folk-tale subjects, as well as works of a patriotic nature, as for example, the poem "Poltava," depicting an historic episode during the reign of Peter the Great, a theme that always fascinated the poet, another poem called "The Bronze Horseman," very much akin in spirit and subject to "Poltava," is one of Pushkin's outstanding creations.

Not confining himself to poetry, in these years Pushkin wrote "small tragedies" like *The Stone Guest, Mozart and Salieri*, etc., which rank among the world's best dramaturgical works. He also turned to prose writing, and we owe to his pen *The Tales of Belkin, The Story of the Village of Goryukhino*, both distinguished by simple, austere and laconic style, and the latter containing a sharp criticism of serfdom; his other prose works include the universally known *Dubrovsky*, *The Queen of Spades*, and an historical novel dealing with the Pugachev revolt, *The Captain's Daughter*. Pushkin's prose played an important part in further development of Russian literature along realistic and popular trends. "The writer must continuously study this treasure," said Leo Tolstoy on Pushkin's tales.

He also wrote many interesting articles on literature, and historical essays like "The History of the Revolt of Pugachev," etc. The periodical *Sovremennik* he founded a short time before his death, was an important contribution to the subsequent progress of Russian journalism.

Pushkin met with a tragic end at a time when his creative genius had developed to the full and when he was contemplating to write a number of important works. Infamous court intrigues forced the poet to fight a duel with a French officer serving in the Russian army—Dantes, the adopted son of the Ambassador of the Netherlands in St. Petersburg. Pushkin was fatally wounded and died on January 29 (February 10 New Style), 1837.

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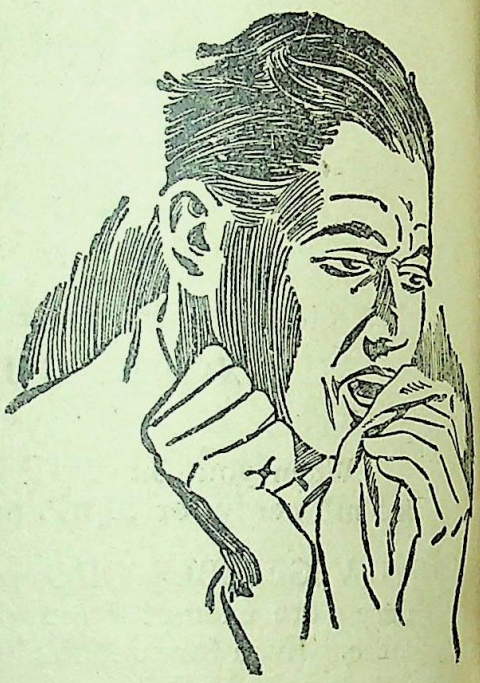

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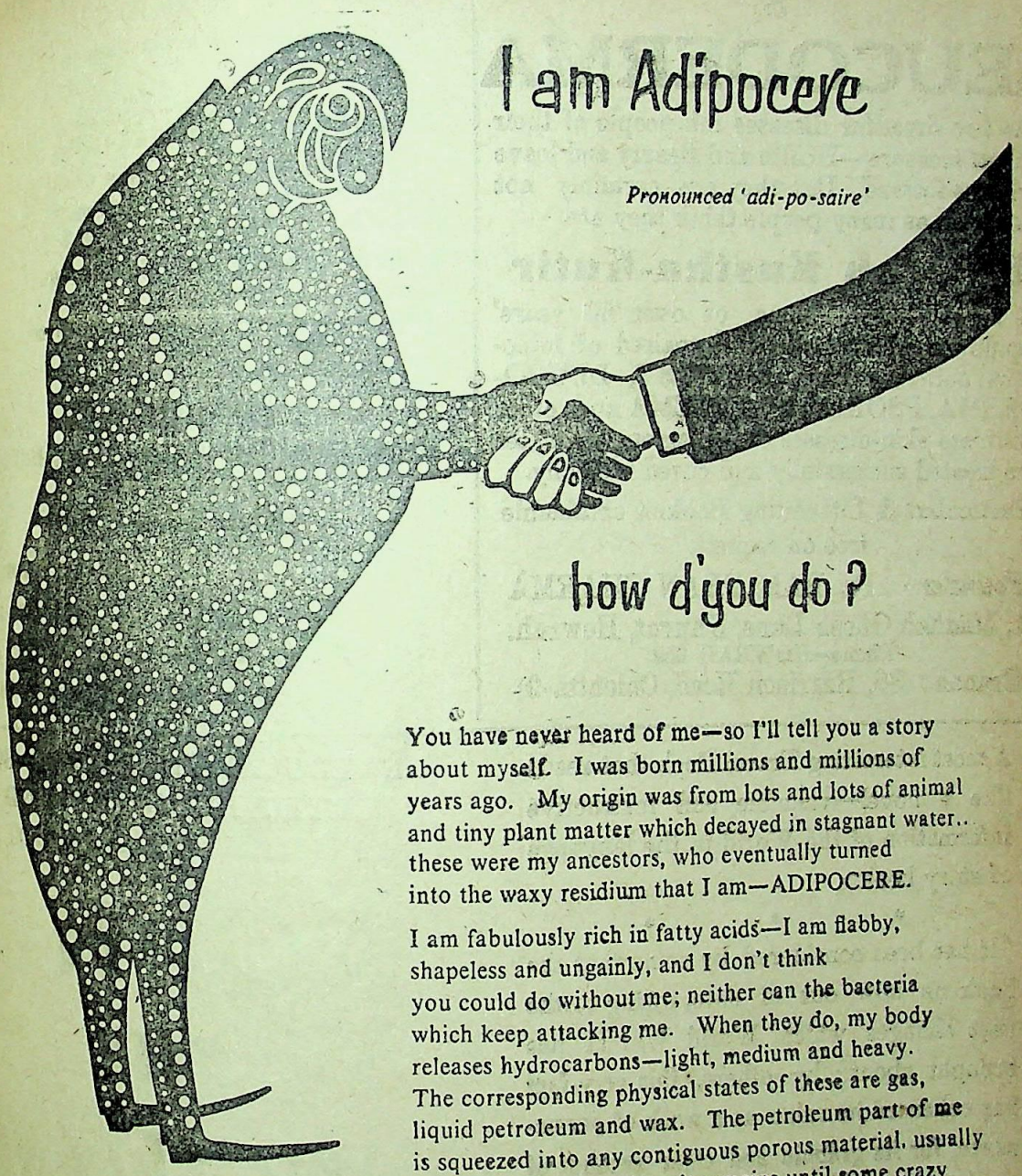

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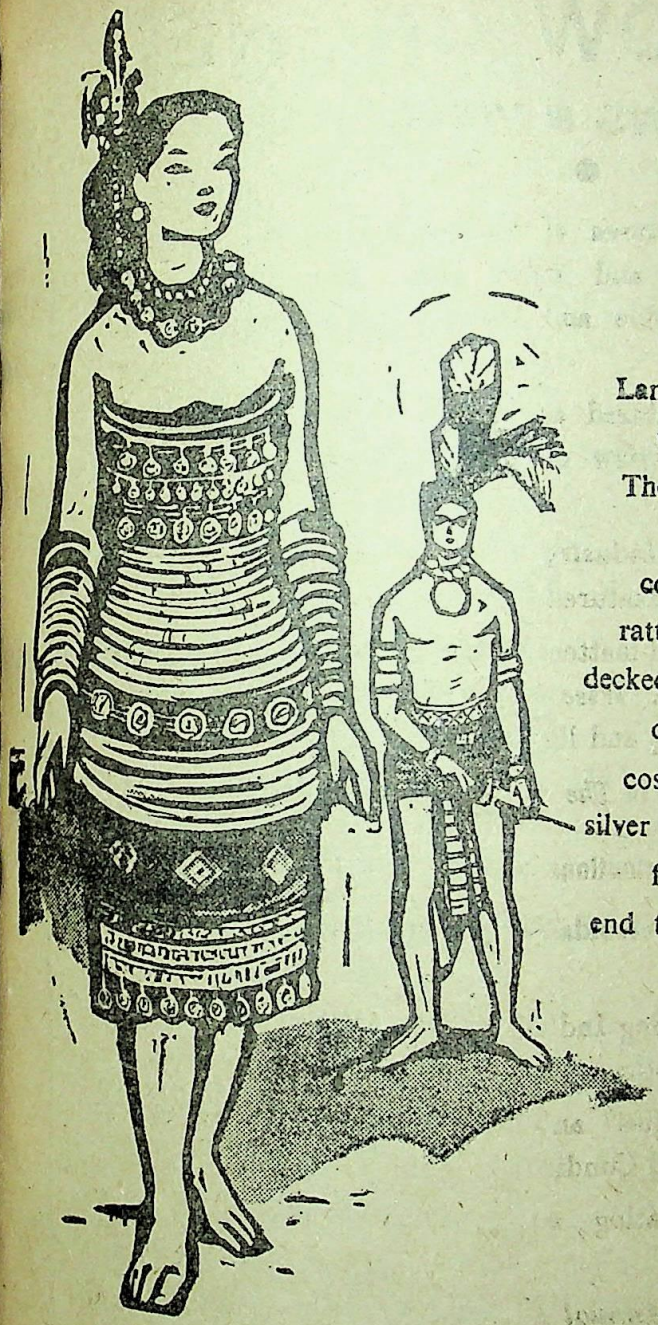

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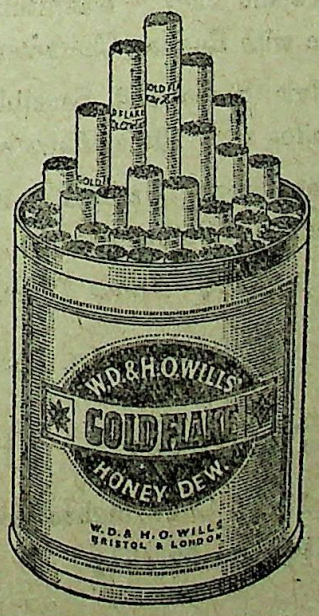

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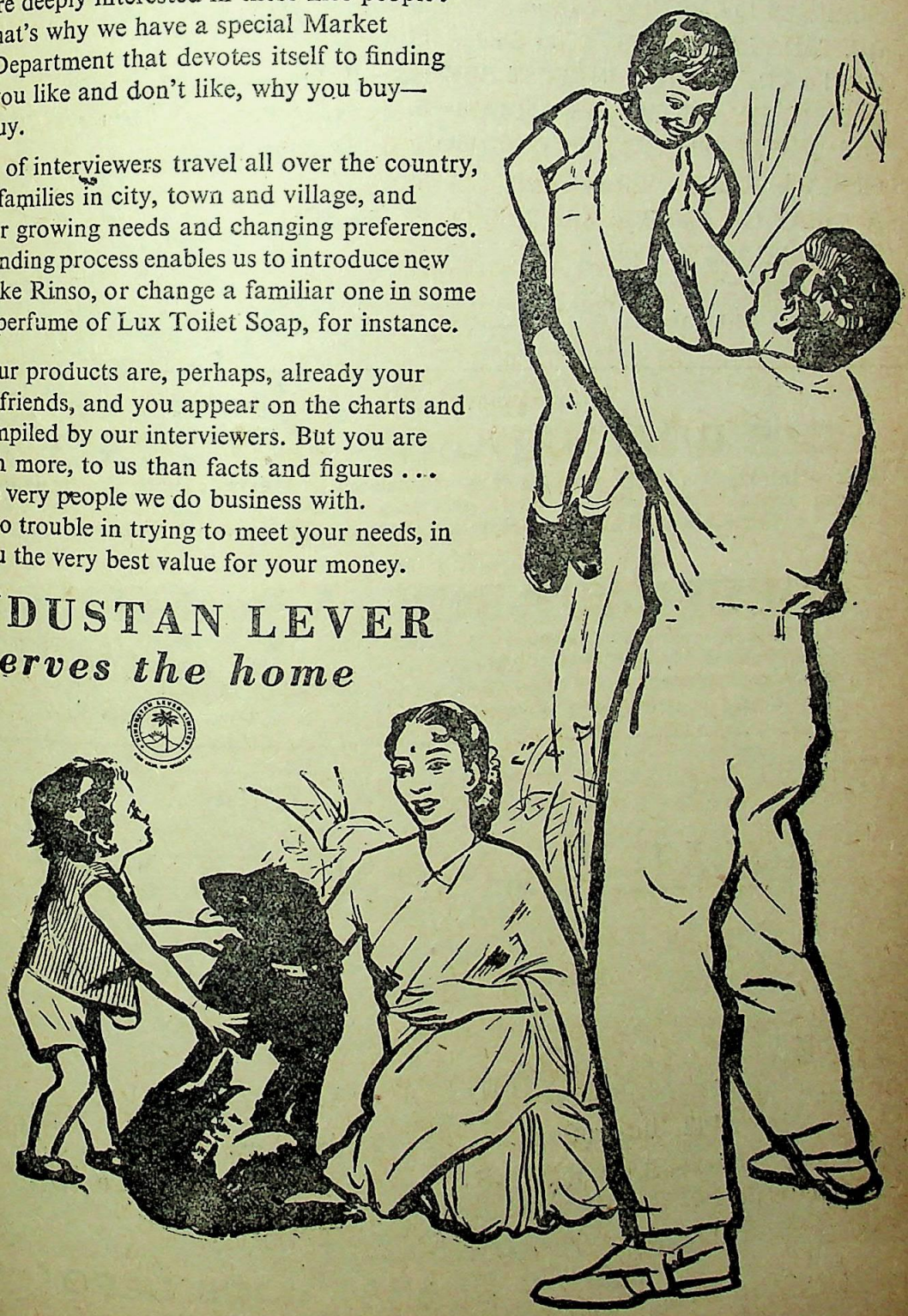

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1957

Vol. CII, No. 1 Whole No. 607

NOTES

Nehru Abroad

Pandit Nehru has gone abroad for the Commonwealth talks at London. He is visiting the Scandinavian countries and Holland after that and on his way back home, will visit Egypt and Sudan. The itinerary is not very long and no crucial issues are to be discussed and worked out, either at London or at any of the other places where he is going to call. There is no mission in his programme, nor is it likely that any tangible results will accrue out of this tour of his abroad.

But there are some intangibles, no doubt, which come out of these visits. They are not always on the credit side, where the visitor is concerned, as was evident after Pandit Nehru had gone to meet President Eisenhower, in response to a very friendly invitation. The world is still divided into two armed camps in the main, with a group of isolated countries maintaining a precarious neutrality. The Western group of powers, and their satellites, look with distance at these neutrals, and there is a continuous attempt going on to lure them away.

Pandit Nehru's visits will not create any diplomatic flutter anywhere in the hard, real-world, Western world, despite all the *reclam* and two-column and three-column spreads in the front pages of the Indian newspapers. And the reason is not far to seek.

The hard-headed and extremely astute type of persons, who usually constitute the foreign groups in foreign affairs in the Western countries, are highly skilled in the separation of facts from verbiose chaff. They are not emotionally exhilarated by the enunciations, however, ancient or holy, nor are they likely to consider the question of gain or loss, economic or political in any terms excepting those of concrete reality. To them the weight of the opinion of a premier of a foreign country depends entirely on the stability, strength and efficiency of the country he represents. These factors, again, are not assessed on the imaginative statements and plastic statistics as dished out by our ludicrous government publications, but on facts and figures, which are obtained from their own special sources. A foreigner going through India, has many experiences which our tin-gods do not ever get to hear. The corrupt and inefficient men they and their tom-noddy assistants have put in power, are giving India an evil name.

Two fairly prominent South American writers passed through India recently. One was a Chilean poet of international fame, the other was a popular writer of Brazil, whose fame has gone beyond the boundaries of South America. We were told of their experiences in this country. It was of bare-faced cheating, graft and corruption, at every step, in Madras, New Delhi and Calcutta. They were particularly appalled at the fact that even at New Delhi they could get no redress. They had not come to India for gain, excepting in the terms of the intangibles about which we prate so much. The festering corruption that they met came as a profound shock to them, particularly to the poet, who had taken for granted that we practise what we preach.

This is what is happening everyday everywhere. And the world cannot be fooled by the sermons about Panch-Sheela abroad, while at home the country stinks of corruption.

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Austerity Drive in India

"Austerity" and "economy" seemed to be the words of the day—at least in so far as the official publicity went. The propaganda started with the announcement on June 13 of the Central Ministers' decision to accept a voluntary cut of 10 per cent in their salaries and allowances. (If one recalled the strong criticism of ministerial salaries and allowances earlier made by the Congressmen the cuts might not appear to be wholly voluntary as they were made to appear before the public). The Central Ministers' example served the model for various State Ministries to announce similar 'voluntary' cuts. For example, the Rajasthan Ministry, besides agreeing to a similar cut, went even further and agreed to withdraw the sentries posted at the residences of Ministers and Deputy Ministers, except at the residence of the Chief Minister, as well as to place a ceiling on the value of furniture installed at their residences. In addition, the Rajasthan Ministers, at their request, would not be given civic addresses or 'at homes' by the local bodies while they would be on tour.

While the gesture for economy on the part of the leaders of the Union and State Governments should be welcome, however halting and belated the measures might be, it was difficult not to be anxious at some of the dangerous developments in this connection. In many cases the saving resulting from the ministerial cuts would only be nominal. In other cases, the implementation of the policy of economy was sought to be made in such lines as could hardly be regarded to produce the desirable results.

In an editorial article the *Vigil* writes that the current reports or rumours of the austerity measures in high circles completely failed to impress the people because of the general scepticism at the ability or the willingness of the present rulers to effect genuine economy in administration—a scepticism that grew stronger by incidents like the one that took place at Jullundur on June 8th.

On that date, the *Vigil* writes, "A huge tea party with one thousand guests was arranged in honour of Union Minister Sardar Swaran Singh when he visited Jullundur. The Secretary of the local P.S.P. approached the organisers with a request to desist from giving such a big party in these days of scarcity, pointing out that it also went against the government's declared policy of austerity. He also wired the Minister not to accept such a party. As his friendly approach had no effect the P.S.P. workers organised a peaceful demonstration outside the club where the function was being held. The demonstrators, as reported in the *Tribune* of June 10th, were badly beaten (... of them had to be removed to hospital. Sardar Harbhajan Singh, secretary of the Punjab P.S.P., was dragged inside the club and beaten till he became unconscious. All this was done by the organisers of the tea party and their friends, while the police who were present looked on. Later the police authorities gave the assurance that proper action would be taken against the culprits but did nothing. Then, as a protest, the P.S.P. workers started satyagraha, in which the issue was the failure of the custodians of law and order in the district to take action against what for all intents and purposes was "a private force" that took the law into their own hands and assaulted peaceful demonstrators, disclosing a fascist trend and danger to democracy."

Continuing the weekly writes that the very motive—its morality—of the "austerity" drive was suspect in public eye. The Government was finding it difficult to implement the Second Five-Year Plan. It was fully aware of the difficulties from the beginning but had carefully kept the public ignorant about them fearing their adverse reaction in the elections. Now the elections were over and the Congress leaders were safely in power. They were now trying to impose the whole sacrifice for the implementation of the plan on the shoulders of the common people. But while in reality the burden was being transferred to the common man it was essential in the political interest of the ruling party to make the sacrifices appear as national. Therein lay the root of the present show of "austerity" and economy.

If the Congress leaders really wanted to effect economy there was nothing to prevent them from doing so even from the very start. But they had done nothing of the sort. Nor had any effort been made to bridge the gulf between the high and the low, the rich and the poor. "If 'austerity' makes no difference to the gulf," the *Vigil* writes, "if the difference in the standard of material conditions of life remains

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as before, then the glib talk about 'equality of sacrifice' is a cruel fraud."

Company Contribution to Party Funds

A number of big joint-stock companies in India recently became active in seeking to effect an amendment in their organisational statutes (the Memorandum of Association) so that they might contribute to the funds of political parties in India—following the practice of business corporations in the United States of America. This new interest of the business corporations in seeking to exercise a more direct influence over the political parties by being in a position to pull their purse-strings came to be viewed with general disquiet which also found its echo in the recent remarks of the Bombay High Court in dismissing an appeal preferred by three share-holders of the Tata Iron & Steel Company, Ltd., which sought to restrain the company from donating to the funds of political parties.

While the court upheld the company's right to donate to the funds of political parties under the provisions of the Indian Companies Act, 1956, it also struck a note of warning and drew the attention of the Parliament to the dangerous potentialities of direct contributions to the funds of the political parties by the business corporations. In their judgment, the Chief Justice, Mr. M. C. Chagla and Justice Mr. J. T. Desai expressed their uneasiness at the possible consequences of the new political interests of business houses on the future of democracy in India.

The observations made by the Bombay High Court touched many aspects of Indian democracy so that we reproduce below the summary made by the *Press Trust of India*:

"The Judges said that on the part of any-one to finance a political party was likely to contaminate the very springs of democracy. They added that democracy would be vitiated if results were to be arrived at not on merits but because money played a part in the bring-ing about of the decision. The form and trap-pings of democracy might continue, but the spirit underlying democratic institutions would disappear, they added.

The history of democracy had proved that in other countries democracy had been smothered by big business and money-bags playing an important part in the working, influencing and affecting of the democratic institutions. It was, therefore, the duty not only of the politicians and citizens but also of the court of law, to the extent that it had got power to prevent any influence being exercised upon a voter which was improper or which might be looked at as corruptive influence.

While the integrity of the voter and his representative should be safeguarded, they had also to consider the way the world had developed and democratic institutions had evolved.

In the modern countries, they were dealing with millions of voters, and large organisations, political parties and modern methods of carrying on propaganda required money which normally was obtained by the parties from their supporters and sympathisers. But the danger of the corrupting influence of money should not be allowed to increase and must be strongly curbed.

Their lordships, moreover, said they could only be guided by legal principles and not by views as to politics and morality. Therefore dealing with the proposal of the Company, their lordships said that the trial judge, who had applied his mind to the various factors of the case, had come to the conclusion that in law he was bound to confirm the alteration sought by the Company.

According to the Company, the amendment to the memorandum would enable the company to carry out its objects of earning, profits and running the Company more economically and more efficiently.

According to their lordships, the Company felt that its safety, security, future expansion and profits were all linked up with the continuance of the Congress Government at the helm of affairs, and that the Company should, therefore, see to it that that Government continued in power. Thus arose the necessity for the Company to contribute to political funds.

Their lordships found that there was nothing unlawful in the Company making contributions to political funds just as individuals could do. In this connection, their lordships also pointed out that if they were to refuse the Company sanction for the amendment, there was nothing to prevent the Company from reconstructing and to have a new memorandum empowering itself to have the power to make

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contribution to political parties as had been done in the case of some newly-formed companies. Under Section 17 of the Companies Act, the trial judge had exercised his discretion and sanctioned the amendment and their lordships agreed with the decision of the trial court.

The Company had already agreed that it would show all donations in the profit and loss account and the balance-sheet. Their lordships said that it was essential that the electorate should know how a party was being financed and by whom and to what extent.

Therefore, the Company at the end of the financial year should establish in two leading newspapers a complete statement of the contributions made.

Their lordships said that wide powers had been conferred upon the Companies to make contributions. Their lordships wished to draw the attention of Parliament to the great danger inherent in permitting Companies to make contributions to political parties. They added that it was a danger which might grow apace and which might ultimately overwhelm and even throttle democracy in this country.

From experience in a large number of cases, the contributions were made by the directors and the sanction of the Company was merely a camouflage as either the directors controlled the Company or some powerful person having a large number of shares.

Their lordships, therefore, said that the least Parliament could do was to require these Companies to get the sanction of the court before any large amount was paid to the funds of political parties. They, therefore, suggested that Parliament should pass remedial measures.

The Hazards of Planning

The people of India are now made to feel the stress and strains of planned economy. The mounting burdens of taxation have a crippling effect on the fixed income groups and the low income groups and the entire economy has been thrown out of gear as a result of budgetary measures. The rise in price level and the resultant cost of living are the two immediate effects of budget declaration. There has been an increase of more than 50 per cent over a year in the cost of living. The index number of food prices which stood at 348.2 on May 26, 1956, rose to 426.3 on June 15, 1957. The co[r]responding index number of manufactur[ed] articles on these dates moved from 376.9 [to] 393.1. The index number of wholesale pri[ces] of all commodities rose from 391.1 on May [25] 1956 to 437.6 on June 15 last. The develo[p]ment expenditure had almost trebled in [five] years from Rs. 259 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. [9]crores in 1956-57. For 1957-58, the deve[l]ment expenditure will be of the order of Rs. [9] crores.

When the Second Five-Year Plan w[as] drafted it was said that it was much [too] ambitious, being beyond the resources of [the] country. The authorities turned a deaf ear [to] this suggestion and they went on asserting [that] the targets of the Second Plan must be achie[ved] anyhow and there could not arise any questi[on] of reducing the Plan. But when the Pl[an] actually came to be put into operation, it w[as] immediately realised that funds are lacking [to] carry out the proopsals. Both the internal [and] external resources are now found to be in sh[ort] supply. In consequence, the Second Plan is n[ow] reported to be undergoing a rephasing m[ain]on the basis of avoidance of new commitm[ents] of foreign exchange resources on projects o[ther] than those covered by development in [the] spheres of iron and steel, coal, transport [and] ancillary power. It has been estimated th[at] even with the latest slash on imports and [no] new foreign exchange commitments restricted [to] capital goods required for the 'core' of [the] Plan—iron and steel projects, coal, transp[ort] and ancillary power—external assistance [of] about Rs. 600 crores beyond what have so [far] been promised would be required.

The drain on foreign exchange has been [in]creasing alarmingly and at present the sterl[ing] balances have come down to just Rs. 457 cro[res]. Of this amount, the sum of Rs. 400 crores [is] required to be kept at a currency reserve [and] this amount will not be available for payme[nts] and that means India has only Rs. 57 cr[ores] for payments for her imports, and this amo[unt] includes the credit of Rs. 60.7 crores rec[eived] from the IMF as the remainder of the stan[d-by] credit of $200 million granted to India. [The] magnitude of the strain on the balance of [pay]ments is shown by the fact that during [the] fourteen months ending May, 1957, the [net] on foreign assets has been of the o[rder] Rs. 335 crores.

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Prior to his departure for Europe in June, Pandit Nehru is reported to have sent to his Cabinet colleagues a circular letter in which he referred to the country's precarious foreign exchange position, the internal price level and the rising cost of the Second Plan. He stressed the point that however desirable a particular proposal put forward by a Ministry might be, it would have to be looked at from the larger point of view of the working of the Plan. He has pointed out that a Minister or a secretary should not think only of the needs of his Ministry but of the Plan as a whole. In his view, the Planning Commission is the proper authority to consider any proposal from an overall point of view. Pandit Nehru has said that in view of various developments and particularly in view of the rise in prices, the cost of the Second Plan has already gone up to Rs. 5,500 crores and there is every possibility of a further rise to Rs. 6,000 crores or over. He has stated that it is manifestly not possible for the country to incur such a huge expenditure and therefore when Government expressed its determination to fulfil the Second Plan, it meant that it would fulfil the basic industrial core of it. Other items, though important in themselves might have to be postponed.

The two major hurdles that today hamper the progress of the Second Plan are: the lack of priority and the rising costs. With limited resources, the Second Plan has been launched on all the fronts at a time and the result has been that no single project has been able to make any appreciable headway. The Government should have given priority consideration to the developments and establishment of large-scale industries in the first instance, leaving other items of development to later period. It is not merely the question of monetary resources, there are also the needs of administrative arrangements which cannot be marshalled all at a time particularly in a country where trained personnel are lacking. The administrative loopholes are manifest everywhere and in every aspect of the planned projects. The major loopholes in the administration of the planned projects are dishonesty on the part of the officers and their inefficiency. These factors are responsible to a considerable extent in pushing up the costs of the planned projects. The country is so vast and the projects are so widespread that it is not possible for the Central Government as well as for the various State Governments to exercise proper control so as to check dishonesty. Further, the selection of personnel now-a-days is more a matter of political patronage than an economic consideration. Nepotism is no less responsible for the selection of inefficient personnel. Nepotism today controls the political Leviathan of India and merits go at a discount.

The Government of India's industrial policy as well as the trade policy is defective. India is an underdeveloped country and the economic planning should have been directed mainly towards developing large-scale industries and also increasing agricultural output of the country both by extensive and intensive cultivation. There are several projects which are unproductive and as a result the capital expenditure has failed to bring any effective return. The river valley projects constitute a great drain on the resources of India and they are more a liability in the present context than an asset. Money has been made to flow down the sluice-gates of the river valley projects. The cost of the DVC has shot up from the original estimate of Rs. 45 crores to the present estimate of Rs. 150 crores. The community development projects and the craze for developing small-scale industries are also draining away a large part of India's resources. These projects could have been deferred to a later period.

More than 50 per cent of India's national income is agricultural income and in recent years the agricultural output has not been keeping pace with the growing demand and in consequence the real income of the people as well as the national income has not made any appreciable increase. Agriculture is still a gamble in rainfall in India and the river valley projects have not helped it in any way. The Government of India's trade policy is also very defective. In the face of ever-increasing deficit financing, the import restrictions are simply raising the price level as well as the cost of production. Import restrictions will help only the black-marketers and to that extent the Government's trade policy helps the black-marketers at the cost of the general public.

Speaking at Madurai recently, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the former Union Finance Minister, ascribed the current difficulties in regard to the implementation of the Second Plan to the loss of efficiency in agricultural production and to "somewhat imprudent" utilization of the sterling balances. He said that India's resources

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now appeared to be less than what had been assumed for the Second Plan. That was the central feature of the difficulties. He said: "One important cause is perhaps the loss of efficiency in the production of agricultural commodities because they contribute to nearly one half of our national income. We have been somewhat imprudent in the utilization of our accumulated reserves, namely, the sterling balances—imprudent in the sense that perhaps some of it has gone for the development of projects which are not strictly part of the Plan, or perhaps has gone to augment consumption in directions which were not anticipated when the Plan was made."

The monetary policy of the authorities is not also very effective in keeping down the price level. The expansion of bank credit has been taking place with rapid strides and during 1956 only, the bank credit has gone by about Rs. 250 crores. This indicates that speculation, particularly in essential commodities, is increasing considerably with the help of bank credit. In May, 1956, the Reserve Bank of India asked banks to restrict their advances against foodgrains. But surprisingly enough, this restriction was withdrawn with the onset of the busy season in November and no sooner had this restriction been withdrawn than the prices of foodgrains shot up. The withdrawal of restrictions on advances was effected evidently at the influence of powerful hoarders and speculators. Otherwise there could not have been any cogent reason in withdrawing the restriction in the face of rising prices. Recently, the restrictions have again been imposed. But this time the step has been taken at a time when the mischief is already done. It is too late now to make any effective control of prices with this mechanism of credit control. On account of Government spending, the purchasing power of the people is progressively rising and in order to check speculation by the few hoarders, the bank rate and also the Reserve Bank advance rate should be raised to 5 per cent. The cost of bank credit should be dearer so as to discourage speculative deals, particularly in foodgrains.

The recent drain on India's foreign exchange reserves is not only amazing, but perplexing too. India has received a loan of $200 million from the IMF to meet her current deficit in the balance of payments. Besides, foodgrains are imported against the U.S. credit and for that no cash payment is required to be made. The import of capital goods is made under the deferred payments scheme entered into with West Germany and Eastern European countries. By import restrictions, the Government of India is unnecessarily making the country panicky and the people speculative. The private sector can import capital goods against credit from the International Finance Corporation and also through the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India which has received a loan for $10 million from the IBRD and this amount still remains unutilized. India is a member of the International Finance Corporation whose main function is to help industries in the private sector of a member-country. The outstanding licences for capital goods are placed at Rs. 300 crores, for raw materials at Rs. 15 crores and for consumer goods at Rs. 120 crores. Besides, there must be outstanding commitments on Government account and this amount is not made known. India's adverse trade balance does not exceed Rs. 150 crores a year and India has already received a loan of nearly Rs. 100 crores from the IMF. The newly declared import policy of the Government of India seems to indicate that the foreign trade of India is now a one-way traffic and that India only imports, but does not export anything. India's exports in recent years are not keeping pace with the rising imports. In 1955, India had a large trade deficit with West Germany so much so that it constituted nearly 85 per cent of India's total trade deficit. In 1956, the trade deficit with that country amounted to 28 per cent of our total deficit in the balance of payments. India should insist that West Germany should purchase more commodities from India, like tea and other goods, or India should cease importing capital goods from that country.

India's currency reserve of Rs. 400 crores is unnecessary and outmoded. No country does keep her currency reserve in the currency of a foreign country. Britain has dispensed with the requirement of maintaining gold reserve against note issue and India should also discontinue the practice of maintaining Rs. 400 crores in sterling securities as a reserve against her note issue. This amount should be made available for payments for the import of capital goods which are urgently needed. So far as export trade is concerned, the First Five-Year Plan has been a failure in stepping up exports from India. But in official figures, we find that some of our exports have made remarkable improvement and there has also been new markets for Indian goods. But in actual performance,

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achievement is disappointing. What does that indicate? It indicates that there must have been leakage in our foreign exchange. In other words, there is smuggling and clandestine payments abroad of our foreign exchange and our entire export earnings are not brought to proper account. The smuggling of gold into India involves illegal payments of India's foreign exchange for several hundred crores of rupees and this is an open secret well known to the authorities.

Civil Liberties in the USA

The month of June, 1957, would go down in the constitutional history of the U.S.A. as a memorable month. On June 17, the Supreme Court of the United States of America gave two major decisions—one in the contempt case brought against John T. Watkins on behalf of the committee on un-American activities of the U. S. Congress, and the other in the case of fourteen West Coast Communist Party leaders convicted under the Alien Registration (Smith) Act of 1940—which, to quote the *New York Times*, "reasserted the principle of the right of a citizen under the First Amendment and the Fifth Amendment (of the U.S. Constitution) to be protected against arbitrary procedures." The two decisions of the Supreme Court opened new, and a broader horizon for civil liberties in the USA and genuine democracies everywhere would welcome these authoritative limitations, imposed upon the Legislature and the Executive, against encroachments on the liberties of the private citizens.

The MacCarthy inquisitions had lowered the prestige of the USA in the eyes of lovers of civil liberties everywhere. There were yet some who would like MacCarthy's inquisitorial tradition to continue and they are bitterly criticizing the judgments as being too liberal. Some were charging that the Supreme Court was making law, that the justices were enforcing their personal views instead of interpreting the Constitution, Senator John L. McClellan, chairman of the U.S. Senate's special committee on labour racketeering, went so far as to declare that "what this country (USA) needs most is a Supreme Court of lawyers with a reasonable amount of common sense." Yet despite these criticisms the decision of the Supreme Court would remain binding in similar cases. As the *New York Times* editorially remarks, "It remains true that the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is. But those who criticize the court at this moment may well remember that it is neither inferior nor superior to the other two departments (*i.e.*, the executive and the legislature) of government. The late President Franklin D. Roosevelt could not upset it for being, as he thought, too conservative, and its decisions will not be rescinded now because some think they are too liberal."

The Watkins case: John T. Watkins was called as a witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee in April, 1954. Mr. Watkins, who had been associated with the Communists between 1942 and 1947, freely answered questions about himself but refused to discuss "persons who may in the past have been Communist party members . . . but who to the best of my knowledge and belief have long since removed themselves from the Communist movement." He said that he did not consider the answers on that point relevant to the work of the congressional committee, nor did he "believe that this (congressional committee) has the right to undertake the public exposure of persons because of their past activities."

For this refusal Mr. Watkins was convicted on the charge of contempt of the Congress of the United States. He then appealed to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court by a majority of six to one ruled that the conviction of Mr. Watkins was improper. The points, made by Chief Justice Warren on behalf of the majority, have been summarised by the *New York Times* as follows:

"First, that congressional authority to investigate is very broad but does have limits, notably the Bill of Rights. The Court said, 'There is no general authority to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the functions of the Congress.'

"Second, that the area which a committee may investigate must be delineated clearly by the parent body—the Senate or House. The court said: 'It would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution (than the one creating the Un-American Activities Committee) . . . The Committee is allowed in essence, to determine its own authority . . . (committee members) may act pursuant to

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motives that seemed to them to be the highest. Their decisions, nevertheless, can lead to ruthless exposure of private lives in order to gather data that is neither desired by the Congress nor useful to it.'

"Third, that congressional committees are restricted to acquiring data to guide the House or Senate in legislating. The Court said: 'No witness can be compelled to make disclosures on matters outside that area'.

"Fourth, that Mr. Watkins had no way of knowing what legislative question was under enquiry and whether the questions asked him were pertinent to it. The Court said: '(Watkins) was thus not accorded a fair opportunity to determine whether he was within his rights in refusing to answer'."

"The conclusions we have reached in this case will not prevent the Congress, through its committees, from obtaining any information it needs for the proper fulfilment of its role in our scheme of government," Chief Justice Warren declared, "A measure of added care on the part of the House and Senate in authorizing the use of compulsory process and by their committees in exercising that power would suffice."

Justice Tom C. Clark's was the sole dissident voice.

The Smith Act Case: The provision of the Alien Registration (Smith) Act of 1940 were used by the Government of the United States to break the Communist movement in that country. In all 145 Communist leaders of the USA were indicted under the Act of whom 89 were actually convicted. The Constitutional validity of the Act was challenged in 1951 but the Supreme Court by a majority of 6 to 2 (Justices Black and Douglas dissenting) upheld the validity of the Act.

Among the 89 Communists convicted under the Smith Act there were fourteen West Coast leaders. They appealed to the Supreme Court that the Smith Act had been applied to them improperly. The Supreme Court by a majority of six to one (Justice Clark dissenting again) set aside the convictions, freeing five outright and ordering fresh trials for the remaining nine. Justices Black and Douglas, while concurring with the majority decision along with Justices Warren, Frankfurter, Harlan and Burton, reiterated their view that the Smith Act was unconstitutional. Justice Burton agreed with the majority with reservation on one point.

The points made by the majority, as summarised by the *New York Times*, are given below:

"*First,* that the fourteen West Coast Communists had been charged not only with conspiracy 'to advocate' the violent overthrow of the Government but also with conspiracy 'to organize' the Communist Party and that the 'organize' charge was invalid (it was on this point that Justice Burton disagreed). The Court said: 'We should follow the familiar rule that criminal statutes are to be strictly construed and give to 'organize' its narrow meaning, that is that the word refers only to acts entering into the creation of a new organization, and not to acts thereafter performed in carrying on its activities, even though such acts may loosely be termed 'organizational' . . . Since the Communist Party came into being in 1945 (in its present form) and the indictment was not returned until 1951, the three-year statute of limitations had run on the 'organizing' charge.

"*Second,* that during the trial of the fourteen, neither the Government nor the trial judge made any distinction between advocating the violent overthrow of the Government as an abstract doctrine, which is not a crime, and advocating it in a way calculated to incite unlawful action, which is a crime. The Court said: 'The essential distinction is that those to whom the advocacy is addressed must be urged to do something, now or in the future, rather than merely to believe in something . . .' The Smith Act does not denounce advocacy in the sense of preaching abstractly the forcible overthrow of the Government . . . (In the original Smith Act case of the eleven Communist leaders) the jury was properly instructed that there could be no conviction for 'advocacy in the realm of ideas.' (But in the West Coast case) the trial court (insisted) that all advocacy was punishable 'whether in language of incitement or not.'

"Once the court had ruled out the 'organize' charge and narrowed the 'advocacy' charge, it examined the evidence remaining against each of the fourteen Communists. The majority found there was no evidence left to justify retrial for five of them and it therefore directed

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their acquittal. As for the remaining nine, the court said that if a jury were to give the evidence 'its utmost sweep' and resolve 'all conflicts in favour of the Government' the Government might win a valid conviction. Accordingly, it ordered a new trial for the nine."

Elections in Egypt

Egypt would go to the polls on July 3 when elections were scheduled to be held for the 350-member National Assembly (Parliament). The elections were to have been held in November last, but had to be postponed on account of Anglo-French attack on Egypt. There were 5,964,424 registered voters including 200,000 women who would be voting for the first time in Egyptian history. Over 2,500 persons including 16 women paid deposits and filed their nomination papers. Finally, however, 1241 candidates, selected by a Ministerial committee headed by President Nasser, remained in the field to fill up 278 seats of the Assembly (the other 72 seats having been filled up uncontested).

Egyptian nationals, both men and women, above 30 years of age and able to read and write were eligible to contest the elections. Members of the former ruling family and politicians deprived of their political rights were not eligible to stand for election.

P.T.I. adds:

"The elections would appear to be of a limited character as all political parties suspended in 1953 have not yet been restored and will remain suspended until the new Assembly enacts laws regulating them. Any move for laws restoring the political parties should, under the Constitution, come from the Government and should be approved by two-thirds of the Assembly.

"Until the parties are restored, nominations for the Assembly will be made by a 'National Union' which will also direct the country's national policies. The Union, as conceived in the Constitution, will represent different shades of public opinion and be under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic.

"An executive committee of the Union was set up last week by a Presidential decree to scrutinize the list of candidates. The Committee consists of three Ministers of the Government whose decision on the eligibility of candidates is final.

"President Nasser had planned the elections as a process of democratization and decentralization of the administration, but recent attempts by 'foreign interests' to topple the present Government has made the Government be strict in the selection of candidates. The Government knows that in certain constituencies some political groups opposed to its policies have put up nearly 15 candidates per constituency in an effort to 'squeeze' their candidate in through the screening committee.

"Although Ministers, under the constitution, need not be elected persons. President Nasser is reported to have expressed his desire to have, after the elections, elected men in his Cabinet mostly. All members of his Cabinet except the Foreign Minister, Dr. Fawzy, and the War Minister, General Amer, are fighting the elections. General Amer, who is in active army service as the C-in-C. of the Egyptian Armed Forces, is disallowed under the Constitution to stand for elections. Reasons why Dr. Fawzy is not standing are not known.

"Candidates are likely to contest on the basis of 'national solidarity' or 'individual personality' in the absence of political programmes backed by organized political parties."

Canadian Elections

In the Canadian elections held in June the ruling Liberal Party was swept off from power after 22 years. The Liberal Party, occupying a place in the political spectrum roughly comparable to that of the Democrats in the USA and favouring low tariffs and social security at home and political equality abroad, had been in power in Canada since World War I, except for a brief interlude in 1926 and the five years beginning in 1930 when a conservative government had been in power. The defeat of the Liberal Party thus came as a major political upset.

The victor in this year's Canadian elections was the Progressive Conservative Party which favoured high tariffs and close ties with Great Britain. The Conservative Party polled smaller number of votes than the Liberals (2,378,000 to 2,509,000 for the Liberals and 1,277,000 for other parties) but the composition of the House of Commons of Canada was dras-

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tically changed. As against only 50 seats before the elections the Conservative got 111 seats to the Liberal's 103. The position of the various political parties and groups in the 265-seat House compared with the results of the last election in 1953 was as follows:

	1957	1953
Progressive Conservatives	111	50
Liberal	103	171
Co-operative Commonwealth Federation	25	23
Social Credit Party	19	15
Others	6	6
Vacant	1	—
	265	265

These factors were responsible for such a major upset in Canadian domestic politics, the *New York Times* writes: One was the Canadian people's longing for a political change; the second factor was the accumulation of exasperations to which any government long in power was prey; and lastly, the Conservative Party had found a vigorous leader in John Diefenbaker.

Following the results Mr. John Diefenbaker, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, formed the new Canadian Govtrnment. The new Government announced that there would be no change in the country's foreign policy.

USA and Japan

Mr. Nobosuke Kishi, the Japanese Prime Minister, was on a visit to the United States during June. During that visit Mr. Kishi obtained the agreement of the Government of the USA to a substantial reduction of the number of US forces stationed in Japan (under the 1951 Security Treaty with Japan), "within the next year, including prompt withdrawal of all US ground combat forces."

The agreement on the stationing of US forces would indicate a partial recognition on the part of the US Government of the Japanese people's hostility to the state of continued state servitude of Japan. To that extent Mr. Kishi might be said to have made a point in his talks with President Eisenhower. Yet, as the *New York Times* points out, "The troop cut back is of a piece with a general (US) strategy emerging in the light of changing security conditions in Asia."

From whatever point the matter might be viewed—the decision of the US Government to reduce its troops in Japan was a welcome development which, one would like to hope, would lead to the eventual withdrawal of all US troops in not a distant future.

Sino-Soviet Relations

The strains underlying the Sino-Soviet relations were gradually coming to the fore. The world was treated for rather too long a period with the facade of Soviet-Chinese unanimity on all matters—national and international—by the Soviet Union, the Chinese themselves and the foreign Communists—to come to grasp the full significance of the recent indications of differences so soon. The Soviet Union stressed the Sino-Soviet unity to bolster up her own prestige and leadership in the Communist world and hold her up as a champion of Asian nationalism in the ideological and political struggle against the Western Powers. The foreign Communist press as the extension of the Soviet propaganda organs glibly repeated the Soviet propaganda theme and sought to make out of the Soviet-Chinese co-operation a great unselfishness on the part of the Soviet Union—periodically even going to the extent of partially discounting the great efforts made by the Chinese themselves. With China's increasing prestige in Asia the theme of such propaganda changed and stress came to be laid more and more on the *mutuality* of the Soviet-Chinese co-operation. The myth of complete unanimity between China and the Soviet Union persisted also because of the Chinese Communists' own assertion of the same—time and out of time. There seemed to be one particular reason behind such Chinese insistence on showing her complete unanimity with the Soviet Union. China was weak, backward and relatively internationally isolated. She naturally wanted to have all possible help she could get from the Soviet Union and remembering the hostility of the Western world to her, she naturally found it prudent not to show up the differences.

The fact, however, remained that there were acute strain in the relations between the Soviet Union and China, though their nature and extent could not be fully known.

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differences found expression in the evolution of the Communist Party in the two countries, in their international outlook and in the economic field.

The difference in the ideological field was recently highlighted by Khruschev's remarks on the now-famous speech of Mao Tse-tung on the question of "contradictions within the ranks of the people." Mao Tse-tung in his speech before the Supreme State Conference of China on February 27 this year clearly admitted that differences were bound to exist between the government and the people even where the Communists were in power—a thing which had long been denied by the Communist theoreticians. This was really a novelty in Communist theory. The speech of Mao also promised greater freedom for the intellectuals in China (the actual working out of the promise was however yet to be seen). Questioned, whether such contradiction between the government and the people existed in the Soviet Union, in his television interview with the US pressmen, Khruschev, the Soviet Communist leader, flatly denied that such differences existed in the USSR. (The *New York Times* reports that in the text of the interview published in the Soviet press this remark of Khruschev was omitted). This ideological difference found expression in other spheres also. One of the themes recurring in the current Soviet propaganda on the question of "proletarian" internationalism was based that the non-Soviet Communist States in general did not need develop heavy industry on which they could rely upon the Soviet Union, they themselves remaining content with producing consumer goods. The Soviet propaganda also called for closer integration of the economic development plans of those countries with that of the Soviet Union. Recalling the ruthless Soviet exploitation of the European "people's democracies" through the garb of closer economic integration the Chinese leaders were evidently feeling uneasy—particularly in view of the fact that in China also there was a section of people including Communists favouring uncritical copying of the Soviet experiences. The Chinese leaders apparently felt the need to counter this feeling by an authoritative declaration. So much so that no less a person than Premier Chou En-lai, in his speech before the Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in September 1956, explaining the proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan of China, had to declare that China did not subscribe to the view that she should develop only particular branches of industry and should not strive to achieve comprehensive industrial development in which heavy industry would have a significant share. A big, populous and resourceful country like China, Mr. Chou declared, could not remain content without all-round economic development which would be hardly possible without a substantial growth of heavy industry.

Turning to the more specific question of Soviet help to Chinese industrial construction one found that the Soviet Union apparently could not keep up her promise. Basing his studies on official Chinese Communist press the multilingual editor of the weekly *China News Analysis*, Dr. L. LaDany writes that a momentous fact in the current industrial difficulties of the Chinese authorities was the "cut in or the delay in delivery of numerous industrial plants which Soviet Russia had promised to erect on Chinese soil . . . The fact that this year (1957) there are only 102 under construction instead of 137, must be interpreted as a sign either of the concentration of Soviet Russian economic resources elsewhere, or of a critical situation in exports to China."

Internationally, while China had extended full formal support to the Soviet Government in the suppression of the Hungarian national uprising, she had by no means concealed her distaste of the Soviet methods and actions. One could very well speculate on the possible Chinese reaction if she had not been forced into isolation by the openly hostile policies of the USA. As G. F. Hudson, the noted British authority on Far Eastern developments, noted, it was only through China's initiative that the Soviet Government could regain some part of its previous prestige and authority in Eastern Europe without having to resort to open military operations. An analysis of the relations between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union made by the Institute of Soviet Affairs, Munich, also underlined the ideological differences between the two parties. The Chinese Communist lealer Peng Cheng who had led a Chinese Communist parliamentary delegation to the countries of Eastern Europe, said on his return to China that "differences on

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many questions within any country or party or between brother countries and parties are nothing out of the ordinary." This position, the Analysis pointed out, represented a considerable departure from the current Soviet line that the Soviet Union's leadership must be acnnowledged by all the other Communist parties. The differences between Chinese and Soviet approaches also found expression in the open Chinese support to Poland and the new Polish policies.

How the Soviet-Chinese relations would develop in the near future would, however, depend on a number of factors—both national and international—and it was impossible at the moment to predict the future.

Eisenhower Doctrine for Africa?

The Ceylonese monthly political magazine *Jana* writes: "The current tidings from Accra and the Maghreb capitals appear to be bringing new clouds in the Bandung horizon. Authorities in New Delhi have been silent, but there is little doubt that they have been somewhat disturbed by policy declarations from the spokesman of this region and interpretations put on them by Western commentators. No doubt they regard it unnecessary and undesirable to draw any immediate inference, but it is futile to deny that many observers in Delhi have become conscious that trends and pressures similar to those in West Asia have begun to operate in North Africa. The two irksome features of those developments are, first, the avowed Western intentions to make the African region another 'base' against Communism ('The next target of Communist threat is Africa,—U.S. Vice-President Nixon); and second, the urge in the minds of African statesmen, specifically proclaimed by Mr. Nkrumah, to evolve an 'African personaity'."

"There are genuine fears," the *Jana* continues, "that an identity of interest may develop between these two forces." The impression was growing that, if compelled to assume a firm position, the leading figures in Maghreb and Ghana would align themselves with the West rather than with the unaligned nations of Asia.

Mr. Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, listed seven countries as the nucleas of the "African personality" of which he spoke on the second day of Ghana's independence. He announced his intention to call a conference of these countries. The countries listed by Dr. Nkrumah were Ethiopia, the Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Liberia and Ghana. Significantly enough Egypt was excluded. The magazine notes that India appreciated the peculiar problem of Africa and welcomed the development of African personality. What the Indian leaders feared was that the thinking of the African leaders could be gently influenced and ultimately distorted to suit the West by manoeuvres to which the Western nations were subjecting Africa.

Indo-Pakistan Canal Water Dispute

Among the legacies of partition, the Indo-Pakistan canal water dispute seems to defy solution on account of the intransigence of Pakistan. The World Bank Mission that recently visited India and Pakistan with a view to bringing about an amicable settlement of this long outstanding issue has ended in a failure. The World Bank Mission proposed that the 1954 proposals in respect of the canal dispute between these two countries should be accepted by them. The main proposals made by the Bank in 1954 were that the entire flow of the western rivers of the Indus basin, namely, Indus, Jhelum and Chenub, be available for the exclusive use of Pakistan, minus the insignificant flow in Kashmir. The entire flow of the eastern rivers, namely, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej will be for the exclusive use of India except for a transitional period when India would continue present supplies according to an agreed schedule. In addition, India would bear part of the cost of the link canals to be constructed by Pakistan to replace the supplies now received from India. India practically accepted these proposals, but Pakistan did not and hence no solution could be reached on the issue.

The present stand-by agreement is definitely against the interest of India. Under the present arrangement, Pakistan is using up nearly 80 per cent of Indus water and India has paid a considerable sum towards building link canals to enable Pakistan to have regular flow of the Indus water in her region. During the discussions with the World Bank, Pakistan insisted that the water required to replace supplies now received by Pakistan from the rivers assigned

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by the Bank to India be drawn from the Indus. Since the Indus is furthest away from India, this would mean increasing the cost of the link canals, a proportion of which will be borne by India. While accepting the World Bank formula in 1954 India took it for granted that the supplies would be replaced from the nearest of the rivers assigned to Pakistan.

Speaking on the World Bank proposals, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Pakistan Prime Minister declared in London on June 26, that there could be reasonable settlement of the dispute, "but not by division of water." He wants that international law regarding upper and lower riparian States be applied in this case also. His version of the law is: "The water we used historically should be allowed even today. If there is an increase in the upper riparian waters, it should be divided between upper and lower riparians." He asked: "Has India Government monetary resources to pay for the whole thing?" His condition is that India will pay the cost of building canals before stopping water.

It is simply astounding to note the above statement of the Pakistan Prime Minister. Why should India bear the cost of building canals? It was out of her goodness that India agreed to bear a portion of the cost of the canals. It is absolutely no obligation on the part of India. The undivided India was partitioned with all the resultant *pros and cons*, advantages and disadvantages. That partition could put Pakistan to difficulty in the matter of irrigation of her territory is no concern at all for India. India has been as such too lenient over the canal dispute. The upper portion of the Indus runs through India. Mr. Suhrawardy has invoked international law in this connection. Fenwick in his *International Law* states (page 391): "It is doubtful whether international law can be said to have recognised any principle corresponding to that existing in civil law as a common law in the form of a right to the uninterrupted flow of streams and rivers. Consequences of the possession of the traditional rights of sovereignty, states in possession of the upper waters of a river have not recognized any general obligation to refrain from diverting its waters and thereby denying to the States in possession of the lower waters the benefits of its flow. Such restrictions as have been recognized have been in every case the result of treaty stipulations." India must not enter into any agreement in the matter with Pakistan and she must reserve the right to use the Indus water to her advantage.

Terror in Algeria

A reign of terror was raging over Algeria. Almost everyday reports came from the unhappy country carrying the news of the deaths of innocent Algerians. The French atrocities in Algeria raised a wave of protest even within France. In a letter to the French Minister of National Defence, the celebrated French jurist Peyrega wrote: "One wished that the excellence of our intentions, our moral superiority, the rectitude of our policy were proved by the purity of our conduct, by the absence of abuses and at least by our renunciation of all arbitrary and inhuman methods and by our courageous efforts to denounce all excess and all tendency towards national 'socialism'."

The Arab leaders appealed to the United Nations to appoint a commission of enquiry into the conduct of French troops in Algeria. The United States Government, however, came out in opposition to the proposal and there was not much likelihood of the suggested action being taken by the **U.N.**

"Different Than"?—Yes

The *Statesman* of Calcutta in an editorial article entitled "Grammarian's Funeral" on June 10 takes exception to the use of the expression "different than" in English.

The newspaper writes: "We are familiar with people who for some reason unknown write 'different to' instead of 'different from'. But 'different than!' who on earth the 'too many great literary figures' who have used the construction?"

A number of letters in the correspondence columns of the newspaper eulogised the newspaper's stand declaring the expression "different than" wholly unacceptable in English, but there was none contradicting the editorial comment. As this was likely to engender a wrong notion it should be pointed out that according to such authoritative pronouncements as of the *Oxford English Dictionary, Webster's International Dictionary* and the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, the use of the expression "different than" was certainly permissible. As to the names of English authors who had used

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the expression "different than," Defoe, Browning, Thackeray and Coleridge might be mentioned among others.

Whither Co-operative Movement

Addressing the general meeting of the All-India Co-operative Union, recently held in New Delhi, Sri K. D. Malaviya, the Union Minister for Oil and Mines, said: "The fate of the Indian co-operative movement is in the melting pot. I see some difficulties in the realisation of the dreams of co-operators some of whom devoted their lifetime to the movement." He referred to the gulf between officials and non-officials in the co-operative movement and stressed the necessity for it to be bridged. Although the co-operative movement in India was started as early as 1904, it had hitherto made little progress. At the end of 1955-56, the total number of all types of co-operative societies were 240,395, as against 219,288 in the preceding year. This represents an increase of 9.6 per cent. The primary credit societies still predominate, their number being 159,939, or 67.6 per cent. The working capital of all types of societies increased sharply from Rs. 390.52 crores to Rs. 468.82 crores or 20.1 per cent, during 1955-56. On 30th June, 1956, the membership of primary societies stood at 1.76 crores. The primary societies mainly cater to the needs of the cultivators in the country and the figures indicate that the primary societies have touched only a fringe of our cultivators.

Notwithstanding recent legislative measures, the progress of the co-operative movement in the country is not so hopeful. This is evident from the fact that deposits at Rs. 7.05 crores of the agricultural credit societies constitute only 8.9 per cent of the working capital. The conclusion is that promotion of thrift and savings in the rural areas have not improved. The co-operative societies have to depend more and more on borrowed funds for augmenting their resources. The Part II of Volume I of the All-India Rural Credit Survey Report, recently published, shows that the contributions by the Government and the co-operative societies towards agricultural finance is negligible. Of the total annual needs of agricultural finance, only 3.3 per cent come from the Government, 3.1 per cent from the co-operatives, 1.5 per cent from the landlords, 5.5 per cent from traders, 15.2 per cent from relatives, and 24.9 per cent from the agriculturists themselves. The moneylenders still top the list of agricultural financiers contributing 44.8 per cent of the total borrowings by the cultivators.

A recent survey of the Community Projects and the National Extension Blocks show that in recent years under these schemes larger and more prosperous cultivators are the recipients of Government funds and the small cultivators are rather neglected. The big cultivators who constitute 10 per cent of the total cultivators in the country are the recipients of 60 per cent of the Government loans given under the schemes mentioned above. The small cultivators who constitute 30 per cent of the total agricultural population have received only 10 per cent of the total Government loan extended to the cultivators. The Rural Credit Survey Report points out that there takes place unnecessary delay in granting loans by the co-operative societies to the cultivators. The small cultivators cannot secure Government loans to the same extent as the larger cultivators secure mainly for the reason that they cannot offer proper securities as is possible for the latter. The small cultivators are not in a position to exert necessary pressure on the authorities as is possible for the larger cultivators. As regards the co-operative credit accommodation to the cultivators, here again we find that the larger cultivators receive preference. On an average the larger cultivators have received Rs. 21 per family as against Rs. 2 in the case of small cultivators. One thing is more or less common all over the country and it is that the amount borrowed by the cultivators does not represent more than one-tenth of their total borrowings. It is a common practice among a large number of cultivators to mention fictitious purposes in their loan applications and the borrowed funds are spent on other purposes. Although the village moneylenders charge higher rates of interest their loans to the cultivators are much better than that of either the Government or the co-operative societies because their conditions are much less stringent.

With the inauguration of the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Services, the co-operative movement is being rather by-passed by the Government. If the co-operative movement is to succeed it

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country it must penetrate deeply among the cultivators who constitute more than 50 per cent of the total population. Not only that, the larger cultivators sooner or later shall have to be eliminated by the process of co-operative farming and at that stage the co-operative societies will be more effective in dealing with the co-operative farming societies. As to the reorganisation of our land system, controversy at present raging in the country as to whether we should adopt co-operative farming on the model of China or follow the system of individual land ownership as it does prevail in Japan. The Patil Report shows that about three-fourths of the peasant households in Japan cultivate less than 2.5 acres each. In Japan, the average holding of a farm family is 2.17 acres and in this respect the average per capita land holding in Japan resembles more or less that of India. In Asia, Japan has the highest average yield with 2,400 lbs. of rice per acre and the per capita annual income of those engaged in agriculture is Rs. 883.

Although there is no co-operative farming system in Japan, mechanised farming has been introduced even by small cultivators. The Japanese cultivators have adopted mechanical ploughing by small tractors and they are making increasing use of electric or diesel motors, threshing machines and power hulling machines. The Japanese cultivators now concentrate their efforts on improved seeds and fertilisers for increasing the productivity of their lands. In that country more than 90 per cent of the area under paddy cultivation has been provided with improved drainage and irrigation. The improved strains of paddy generally require 800 lbs. of fertiliser per acre. The Patil Report points out that 5 million tons of fertilisers are used in Japan as compared with 0.8 million tons of fertilisers used in India and 1.8 million tons in China. In Japan, there has not been co-operative farming system as has been adopted in China. But in Japan, more than 95 per cent of the farmers are members of co-operative primary societies and these societies supply 39 per cent of the total agricultural finance and hold 65 per cent of the total savings of the farm households. Nearly 40 per cent of the primary co-operative societies are multi-purpose societies and surplus rice and wheat are marketed through co-operatives.

The authorities in India have not yet made up their minds as to whether in India co-operative farming should be adopted. If the co-operative system is not adopted in India, one thing must be done in order to increase the agricultural output of the country and it is that the big land-holders must be eliminated.

Pakistan's Vendetta

The Pakistan Government is only too eager in its drive against Hindus, Pakistani or Indian, to miss a chance. The news given below is only one of many examples. We have beaten all records of patience:

"Karachi, June 29.—The Pakistani Government has withdrawn certain Commonwealth citizenship privileges from Indians by a notification in the Gazette Extraordinary dated June 28. The notification designed to 'reciprocate India's action' taken early this year makes it obligatory on Indians in Pakistan to take out residential permits.

"India had withdrawn from Pakistanis and South Africans certain privileges of Commonwealth citizenship to regulate their stay in India. The Pakistan Government notification follows an Ordinance promulgated yesterday to amend the Foreigners Act and Registration of Foreigners Act.

"Explaining the implications of the Ordinance and the notification a Government spokesman said today: 'This is only an enabling legislation which does not in any way add to the responsibilities of Commonwealth citizens other than citizens of India. Even in regard to the latter it would only mean addition of a single liability, that of securing residential permits under the Foreigners Order, 1957.

"'The Government of Pakistan will strictly reciprocate the Indian action in the manner and spirit of their grant of permission of stay to Pakistanis living in India. Pakistan will also strictly adhere to the present arrangements regarding the stay of Indians under agreements in force between the two countries. Taking out residential permits will have the effect only of regularizing and regulating a process provided for in agreement between the two countries,' the spokesmen said.

"'In the case of Indians' the spokesmen continued, registration was at present being carried out under Control of Entry Act, 1952

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and this position will continue. The effect of change in the Foreigners Act, 1946, would be to empower the Government to take action against a foreigner under that Act or under orders passed under that Act such as the Foreigners Order of 1951.'"

Minority Commissioner

We have only one comment to make on the news report given below, and that is, no incumbent will be found suitable, for obvious reasons:

"New Delhi, June 21.—Eight months after the reorganization of States, a crucial part of the scheme remains unimplemented for want of a suitable incumbent for the new post of Minorities Commissioner whose job will be to safeguard the rights of linguistic minorities.

"According to authoritative sources, the delay in appointing the Minorities Commissioner has primarily been due to the dearth of people with exceptional qualification which the Government considers necessary for the post.

"For instance, the Union Government is reported to be of the view that the Commissioner should be an eminent public man rather than a civilian and that while being senior enough to carry weight with the State Governments, he should be young enough to be able to undertake strenuous tours.

"At one stage it was almost settled that this post should go to Mr. H. V. Pataskar but it was eventually decided to make him a Governor and the original proposal fell through.

"The functions and powers of the Minorities Commissioner will be modelled on those of the Special Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and he will be the principal agency for enforcing the safeguards for linguistic minorities which were enumerated at the time of passing the States Reorganisation Act.

"These safeguards relate both to education of children of linguistic minorities residing in any State and to recruitment to State services of people speaking languages different from the regional or State language.

"Besides making annual reports to the President—which will be discussed by Parliament—the Minorities Commissioner will also advise the President in recognizing minority languages as 'official language' in any area a State."

Domicile

The Union Ministry is making another futile attempt at democracy as detailed below:

"New Delhi, June 28.—The Union Home Ministry, it is learnt, is now drafting legislation to abolish the iniquitous restriction of domicile which has for long plagued recruitment to public services in the States.

"At present, almost every State insists that only those who have been residents of the State for five or more years should be eligible for public employment under the State Government.

"This practice, apart from being grossly discriminatory, causes hardship to linguistic minorities because it effectively keeps out of State services people speaking a language different from that of the State.

"Since Independence, more particularly since the commencement of the Constitution, the Central Government has been anxious to do away with this restriction, but apparently there has been successful resistance by some States.

"A clear undertaking to rescind this restriction was given in September last when Pandit Pant presented to Parliament a memorandum enumerating the safeguards for linguistic minorities.

"To be called the Public Employment (Requirement as to residence) Bill, the proposed legislation is expected to be introduced in the monsoon session of Parliament beginning July 15.

"Every effort is also likely to be made to get the Bill passed by the two Houses in the coming session so that it can be enforced without any further delay.

"While completely abolishing the existing discrimination based on domicile, the Bill is likely to make some exceptions for a transitional period. These will relate to Telengana and some other backward areas where outsiders, mainly than local people, have so far had greater employment opportunities.

"Among the more glaring instances of the operation of domicile discrimination is the case of medical appointments in the Eastern region.

"It appears that there are a large number of vacancies in various hospitals and dispensaries

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in Assam, Bihar and Orissa and a great deal of unemployment among doctors in West Bengal, most of whom are refugees.

"Since none of the States would appoint doctors from outside, the people there continue to suffer for want of medical aid while thousands of displaced doctors in Calcutta and elsewhere lanugish for want of jobs."

Delinquent Public Servants

The bill, about which the news below gives details, will also be a dead letter, so long a corrupt Congress remains in power:

"New Delhi, June 8.—An official Bill seeking to impose stricter punishment on Public Servants found guilty of corruption and to extend the scope of existing legislation will be given priority in the next session of Parliament.

"The Bill, which is now being drafted, will seek to amend the relevant provisions in Criminal Law. The State Governments have been consulted about the proposed changes.

"The objectives of the Bill include extension of the term 'Public Servant' to cover certain classes of employees in statutory corporations and Government companies and to ensure a minimum sentence of one year's imprisonment for conviction on a charge of criminal misconduct.

"It is also sought to ensure that the fines imposed in corruption cases are commensurate with corrupt gains and unexplained assets in the possession of the guilty officials. Some protection to bribe-givers for the evidence they give against bribe-takers is also sought."

Labour's Intransigence

The news report, from the *Statesman*, given below, will fully demonstrate the lamentable deterioration in the standpoint of labour, thanks to extremely questionable leadership:

"Heavy congestion has again occurred at Calcutta Port, many ships waiting in midstream for days for berths. On Saturday, the number of ships awaiting loading and unloading at the Port was 89 against the normal of about 60.

"The main contributory factors are stated to be a fall in the output of labour and simultaneous arrival of too many ships via the Cape and Suez. The Port authorities have informed the Union Government of the developments and suggested certain measures to help ease the congestion.

"According to their analysis, the poor labour output arises from temporary workers. These workers are stated to fear that any increase in their output may lead to the fixation of a higher standard by the Choudhury Committee now inquiring into the working conditions of labour in different ports.

"There has also been lately a shortage of temporary labour, a situation which has enabled available temporary hands to secure two bookings a day. The incentive bonus offered by the port authorities to this class of labour has not improved matters because of the extra earnings made by the depleted temporary staff.

"The Choudhury Committee is expected to examine the question of reducing the difference between the earnings of temporary and permanent workers. Temporary hands are now paid more or less at a fixed rate while permanent labour is paid on a piece-rate basis.

"Fears that the present output may influence the Choudhury Committee's recommendation regarding per capita standard, it is emphasized, are baseless. It is stated that the per capita standard output will be determined on the basis of figures covering a long period. With the incentive bonus offered by the port authorities, temporary labour can earn almost as much as the permanent labour if they work normally.

"The port authorities have requested the Union Government to see if the investigation by Mr. Choudhury can be completed quickly and his report published without delay, setting at rest the temporary labour's misgivings.

"Meanwhile, to help relieve congestion at the port, the mechanical arrangements for loading and unloading have been strengthened. Cargoes are being removed by road from the port area to the dumps opened outside to ease the pressure on shore-space."

Industry in Kerala

The news report, from the *Statesman*, given below, speaks for itself:

"Trivandrum, June 22.—The Kerala Government has declared that industrial units, not included in Schedules A and B of the industrial Policy Resolution of the Government of India,

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'will not be nationalized unless, in the case of a particular unit, there is gross mismanagement leading to loss of national wealth or deliberate and continuous refusal on the part of the management to abide by the Government's policies with regard to the living and working conditions of the employees.'

"As regards the transport industry, the Government has already declared its intention of implementing a phased programme of nationalization.

"A booklet entitled 'Industrial Policy of the Government of Kerala' issued today says that 'reasonable compensation' will be paid in the case of those industries which, for any reason, are proposed to be nationalized.

" 'This will also apply to foreign-owned plantations when they are nationalized with the concurrence of the Central Government,' it says.

"The Government assures all encouragement and help to those entrepreneurs who are prepared to play their role in the economic development of Kerala.

"It will do its utmost to give all possible forms of assistance to industrialists, in setting up and managing industries. The taxation and price-policies of the Government will be so devised as to allow reasonable profit after providing for accumulation of capital at reasonable rates.

"As regards labour, the Government says that it will try to develop peaceful relations between the employers, and employees. Long-term collective agreements will be encouraged providing for reasonable wages, allowances and bonus. It is confident that the working class of this State will realize that it is in their interest to adopt a policy of entering into long-term agreements provided the employers concede their legitimate demands. The Government is also convinced that stable industrial peace can be attained only with the willing co-operation of both parties. . .

"The Government also offers State guarantees for private industrialists to secure credit from the Central Financial Corporations and other agencies of institutional credit. It will help industrialists to procure raw materials, equipments and other means of production and will assist them in exploring internal and foreign markets.

"For promoting industrial peace, the Government says that it will take steps to get trade unions recognized and encourage mutual negotiations at all leavels to eliminate all causes of friction to enable the worker to secure reasonable demands and to ensure uninterrupted production. For this purpose, the Government will use the machinery of joint consultative committees and tripartite boards. It will also recommend to the employers establishment of management councils including representatives of employees which will help remove bottlenecks in production. The Government will set an example by constituting such councils in Government-owned enterprises.

"The policy statement says: 'As an agency for planned national development in the context of the country's expanding economy the private sector will have the opportunity to develop and expand.'

" 'The Government cannot force its policy of industrial peace either on the employers or on the employees, but it is confident that the employers and the employees will both realize the necessity of a patriotic and responsible attitude in this matter and help in their endeavour.

" 'The Government on its part wish to emphasize that it will welcome and assist the development of all industries—large-scale, medium or small—with promptness and enthusiasm,' the statement added."

Cut in Consumer Goods Import

Shri Morarji Desai warned the business community in vain on June 6, as the subsequent events have proved. We give extracts from the *Statesman*, to put it on record. This will also show how even in the case of vital medicines an attempt is being made to deliver the helpless consumer to the ruthless blackmarketeer:

"New Delhi, June 6.—Giving the country advance notice of substantial reduction in the import of consumer goods in the coming six months, Mr. Morarji Desai today warned traders not to exploit the consequent scaricity to increase prices.

"*He bluntly told the Import Advisory Council that his similar appeals in the past had not evoked favourable response from the business community. This time, therefore, he proposed to 'completely cancel all licences' of those who might try to exploit the country's difficulties.*

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"Speaking immediately after him, Mr. Babubhai Chinai, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, promised the Federation's 'utmost co-operation' in keeping down prices of scarce commodities.

"In a short succinct speech, the Commerce and Industry Minister gave an account of the heavy inroads into our sterling reserves,' and said that the pressure on these 'meagre resources' was unlikely to 'ease off in the near future.'

"For this reason, he added, there could be no general relaxation of the terms of deferred payment for the import of capital goods, although he envisaged a 'more liberal licensing,' for the import of capital goods when present discussions with financial, banking and other authorities in a number of countries for 'certain guarantees in support of deferred payment scheme' were completed.

"As regards the import of consumer goods, Mr. Desai said: 'We must tighten our belts and improvise. We can do without a number of items we have hitherto been regarding as essential. There may be some other items where imports in the immediate past will be sufficient to carry us through the next six months.'

"Mr. Desai disclosed that, so far, arrangements had been made for deferred payments for the import of machinery worth Rs. 19 crores. Of this, machinery worth Rs. 8 crores was imported for the sugar industry, while the bulk of imports related to the expansion of the existing capacity of the cement industry by 600,000 tons. Cases involving foreign capital amounted to Rs. 5 crores and related principally to the manufacture of aluminium and tyres.

"Cash payments for the import of machinery, he added, were allowed, either for 'balancing requirements,' or for schemes whose total cost was less than Rs. 5 lakhs. So far, the cash payments had totalled Rs. 22 crores. These related mainly to steel and cement plants, electrical generating schemes and other industrial projects which were almost entirely covered by licences issued in the past.

"In the discussion that followed, Mr. Desai summarily rejected a suggestion by the F.I.C.C.I. President for restricting the import of newsprint. Indian newspapers, he said, used the least quantity of newsprint in the world. Moreover, newspapers were essential for democracy.

"A suggestion which the Commerce and Industry Minister promised to consider was that the length of Indian feature films should be curtailed, reducing the import of raw films.

"The Council heard with attention a proposal by Mr. W. H. S. Michelmore, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, that while avoiding unnecessary import of machinery, no installed industry should be allowed to suffer for want of import of spare parts.

"Mr. Michelmore said the present procedure for ascertaining—before allowing the import of a spare part—that it was not locally available should be simplified and speeded up.

"P.T.I. adds : 'We have made heavy inroads into our sterling reserves,' Mr. Desai disclosed. India's sterling balances had fallen by over Rs. 269 crores over a period of 19 months. On January 1, 1956, the total balance stood at Rs. 738.6 crores and by May 24, this year it had fallen to Rs. 469 crores.

"Mr. Desai told members who had pleaded against any drastic cut on import of consumer goods on the ground that they could result in unemployment. 'I am afraid it will be so. The foreign exchange position must be taken into consideration and unemployment, if any, caused as a result of cut in imports must be solved in a different way.'

"Two members expressed divergent views on the question of import of drugs and medicines. Mr. S. Rohatagi, speaking on behalf of the Indian Pharmaceutical Industry, complained that the Industry's progress had suffered mainly on account of prejudice against Indian drugs. He urged that only drugs which were not manufactured in India should be allowed to be imported. On the other hand, Mr. S. M. Shah, President of the All-India Importers' Association, wanted import of drugs and medicines o be allowed."

Apartheid Challenged

After the heads of the churches had protested, the academicians are registering their protest as the news below indicates:

"Cape Town, June 7.—Thousands of people lined the streets and clapped as about 2,200 university professors and students paraded through Capetown today in their biggest protest so far against the South African Government's University segregation plans.

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"The procession led by the Chancellor of Capetown University and former Chief Justice, Mr. Albert Centliveres, included both men and women students.

"They were protesting against the Government's separate University Education Bill, providing for the setting up of four universities for non-Europeans and the closing of all existing universities to non-whites.

"The Vice-Chancellor and acting Principal of Capetown University, Prof. R. W. James, the University Council Chairman, Mr. W. D. Baxter, as well as students from the Universities of Witwatersrand, Natal and Rhodes (Grahamstown) also took part.

"Addressing the marchers, Prof. James declared: 'It is not the practice of our University to forsake the functions of teaching and research and parade solemnly through the streets of our city. It has needed a strong urge to persuade us to follow this course of action—the necessity of demonstrating to our fellow citizens, and we hope others, the solidarity of our objection to legislation that has been introduced to limit or forbid admission of non-European students to the Univesity'."

Britain and Ceylon

The following news, from the *Statesman*, are worthy of record:

"Colombo, June 7.—Britain and Ceylon today exchanged letters for the transfer of the British bases in Ceylon to the Government of Ceylon.

"The exchange was made between the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Bandaranaike, and the British High Commissioner in Ceylon, Sir Cecil Syers, at the office of the Prime Minister.

"Britain will formally hand over her naval base at Trincomalee on the east coast on October 15 and her Air Force station at Katunayake, 20 miles from here, on November 1.

"Britain will complete withdrawal of her forces within a period of three years.

"A joint communique issued by the Governments of Ceylon and the United Kingdom stated:

"'It was announced in July 1956 that the Ceylon Government had expressed its desire to take over the naval base at Trincomalee and the Royal Air Force station at Katunayake and that the United Kingdom Government, recognizing the right of the Government of Ceylon to do so under the Defence Agreement of 1947, had expressed willingness to agree to suitable arrangements for the purpose.

"'In subsequent discussions held in December 1956, it was agreed in principle that the bases at Trincomalee and Katunayake should be handed over to Ceylon in 1957 on a date to be agreed between the two Governments.'

"It was also stated to be the policy of the Ceylon Government that the U.K. establishments in Ceylon should be withdrawn at the end of an agreed period.

"In the course of further talks in Colombo, which have just concluded, the U.K. representatives presented to the Ceylon Government the plans which they had prepared for the withdrawal of the U.K. establishments from Ceylon in accordance with the declared policy of the Ceylon Government.

"Agreement has been reached between the Governments of the U.K. and Ceylon on the timing and method of the withdrawal. The Royal Naval Base at Trincomalee and the Royal Air Force station at Katunayake will be formally transferred to the Ceylon Government on October 15, and November 1, respectively. The withdrawal of the U.K. establishments will be in the main complete within a period of three years, though some facilities will remain for up to five years.

"The Ceylon Government will pay a sum of Rs. 22 million, spread over five years, for fixed assets of the U.K. services to be taken over and in final settlement of claims arising out of occupation or disposal of the bases."

Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa

In the death of Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa India lost one of her great scholars. Dr. Kumarappa, along with his brother Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, had been closely associated with Gandhiji for a long time. His knowledge of Gandhian literature was almost unrivalled; and he was chosen as the chief editor of the compilation of Gandhiji's articles, speeches and letters proposed to be published by the Government of India. The first volume of the series which might run into 60 to 70 volumes of 400 pages each was due to appear on October 2 next—Gandhiji's birth anniversary.

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INDIA AND AMERICA

Reconciliation Through Philosophy

By CHARLES A. MOORE

Mutual understanding at the level of basic philosophical principles and beliefs is the key to the overcoming of the breach that exists between India and America today—just as mutual *mis*understanding in terms of fundamentals is the basis of the antagonism that separate these two primarily idealistic nations one from the other on the current critical world-scene. It is difficult for one who thinks in terms of such basic philosophical principles to understand the present conflict. It is even more difficult when the existing conflict is interpreted as one of the basic philosophies. Of course, there are differences between the American way of doing things and of viewing events in today's troubled world and the Indian way—one could not expect anything else. And on the surface, India and America seem to be in deadly opposition on major political issues and in matters of international relations. Why? Not because of basic differences of belief, of ideas and ideals, but because of superficial perspectives and because of misinterpretation of everyday practical, emotional, political statements and actions as truly representative of the fundamental beliefs and ideals of the two peoples.

A consideration on basic principles—not mere cultural practices, not political actions, not emotional outbursts, not frenzied fears or naive trust—will reveal how very much India and America have in common, will overcome many of the mistaken opinions others have of America and Americans, will similarly overcome much of the misunderstanding which Americans entertain concerning India as she seems to be on the international scene, and should, if the parties are willing to see the truth, bring these two nations much closer in a friendship based upon commonly-shared ideas and ideals. Even in the case of major differences of point of view—and, as said, there are some—understanding of why each takes this particular attitude should (will?) at least alleviate the crisis. Understanding will not always lead to harmony, because understanding can reveal who are one's enemies as well as who are one's friends. In fact, here lies much of the world's present difficulties in some quarters, since some of the peoples of the world have failed to probe deeply enough into the basic principles involved and have mistaken superficial similarities and superficial friendship for fundamental compatibility of ideas and ideals where none really exists. Understanding at the level of philosophical principles reveals who are our true friends and who are our true enemies—beneath the surface of expediency.

It hardly needs the saying to note that *real* understanding does not exist today between India and America. In fact, practically every publicized opinion and judgment, every interpretation and evaluation, is open to question, to say the least. It is, perhaps, closer to the truth to say that every such publicized impression is actually false—in terms of the fundamental ideas and ideals of the two great nations. (The word "publicized" is used advisedly, because it is at least partially, if not chiefly, due to ignorant, careless, or malicious misinterpretation by the instruments of public information that such wholesale misconceptions exist among the peoples and even among the leaders of the two nations).

What does India think of America—and how correct is that impression? To the general Indian interpreter America is *materialistic* in every sense and ramification of the word (without any sense of spirituality or of the spiritual values of life), *selfish and expedient* even in its aid program to the less fortunate and economically underdeveloped or currently handicapped peoples of the entire world, *imperialistic* both in the literal sense by condoning imperialism among the European nations and in the sense of economic control of other peoples, and *militaristic* with a dependence upon military force and power rather than moral force and ideals in its relations with other nations. To an American, who knows what America believes and feels, what America really is, such a picture is an ignorant or vicious travesty of the truth. America is none of these in fact or in principles. Without going into detail, let it suffice to say that, to an American, the United States and its people are idealistic in practically every sense

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of the word, but not blatantly or fanatically so. They are moral-minded, morally motivated, and morally guided in private life and in international relations. They are generous and unselfish and even inexpedient and unrealistic in their foreign-aid program. They are opposed to imperialism and the control of the destiny of any people by others, as evidenced in principle, word, and deed many times in American history, and specifically with respect to Indian independence. They depend on military preparedness and might only because that is the only feasible way to prevent an inconceivably horrible Third World War, and not because they deem war or militarism or military force as an ideal or as the proper way for man to conduct his affairs with other men, but because they are realistic enough to realize that moral force is not always sufficiently effective. Americans admit that the United States must be and is realistic to a point when forced to be so, as is every nation in the world.

It is easy for Americans to see this true statement of the case about themselves and their own country—though hard for others because they do not probe deeply enough or know Americans well enough. Superficial considerations might well condemn every nation on the face of the earth for some of its attitudes and actions, America and India alike. It is easy, then, for Americans, by knowing the facts, to realize the misunderstanding that Indians have of the United States—and to resent that misunderstanding and the actions of other countries, in this case specially India, toward America and Americans. But, on the other hand, it is equally difficult for the American to understand India, to know what she really stands for and believes, if—or because—he or his opinion stands or falls on the basis of superficial and thoroughly unphilosophical information—or misinformation. To one who is interested in the philosophical principles, which motivate and determine the attitudes and actions of nations in the large and ultimately, the current American's opinion of India is as fully a case of mistaken identity as is the casual—and tragic—view which India and Indians have of America. Let us see if we can correct the picture by trying to understand India in terms of her basic philosophical concepts, principles, beliefs, and ideals—with the inevitable and mandatory recognition here as in all cases that there are deviations from these fundamental ideas and ideals in times of stress and near necessity.

The problem in the mind of the American consists in the opposition of India to America and her friendship with Communism. This is what *seems* to be the case—by word and deed on many occasions. In philosophy we learn that appearances are not dependable, that one must probe beneath what seems to be true to what is true beneath appearances. It is the same in political and international actions. In terms of basic principles—basic ideas and ideals, to use my way of describing philosophy—where do India, America, and Communism stand in relation one to the other? To generalize before and after presenting the facts in the case, it is clear that America and India hold in common and share alike the basic principles of broad idealism—about the universe itself, about man, about the values of life, about the destiny of man, about the proper relations among man, and about the ideals of individuals and society. Similarly, an examination of the basic ideas and ideals will reveal, to generalize again, that America, for all its material wealth and military power, is not and could not be materialistic without abandoning all that it holds sacred; and that India, because of its basic ideas and ideals *could not* espouse Communism without similarly abandoning all it holds sacred. Appearances to the contrary do not undermine these inescapable truths. Except for one rather basic principle (to be examined later), India and America see eye to eye on fundamentals, and even this one principle, when understood, can clarify much that seems now to isolate India and America in opposition.

What are the fundamental ideas and ideals of the Indian point of view as the philosopher understands them? The most pronounced characteristic of Indian philosophy, life, and culture is spirituality (whether it be the high spirituality of the saint, the *yogi* or the *sannyasi*, the abstract spirituality of the philosopher, or the religious spirituality of the mass of the Indian people) and there is no question about this in spite of social conditions and actions now and then that seem to belie the seriousness or genuineness of such a spiritual outlook as ideal. From this stems a general and deep

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idealism—philosophical and practical—in all aspects of things and life, including moral idealism which makes exacting demands on all to follow *dharma* regardless of all else. The principle of *karma* demands perfection for salvation and places complete responsibility upon one for his own destiny. This spiritualism-idealism is not compromised but is harmonized with inevitable realism, in the sense of active participation in the so-called worldly aspects of life and also in the recognition of moderating circumstances. No Indian would contend that every Indian lives up to his ideals or those of his tradition, and, as a matter of fact, such necessity is recognized in the sacred texts which guide his life. All fall short of the ideal —in fact, two standards of morality are often recognized, one for the devotee (the preacher-priest in the West), the other for the ordinary man or the "householder," but this does not mean condoning immorality. The caste system now without standing legally but still practised, of course), the system of values of life (*purusarthas*), and the plan of stages of life (*asramas*)—all these recognize the legitimacy of the more worldly values and pursuits, provided that all is guided by *dharma* destined to lead to salvation. Activity and possession of the goods of the world must be within *dharma* and in conformity with an underlying attitude of non-attachment to worldly things. There is everywhere, in all this, a great respect for the past and for tradition that would stand as a barrier to any "ism" that would undermine the basic principles of the traditional way of life, although time brings changes in detail, as, for example, in the caste system. Finally, for our purposes, there is the ideal of *ahimsa* (non-violence, non-cruelty, non-injury), which, with *dharma* or morality constitutes the method of life for the Indian, and indicates also the goal of life on earth as peace and the ultimate goal as some form of immortality.

If an American examines this list of basic principles held to by Indians by the very strong force of their tradition, he will find that deep down they are very close to his own fundamental beliefs, stated somewhat differently because of a different social milieu, but still constituting the essence of an over-all idealistic, spiritual, moral philosophy. This is the spirit of America and the spirit of India.

By contrast, compare this philosophy which is so basic to the Indian mind with the *basic philosophy*—not with outward words and actions except where these conform with the fundamental, and written-out-for-all-to-read, philosophy of Communism, and anyone can see the utter discrepancy. It might be asked then, "How can India favor Communism and oppose America?" The answer is that India does not favor Communism. As said at the beginning, and now repeated with the evidence before our eyes, India could not turn to Communism without turning its back on all that it has for ages held most sacred and considered most important. Expediency, necessity, a seeming resemblance in the purpose of raising the standards of the poverty-stricken masses, and a feeling that some form or degree of socialism as an economic system may achieve the raising of the standard of living better under the given circumstances—these considerations make for a seeming affinity or liking for Communism. But this is only on the surface. India does not accept any of the basic philosophical principles of Communism: materialism, the supremacy of the economic or social values, materialistic determinism, or force in all its forms and dictatorial control in all its forms as the method of government. If one wishes to see where India—or her present spokesman, Mr. Nehru, stands on these two basic philosophies, let him re-read Mr. Nehru's address to the American people given during his recent visit to the United States. There is no question where the basic agreement stands—with democracy and idealism.

India and America do not see eye to eye on every whit and tittle of their philosophies of life, however. It would be a miracle if they did —or if any two people did. Most of our differences are relatively insignificant as far as the present world-crisis is concerned: some possible or alleged differences on the status of law as related to people who rule and people who are ruled, some differences concerning the status of the family in relation to the individuals in the family and in relation to the country (although this, if it ever was significant, is not so now), some differences in the meaning of religion and in the hoped-for destiny of man. These are there, but they are not vital for mutual understanding or for kinship in the world of international relations, as in philosophy.

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There is one major contrast of points of view, however, which, until properly understood and respected, can and does force these two nations in opposite directions and threaten any meeting of the minds on important international questions and allegiances. This is a somewhat technical point and somewhat difficult to state or explain. To put it one way: in all things—in religion, in politics, in philosophy, in logic—the West, including America, is exclusive, dominated by the either/or, the black-or-white, point of view, whereas India, along with most of the Orient, takes the inclusive point of view, that of both/and. In India, many roads lead to salvation, to God, and the one God is called by many names and worshipped in many ways, but that makes no great difference. The exclusive attitude of the West says that our religion is right and yours is wrong—how could they both be right? In politics and international relations it says that if you are not with us you must be against us. There is no middle ground. Neutralism? Logically, for the Western mind, there can be no such attitude, and so there can be none in international relations either. Of course, this inclusiveness does not mean that every view or every attitude is equally true. It does mean, though, that there is some truth in every view, and that exclusiveness misses the real or whole truth. To the Westerner this is naive eclecticism, if not outright inconsistency of thought. To the Indian, in logic and in life, this is submission to the all-comprehensiveness of the truth. Herein lies a basic difficulty for India and America, because it is at the root of the present "conflict" over India's relations with Communism and her refusal to side in and sign up with America. But, once we see the reason for this point of view, and once we are willing to admit that there may be some good in the worst of us, then we might be able to understand India's unwillingness to reject *all* that is Communism and to accept *all* that is our kind of Democracy. It is not that India is against America—she could not be so, in view of her over-all philosophical and religious point of view. It is simply that she is not willing to take an all-or-nothing point of view. We, with our either-or mentality, demand the impossible from India, and India, with its comprehensive type of mentality, cannot understand our demand of "friend-*or*-enemy." We are both wrong because we fail to understand the background and basis of a point of view which, on the surface, seems merely arbitrary and malicious. Because we fail to understand each other's basic point of view, we find ourselves in mutual condemnation. Such condemnation is without actual basis in fundamental beliefs of India and America.

There are innumerable other factors involved in the complicated picture of the present world-crisis, nationalism, domestic problems, emotionalism, acceptance even by leaders of appearances for reality, continentalism, provincialism, mistaken identity, personal ambition, fear, common sense, realistic considerations, and so on. These cannot be overcome overnight, and they are very important, of course. But, once the basic similarity of the fundamental beliefs of India and America is clearly understood and realized, and once the basic contrast of mentalities in the matter of exclusiveness and inclusiveness is understood and accepted as equally one-sided on both sides—one view is theirs and the other is ours, and that's the end of it—then the present dilemma, the present mortal conflict between these two idealistic and democratic nations must come to an end. Mutual understanding in terms of fundamental principles and beliefs cannot overcome or explain away all differences of action on the international scene, to be sure, but it is the only basis of sound relationship—and, actually, it is so easy of accomplishment to anyone who will only look for the fundamental agreement in our ways of life, in our most important ideas and ideals. Conflict or friendship is based ultimately on conflict or similarity of belief on the all-important things of life. With such basic understanding the picture of India, America and Communism falls into easy focus for those who are willing to seek such understanding. India and America stand apart today because they don't understand each other. Philosophy is the object of much scorn in the world of politics, but the philosophy of a nation, like that of an individual man, *is* that nation. Only here can understanding be achieved, and only here can be found the basis for a sound friendship and a sound peace.

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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XII) Fundamental Rights: Right Against Exploitation and to Freedom of Religion

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I

In our preceding articles in this series we have dealt, among other things, with our fundamental rights to "equality" and "freedom" as guaranteed by our Constitution and, further, as determined by our Supreme Court. In this article we propose to deal with what have been described in the Constitution as our fundamental right against exploitation, and our similar right to freedom of religion.

II

So far as the fundamental right against exploitation is concerned, it has been embodied in Articles 23 and 24 of our Constitution. Article 23 which prohibits traffic in human beings as well as forced labour, has laid down as follows:

"23(1) Traffic in human beings and *begar* and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

"(2) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from imposing compulsory service for public purposes, and in imposing such service the State shall not make any discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste or class or any of them."

And Article 24 has declared that "no child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment."

It may be noted in connexion with our Article 23 that there is a corresponding provision in the Constitution of the United States of America in Amendment XIII thereto, adopted in 1865. It runs as follows:

"Amendment XIII—

"Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The amendment was obviously "aimed at Negro slavery[1]." In the course of its judgment in *Butler* vs. *Perry*, however, the Supreme Court of the United States declared[2] in 1916:

"This amendment was adopted with reference to conditions existing since the foundation of our Government, and the term involuntary servitude was intended to cover those forms of compulsory labour akin to African slavery, which, in practical operation, were intended to produce like undesirable results. It was not intended to interdict enforcement of those duties which individuals owe to the State, such as services in the Army, militia, and the jury, etc. The great purpose in view was liberty under the protection of effective government, not the destruction of the latter by depriving it of essential powers."

Let us now deal with our Article 23. The expression "traffic in human beings" is a comprehensive one. It certainly includes slavery and, presumably, traffic in human beings for immoral purposes. Thus we find in the judgment[3] of the Calcutta High Court, dated 17th February, 1953, in *Raj Bahadur*, Petitioner, vs. *The Legal Remembrancer to the Government of West Bengal and others*:

"Article 23 of the Constitution provides for prohibition of traffic, *inter alia*, in human beings, which would include traffic in women and children for immoral or other purposes. . . . The scheme of the Bengal (Suppression of Immoral Traffic) Act (1933)[4] is to provide for salvage of such children as are being exploited or are likely to be exploited for immoral purposes. While the Constitution prohibits discrimination, it provides for protection of women and children who may be said to suffer from a

1. Corwin and Peltason, *Understanding the Constitution*, p. 114.
2. *Butler* vs. *Perry*, 240 U.S. 328 (1916).—See Corwin, *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, 1947, p. 184.
3. Of Mitter and Sen JJ. in Criminal Miscellaneous Case No. 14 of 1953.—*The All India Reporter*, 1953, Vol. 40, Calcutta Section, pp. 522-24.
4. Bengal Act VI of 1933.

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certain amount of disability either by reason of their sex or age. In our view, nothing has been shown in the Bengal Act[5] which can be said to infringe either Article 21 or Article 22 of the Constitution, and we would, therefore, hold that the removal and the subsequent detention of the girl[6] under the provisions of the said Act were and are legal."

The non-English word *Begar* in Clause (1) of Article 23 has not been defined anywhere in the Constitution. It appears, however, from the context in which the word occurs that it means a sort of forced work from a labourer, presumably, without any payment for the service rendered by him. The enormity of this social abuse would appear from the following extracts from speeches delivered in our Constituent Assembly[7] on 3rd December, 1948, during the consideration of Article 17 of the *Draft Constitution of India,* which practically corresponded to Article 23 of the Constitution. Shri Raj Bahadur (United State of Matsya) observed:[8]

"*Begar* like slavery has a dark and dismal history behind it. As a man coming from an Indian State, I know what this *begar,* this extortion of forced labour, has meant to the down-trodden and dumb people of the Indian States. If the whole story of this *begar* is written, it will be replete with human misery, human suffering, blood and tears. I know how some of the Princes have indulged in their pomp and luxury, in their reckless life, at the expense of the ordinary man, how they have used the down-trodden labourers and dumb ignorant people for the sake of their pleasure. I know, for instance, how for duck-shooting a very large number of people are roped in forcibly to stand all day long in mud and slush during cold chilly wintry days. I know how for the sake of their game and hunting people have been roped in large numbers for beating (up) the lion so that the Princes may shoot it. I have also seen how poor people are employed for domestic and other kinds of labour, no matter whether they are ailing or some members of their family are ill. These people are paid nothing or paid very little for the labour extorted from them. This is not the whole story. As I said in the beginning, it would make really a terrible reading if the whole story is told. I know that very often these tyrannies are perpetuated upon poor people by the petty officials. Not only do these petty officials perpetrate such tyrannies but they also extort bribes from the labourers who want to escape the curse of this *begar*. . . . . Summing up, I may add that Article 13[9] constitutes the charter of freedom for the common man, and this Article[10] is a sort of complement to that charter of freedom. This frees the poor, down-trodden and dumb people of the Indian States—I cannot say anything of other provinces—from this curse of *begar*. This *begar* has been a blot on humanity and has been a denial of all that has been good and noble in human civilisation. Through the centuries this curse has remained as a dead weight on the shoulders of the common man like the practice of slavery. The members of the Drafting Committee[11] and this Constituent Assembly are entitled to the grateful thanks of the dumb, down-trodden millions who would be freed by this Article[12] from this curse of *begar*."

Shri S. Nagappa (Madras: General) stated:[13]

"This practice of *begar* is prevalent in my own part of the country, especially among the Harijans. I am glad that the Drafting Committee has inserted this Clause to abolish *begar*

5. Bengal Act VI of 1933.

6. This girl, Panna Bai by name, had been "recovered" by an Inspector of Police from a brothel in Calcutta, and had been detained in a Rescue Home under a Magisterial order issued under Section 14(2) of the Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1933, as she was under the age of eighteen years. The case in question arose in the Calcutta High Court as a result of an application under Article 226 of the Constitution for a Writ in the nature of *Habeas Corpus,* directing the production of the girl, then "in the custody of the Lady Superintendent of the Government Rescue Home." Raj Bahadur, petitioner, claimed to be known to the girl. His case was that, as by reason of her incarceration, the girl was unable to move the High Court herself, he was entitled to ask for appropriate orders for her release.—For further details see *The All India Reporter* referred to footnote 3 above.

7. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 3rd December, 1948, pp. 803-14.

8. *Ibid,* pp. 809-10.

9. Of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 19 of the Constitution.

10. *I.e.,* Article 17 of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 23 of the Constitution of India.

11. Of the *Constituent Assembly Debates,* 3rd December, 1948, pp. 810-11.

12. See footnote 10 above.

13. *Constituent Assembly Debates,* 3rd December, 1948, pp. 810-11.

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. . . Whenever cattle die, the owner of the cattle wants these poor Harijans to come and remove the dead cattle, remove the skins, tan them and make chappals and supply them free of cost. For this, what do they get? Some food during festival days. Often . . . this forced labour is practised even by the Government. For instance, if there is any murder, after the post-mortem, the police force these people to remove the dead body and look to the other funeral processes. I am glad that hereafter this sort of forced labour will have no place . . . This is practised in zamindaries also. For instance, if there is a marriage in the zamindar's family, he will ask these poor people, especially the Harijans, to come and whitewash his whole house, for which they will be given nothing except food for the day. This sort of forced labour is still prevalent in most parts of the Presidency. Another thing that I want to bring to the notice of the House is that whenever the big zamindar's lands are to be ploughed, immediately he will send word for these poor people, the Harijans, the previous day, and say: 'All your services are confiscated for the whole of tomorrow; you will have to work throughout the day and night. No one should go to any other work.' In return, the zamindar will give one morsel of food to these poor fellows. . . . This sort of forced labour in practice in the 20th century in our so-called civilised country. I am very thankful to this Drafting Committee. I support this article."[14]

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari (Madras: General) also stated:[15]

"I think some form of forced labour does exist in practically all parts of India, call it 'begar' or anything like that, and in my part of the country, the tenant oftentimes is more or less a helot attached to the land and he has certain rights and those are contingent on his undertaking to be a slave."

Presumably the expression "*begar* and other similar forms of forced labour" in Clause (1) of Article 23, does not include forced labour in a prison on conviction for a crime committed by a person. It would perhaps have been well if this point had been clarified in the Constitution.*

It may also be noted here that, under Sub-clause (ii) of Clause (a) of Article 35 of the Constitution, the Parliament of India alone, and not the Legislature of a State, is competent, subject to what is provided for in Clause (b) of the Article, to make laws contemplated by Clause (1) of Article 23. This provision has obviously been made in the Constitution with a view to ensuring uniformity of such legislation in the country.

Clause (2) of Article 23 as quoted before, is to be treated as an exception to what has been laid down in Clause (1) thereof. It empowers the State, as defined in Article 12 of the Constitution, to impose "compulsory service for public purposes," subject, however, to this condition that in imposing such service it must not "make any discrimination on grounds *only* of religion, race, caste or class or any of them." The word "only" here is significant: There may be discrimination on any other ground, say, on the ground of merits, or of fitness for the service in question. It may also be noted here that the expression "public purposes" in this context means, as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, made it clear before the Constituent Assembly on 3rd December, 1948, both "social" and "national" purposes.[16]

With regard to the suggestion made by a member[17] in the Constituent Assembly that compulsory service required by the State should be paid for by it, what Dr. Ambedkar observed in connexion with Clause (2) of Article 17 of the *Draft Constitution of India* which practi-

14. See footnote 10 above.
15. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 3rd December, 1948, p. 811.

* In the *Annexure* to the Interim Report of the Advisory Committee on the subject of Fundamental Rights, presented to the Constituent Assembly of India on 29th April, 1947, the corresponding recommendation was:

"Traffic in human beings, and forced labour in any form including *begar* and involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been convicted, are hereby prohibited and any contravention of this prohibition shall be an offence." —See *Reports of Committees* (*Constituent Assembly of India*), First Series, 1947, p. 23.

The wording of the corresponding American law referred to in an earlier part of this article, may also be noted in this connexion.

16. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 3rd December, 1948, pp. 812-13.

17. Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man (East Punjab: General).—*Ibid*, p. 806.

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cally corresponded to Clause (2) of Article 23 of the Constitution, is worthy of note here. "I do not think," he said,[18] "that it is desirable to put any such limitation upon the authority of the State requiring compulsory service. It may be perfectly possible that the compulsory service demanded by the State may be restricted to such hours that it may not debar the citizen who is subjected to the operation of this Clause to find sufficient time to earn his livelihood, and if, for instance, such compulsory labour is restricted to what might be called 'hours of leisure' or the hours, when, for instance, he is not otherwise occupied in earning his living, it would be perfectly justifiable for the State to say that it shall not pay any compensation. In this Clause, it may be seen that non-payment of compensation could not be a ground of attack; because the fundamental proposition enunciated in Sub-clause (2) is this: That whenever compulsory labour or compulsory service is demanded, it shall be demanded from all and if the State demands service from all and does not pay any, I do not think the State is committing any very great inequity. I feel . . . it is very desirable to leave the situation as fluid as it has been left in the article as it stands."

Thus it is evident from what is shown above that it is not obligatory on the part of the State to pay any remuneration for any compulsory service for a public purpose. Presumably, whether the imposition of compulsory service in a particular case is for a public purpose or not is, in the event of a dispute, subject to determination by the court of law.

We have referred before to Article 24 of the Constitution. So far as this Article is concerned, the determination of what is "hazardous employment" in a particular instance, finally rests, it is submitted, also with the court of law. At any rate, it is gratifying to note that in India it is a fundamental right of a child below the age of fourteen, not to be engaged in any hazardous employment.

III

We shall now deal with the group of Articles in our Constitution which guarantee what has compendiously been described as the "right to freedom of religion." Perhaps it would be convenient to the reader to quote the Articles first and then to deal with their implications.

Article "25. (1) Subject to public order morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part,[19] all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion.

"(2) Nothing in this Article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law—

"(a) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice;

"(b) providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

"Explanation I.—The wearing and carrying of *kirpans* shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

"Explanation II.—In Sub-clause (b) of Clause (2), the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly."

Article "26. Subject to public order morality and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right—

(a) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes;

(b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion;

(c) to own and acquire movable and immovable property; and

(d) to administer such property in accordance with law."

Article "27. No person shall be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination.

Article "28. (1) No religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds.

"(2) Nothing in Clause (1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered

18. *Ibid*, pp. 812-13.

19. *I.e.*, Part III of the Constitution which deals with our fundamental rights.

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by the State but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

"(3) No person attending any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person, or, if such person is a minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto."

A careful perusal of these provisions of our Constitution will convince the reader that underlying them all there is one principle, namely, the principle of deliberate dissociation of politics from religion. Or, to put it in another language, there is a determined attempt in them all to avoid an alliance of religion and politics, which often leads to dangerous consequences to the stability of a State. The authors of our Constitution have seriously tried to avoid what is called in Western parlance the union of the Church and the State—a characteristic feature of mediaevalism. This is as it should be in a progressive modern democracy. We have accepted as a basis of our Constitution that the State in India should be secular in character. And what exactly is meant by the concept of a secular State? The ideal of a secular State was nicely expressed by some of the authors of our Constitution in the Constituent Assembly, and we cannot do better than reproduce here what they stated there. "By secular State, as I understand it," said Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General) on 6th December, 1948, "is meant that the State is not going to make any discrimination whatsoever on the ground of religion or community against any person professing any particular form of religious faith. This means in essence that no particular religion in the State will receive any State patronage whatsoever. The State is not going to establish, patronise or endow any particular religion to the exclusion of, or in preference to, others and that no citizen in the State will have any preferential treatment or will be discriminated against simply on the ground that he professed a particular form of religion. In other words, in the affairs of the State the professing of any particular religion will not be taken into consideration at all. This I consider to be the essence of a secular State. At the same time we must be very careful to see that in this land of ours we do not deny to anybody the right not only to profess or practise but also to propagate any particular religion . . . . . the Constitution has rightly provided for this not only as a right but also as a fundamental right. In the exercise of this fundamental right every community inhabiting this State professing any religion will have equal right and equal facilities to do whatever it likes in accordance with its religion provided (that) it does not clash with the conditions laid down here" (namely, the requirements of public order, morality and health as well as the other provisions relating to our fundamental rights).

Shri H. V. Kamath (C.P. and Berar: General) observed:[21]

"It is clear to my mind that if a State identifies itself with any particular religion, there will be rift within the State. After all, the State represents all the people who live within its territories, and, therefore, it cannot afford to identify itself with the religion of any particular section of the population."

And Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar stated:[22]

"We are pledged to make the State a secular one. I do not, by the word 'secular,' mean that we do not believe in any religion, and that we have nothing to do with it in our day-to-day life. It only means that the State or the Government cannot aid one religion or give preference to one religion as against another. Therefore it is obliged to be absolutely secular in character."

As shown above, the right to freedom of religion as guaranteed by our Constitution is not an absolute or unqualified right. It is, in the first place, subject to the requirements of public order, morality and health. Secondly, it is subject to what has been provided for in Clause (2) of Article 25 of the Constitution as quoted before. These conditions are suffi-

20. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 6th December, 1948, pp. 831-32.

21. *Ibid*, 6th December, 1948, p. 825.
22. *Ibid*, 7th December, 1948, pp. 881-82.

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ciently comprehensive and, as Shri K. Santhanam pointed out in the Constituent Assembly on 6th Desember, 1948, their full impications "are not easy to discover." "Naturally," he added,[23] "they will grow with the growing social and moral conscience of the people. For instance, I do not know if for a considerable period of time the people of India will think that *purdah*[24] is consistent with the health of the people. Similarly, there are many institutions of Hindu religion which the future conscience of the Hindu community will consider as inconsistent with morality." This argument may equally apply to other religious communities in India. Of course, the final decision of what is consistent with Articles 25 or 26 of the Constitution will rest with our judiciary.

It may be noted here that during the consideration of Article 19 of the Draft Constitution of India which in effect became later on Article 25 of the Constitution, some members of the Constituent Assembly had objected* to the inclusion of the word "propagate" therein in connexion with religion as, it had been apprehended, this might lead to inter-communal conflicts in the country. It was, however, argued[25] against this view, in the first place, that the right to propagate religion followed from the fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression as guaranteed by Article 13 of the Draft Constitution, which corresponded to Article 19 of the Constitution. Secondly, it was pointed out that the exercise of this right was subject to the requirements of public order, morality and health, and that it must not be in violation of any other provision of Part III of the Constitution which dealt with fundamental rights. This was considered to be a sufficient safeguard against any possible abuse of this right. Thirdly, it was brought[26] to the notice of the Constituent Assembly that the proposed right to propagate religion was based upon a compromise with Indian minorities, and that it was desirable that the compromise should be respected. What Shri K. M. Munshi stated in this connexion in the Constituent Assembly on 6th December, 1948, is worthy of note here. "I have," he said,[27] "only a few words to say with regard to the objections taken to the word 'propagate' . . . In the present set-up that we are now creating under this Constitution, there is a secular State. There is no particular advantage to a member of one community over another; nor is there any political advantage by increasing one's fold. In those circumstances, the word 'propagate' cannot possibly have dangerous implications which some of the Members think that it has. Moreover, I was a party from the very beginning to the compromise with the minorities, which ultimately led to many of these clauses being inserted in the Constitution and I know it was on this word that the Indian Christian community laid the greatest emphasis, not because they wanted to convert people aggressively, but because the word 'propagate' was a fundamental part of their tenet. Even if the word were not there, I am sure, under the freedom of speech which the Constitution guarantees it will be open to any religious community to persuade other people to join their faith. So long as religion is religion, conversion by free exercise of the conscience has to be recognised. The word 'propagate' in this Clause[28] is nothing very much out of the way as some people think, nor is it fraught with dangerous consequences. Speaking frankly, whatever its results we ought to respect the compromise. The Minorities Committee[29] the year before the last performed a great achievement by having a unanimous vote on almost every provision of its report. This unanimity created an atmosphere of harmony and confidence in the majority community. Therefore, the word 'propagate' should be maintained in this Article in order that the compromise so laudably achieved by the Minority Committee should not be disturbed."

We have quoted Article 26 before. So far as the rights conferred by Clauses (a), (c), and (d) of the Article are concerned, they too, are subject to the requirements of pub-

23. *Ibid*, 6th December, 1948, p. 834.
24. The italic is ours.
* See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 3rd and 6th December, 1948.
25. See *ibid*, 6th December, 1948.
26. *Ibid*, 6th December, 1948.
27. *Ibid*, 6th December, 1948, pp. 837-38.
28. *I.e.*, Clause (1) of Article 19 of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Clause (1) of Article 25 of the Constitution of India.
29. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Minorities.

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order, morality and health. Thus they are not "absolute rights," and, as Dr. Ambedkar made[30] it clear in the Constituent Assembly on 7th December, 1948, the State reserved to itself the right to regulate them whenever public order, morality and health would require it.

IV

We shall now refer to the views of our Supreme Court on Articles 25, 26 and 27 of the Constitution, as expressed in connexion with its judgment,[31] dated 16th March, 1954, in *The Commissioner, Hindu Religious Endowments, Madras* vs. *Sri Lakshmindra Thirtha Swamiar of Sri Shirur Mutt* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Swamiar* case), its judgment,[32] also dated 16th March, 1954, in *Mahant Sri Jagannath Ramanuj Das and another* vs. *The State of Orissa and another* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Jagannath Das* case), and its judgment,[33] dated 18th March, 1954, in *Ratilal Panachand Gandhi* vs. *The State of Bombay and Others* and *Sri Shappoorjee Bomanji Billimoria and Others* vs. *The State of Bombay and another* (to be referred to hereinafter as the *Ratilal Gandhi* case). These judgments were unanimous and were delivered in each case by Mukherjea J.

In the course of its judgment in the *Swamiar* case the Supreme Court declared:[34]

"We now come to Article 25 (of the Constitution) which, as its language indicates, secures to every person, subject to public order, health and morality, a freedom not only to entertain such religious belief, as may be approved of by his judgment and conscience, but also to exhibit his belief in such outward acts as he thinks proper and to propagate or disseminate his ideas for the edification of others. A question is raised as to whether the word 'person' here means individuals only or includes corporate bodies as well. The question, in our opinion, is not at all relevant for our present purpose. A Mathadhipati[35] is certainly not a corporate body; he is the head of a spiritual fraternity and by virtue of his office has to perform the duties of a religious teacher. It is his duty to practise and propagate the religious tenets, of which he is an adherent and if any provision of law prevents him from propagating his doctrines, that would certainly affect the religious freedom which is guaranteed to every person under Article 25. Institutions as such cannot practise and propagate religion; it can be done only by individual persons and whether these persons propagate their personal views or the tenets for which the institution stands is really immaterial for purposes of Article 25. It is the propagation of belief that is protected, no matter whether the propagation takes place in a church or monastery, or in a temple or parlour meeting."

With regard to Article 26 of the Constitution, the Supreme Court first held:[36]

"As regards Article 26, the first question is, what is the precise meaning or connotation of the expression 'religious denomination' and whether a Math could come within this expression. The word 'denomination' has been defined in the Oxford Dictionary to mean 'a collection of individuals classed together under the same name: a religious sect or body having a common faith and organization and designated by a distinctive name.' It is well known that the practice of setting up Maths as centres of theological teaching was started by Shri Sankaracharya and was followed by various teachers since then. After Sankara came a galaxy of religious teachers and philosophers who founded the different sects and sub-sects of the Hindu religion that we find in India at the present day. Each one of such sects or sub-sects can certainly be called a religious denomina-

30. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 7th December, 1948, p. 859.

31. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V. Part IX. September & October, 1954, pp. 1005-1046.

32. *Ibid*, pp. 1046-1055.

33. *Supreme Court Appeals*, 1954, Chaudhuri, Calcutta, pp. 538-57.

34. Civil Appellate Jurisdiction: Civil Appeal No. 38 of 1953 (Supreme Court). This appeal was "directed against the judgment of a Division Bench of the Madras High Court, dated the 13th of December, 1951, by which the learned Judges allowed a petition, presented by the respondent Sri Lakshmindra Thirtha Swamiar) under Article 226 of the Constitution, and directed a writ of prohibition to issue in his favour prohibiting the appellant (the Commissioner, Hindu Religious Endowments, Madras) from proceeding with the settlement of a scheme in connection with a Math, known as the Shrirur Math, of which the petitioner" happened to be the head or superior (or Mathadhipati).—*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V. Part IX; September & October 1954, pp. 1007 and 1021.

35. The head or superior of a Math (a religious institution).

36. *The Supreme Court Reports*, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, 1954, pp. 1021-1022.

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tion, as it is designated by a distinctive name, —in many cases it is the name of the founder,— and has a common faith and a common spiritual organization . . . As Article 26 contemplates not merely a religious denomination but also a section thereof, the Math or the spiritual fraternity represented by it can legitimately come within the purview of this Article."

"The other thing", the Supreme Court further observed,[37] "that remains to be considered in regard to Article 26 is, what is the scope of Clause (b) of the Article which speaks of management 'of its own affairs in matters of religion'? The language undoubtedly suggests that there could be other affairs of a religious denomination or a section thereof which are not matters of religion and to which the guarantee given by this Clause would not apply. The question is, where is the line to be drawn between what are matters of religion and what are not? It will be seen that besides the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion, which is given by Clause (b), the next two Clauses of Article 26 guarantee to a religious denomination the right to acquire and own property and to administer such property in accordance with law. The administration of its property by a reigious denomination has thus been placed on a different footing from the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion. The latter is a fundamental right which no legislature can take away, whereas the former can be regulated by laws which the legislature can validly impose. It is clear, therefore, that questions merely relating to administration of properties belonging to a religious group or institution are not matters of religion to which Clause (b) of the Article applies. What then are matters of religion? The word 'religion' has not been defined in the Constitution and it is a term which is hardly susceptible of any rigid definition . . . Religion is certainly a matter of faith with individuals or communities and it is not necessarily theistic. There are well-known religions in India, take Buddhism and Jainism which do not believe in God or in any Intelligent First Cause. A religion undoubtedly has its basis in a system of beliefs or doctrines which are regarded by those who profess that religion is conducive to their spiritual well-being, but it would not be correct to say that religion is nothing else but (*sic*) a doctrine or belief. A religion may not only lay down a code of ethical rules for its followers to accept, it might prescribe rituals and observances, ceremonies and modes of worship which are regarded as integral parts of religion, and these forms and observances might extend even to matters of food and dress."

"The guarantee under our Constitution", continued[38] the Supreme Court, "not only protects the freedom of religious opinion but it protects also acts done in pursuance of a religion and this is made clear by the use of the expression 'practice of religion' in Article 25. Latham C. J. of the High Court of Australia, while dealing with the provision of Section 116[39] of the Australian Constitution which *inter alia* forbids of the Commonwealth to prohibit the 'free exercise of any religion,' made the following weighty observations:[40]

"It is sometimes suggested in discussions on the subject of freedom of religion that, though the civil Government should not interfere with religious *opinions*, it nevertheless may deal as it pleases with any *acts* which are done in pursuance of religious belief without infringing the principle of freedom of religion. It appears to me to be difficult to maintain this distinction as relevant to the interpretation of Section 116. The section refers in express terms to the *exercise* of religion, and therefore it is intended to protect from the operation of any Commonwealth laws acts which are done in the exercise of religion. Thus the section goes far beyond protecting liberty of opinion. It protects also acts done in pursuance of religious belief as part of religion."

"These observations apply fully to the protection of religion as guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. Restrictions by the State

37. *Ibid*, pp. 1022-1024.

38. *Ibid*, pp. 1024-1029.

39. Section 116 of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900, runs as follows:

"116. The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth."

40. In connexion with his judgment in *Adelaide Company* vs. *The Commonwealth* (67 C.L.R. 116, 127).

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upon free exercise of religion are permitted both under Articles 25 and 26 on grounds of public order, morality and health. Clause (2) (a) of Article 25 reserves the right of the State to regulate or restrict any economic, financial, political and other secular activities which may be associated with religious practice and there is a further right given to the State by Sub-clause (b)[41] under which the State can legislate for social welfare and reform even though by so doing it might interfere with religious practices. The learned Attorney-General lays stress upon Clause (2) (a) of the Article (25) and his contention is that all secular activities, which may be associated with religion but do not really constitute an essential part of it, are amenable to State regulation.

"The contention formulated in such broad terms cannot, we think, be supported. In the first place, what constitutes the essential part of a religion is primarily to be ascertained with reference to the doctrines of that religion itself. If the tenets of any religious sect of the Hindus prescribe that offerings of food should be given to the idol at particular hours of the day, that periodical ceremonies should be performed in a certain way at certain periods of the year or that there should be daily recital of sacred texts or oblations to the sacred fire, all these would be regarded as parts of religion and the mere fact that they involve expenditure of money or employment of priests and servants, or the use of marketable commodities would not make them secular activities partaking of commercial or economic character; all of them are religious practices and should be regarded as matters of religion within the meaning of Article 26(b). What Article 25(2) (a) contemplates is not regulation by the State of religious practices as such, the freedom of which is guaranteed by the Constitution except when they run counter to public order, health and morality, but regulation of activities which are economic, commercial or political in their character though they are associated with religious practices. We may refer in this connexion to a few American and Australian cases, all of which arose out of the activities of persons connected with the religious association known as 'Jehova's Witnesses.' This association of persons loosely organized throughout Australia, U.S.A. and other countries regard the literal interpretation of the Bible as fundamental to proper religious beliefs. This belief in the supreme authority of the Bible colours many of their political ideas. They refuse to take oath of allegiance to the king or other constituted human authority and even to show respect to the national flag, and they decry all wars between nations and all kinds of war activities. In 1941, a company of 'Jehova's Witnesses' incorporated in Australia commenced proclaiming and teaching matters which were prejudicial to war activities and the defence of the Commonwealth and steps were taken against them under the National Security Regulations of the State. The legality of the action of the Government was questioned by means of a writ petition before the High Court and the High Court held that the action of the Government was justified and that Section 116[42], which guaranteed freedom of religion under the Australian Constitution, was not in any way infringed by the National Security Regulations (*Adelaide Company* vs. *The Commonwealth*, 67 C.L.R. 116, 127). These were undoubtedly political activities though arising out of religious belief entertained by a particular community. In such cases, as Chief Justice Latham pointed out, the provision for (the) protection of religion was not an absolute protection to be interpreted and applied independently of other provisions of the Constitution. These privileges must be reconciled with the right of the State to employ the sovereign power to ensure peace, security and orderly living without which constitutional guarantee of civil liberty would be a mockery."

The Supreme Court next referred to some American cases[43] and then remarked*:

"It is to be noted that both in the American as well as in the Australian Constitution (*sic*) the right to freedom of religion has been declared in unrestricted terms without any limitation whatsoever. Limitations, therefore, have been introduced by courts of law in these countries on grounds of morality, order and

41. Of Clause (2) of Article 25 of the Constitution.

42. See foot-note 39 above.

43. Considerations of space do not permit us to State the cases here. Reference may be made to the original judgment for details in this connexion.

* *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, 1954, pp. 1028-1029.

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social protection. An adjustment of the competing demands of the interests of Government and constitutional liberties is always a delicate and a difficult task and that is why we find difference of judicial opinion to such an extent in cases decided by the American courts where questions of religious freedom were involved. Our Constitution-makers, however, have embodied the limitations which have been evolved by judicial pronouncements in America or Australia in the Constitution itself and the language of Articles 25 and 26 is sufficiently clear to enable us to determine without the aid of foreign authorities as to what matters come within the purview of religion and what do not. As we have already indicated, freedom of religion in our Constitution is not confined to religious beliefs only; it extends to religious practices as well subject to the restrictions which the Constitution itself has laid down. Under Article 26(b), therefore, a religious denomination or organization enjoys complete autonomy in the matter of deciding as to what rites and ceremonies are essential according to the tenets of the religion they hold and no outside authority has any jurisdiction to interfere with their decision in such matters. Of course, the scale of expenses to be incurred in connexion with these religious observances would be a matter of administration of property belonging to the religious denomination and can be controlled by secular authorities in accordance with any law laid down by a competent legislature; for it could not be the injunction of any religion to destroy the institution and its endowments by incurring wasteful expenditure on rites and ceremonies. It should be noticed, however, that under Article 26(d), it is the fundamental right of a religious denomination or its representative to administer its properties in accordance with law; and the law, therefore, must leave the right of administration to the religious denomination itself subject to such restrictions and regulations as it might choose to impose. A law which takes away the right of administration from the hands of a religious denomination altogether and vests it in any other authority would amount to a violation of the right guaranteed under Clause (d) of Article 26."

The decision of the Supreme Court on another point in connexion with the case under consideration is also interesting. It held[44] with regard to Section 21 of the Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act, 1951,[45] Madras) in the view taken by it about Section 21. This section empowers the Commissioner (Hindu Religious Endowments, Madras) and his subordinate officers and also persons authorised by them to enter the premises of any religious institution or place of worship for the purpose of exercising any power conferred or any duty imposed by or under the Act. It is well known that there could be no such thing as an unregulated and unrestricted right of entry in a public temple or other religious institution for persons who are not connected with the spiritual functions thereof. It is a traditional custom universally observed not to allow access to any outsider to the particularly sacred parts of a temple as, for example, the place where the deity is located. There are also fixed hours of worship and rest for the idol when no disturbance by any member of the public is allowed. Section 21, it is to be noted, does not confine the right of entry to the outer portion of the premises; it does not even exclude the inner sanctuary, 'the Holy of Holies' as it is said, the sanctity of which is zealously preserved. It does not say that the entry may be made after due notice to the head of the institution and at such hours which would not interfere with the due observance of the rites and ceremonies in the institution. We think that as the section stands, it interferes with the fundamental rights of the Mathadhipati[46] and the denomination of which he is head, guaranteed under Articles 25 and 26 of the Constitution . . . In our opinion, Section 21 has been rightly held to be invalid."

We have quoted before Article 27 of the Constitution and may note here what the Supreme Court has stated in regard to its implication. "What is forbidden by the Article," the Court observed[47] in the course of its judgment in the *Swamiar* case, "is the specific appropriation of the proceeds of any tax in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious

44. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. IX, September & October, 1954, pp. 1030-31.
45. Madras Act XIX of 1951.
46. The head or superior of a Math.
47. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, p. 1045.

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denomination. The reason underlying this provision is obvious. Ours being a secular State and there being freedom of religion guaranteed by the Constitution, both to individuals and to groups, it is against the policy of the Constitution to pay out of public funds any money for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination." The Court reiterated this view in its judgment in the *Jagannath Das* case. "What is forbidden by Article 27", it said[48] in it, "is the specific appropriation of the proceeds of any tax in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination". This is only fair. As Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras: General) observed in the Constituent Assembly on 7th December, 1948* in connexion with Article 21 of the Draft Constitution of India which in essence corresponded to Article 27 of the Constitution: "In a secular State where the State is expected to view all denominations in the same light, and not give encouragement to any one particular denomination at the expense of others, this provision is absolutely necessary. This is part and parcel of the Charter of liberty and religious freedom to see that no particular denomination is given any advantage over another denomination. This Article is very important and it safeguards the interests of all minorities and religious pursuits." But, it should be pointed out here, if the imposition levied by the State is in the nature of a fee and not a tax,[49] that is to say, if it be "for some special service rendered or some special work done for the benefit of those from whom payments are demanded," the question of application of Article 27 will not arise. This was the view taken by the Supreme Court in their judgments in the *Swamiar* case, *Jagannath Das* case and in the *Ratilal Gandhi* case. Thus, for instance, we find that in the *Jagannath Das* case the Supreme Court held[50] that the annual contribution payable by a Math or temple under Section 49 of the Orissa Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1939, as amended in 1952, which had laid down that every Math or temple having an annual income exceeding Rs. 250 must make an annual contribution, on a certain percentage basis of a progressive character, for meeting the expenses of the Commissioner of Hindu Religious Endowments and his staff, was not to be hit by Article 27 of the Constitution. The reason was that the object of such contribution under Section 49 of the said Act was "not the fostering or preservation of the Hindu religion or of any denomination within it", but "to see that religious trusts and institutions", wherever they existed, were properly administered. "It is the secular administration of the religious institutions", the Court further declared,[51] "that the Legislature seeks to control and the object, as enunciated in the Act,[52] is to ensure that the endowments attached to the religious institutions are properly administered and their income is duly appropriated for purposes for which they were founded or exist. As there is no question of favouring any particular religion or religious denomination, Article 27 could not possibly apply."[53] Thus, it is clear that Article 27 only requires that, to quote Dr. Ambedkar, "public funds raised by taxes shall not be utilised for the benefit of any particular community" or religious denomination.[54]

The view taken by the Supreme Court of Articles 25 and 26 of the Constitution in connexion with the *Swamiar* case was in essence reiterated by it in the course of its judgment in what we have called, for the sake of brevity, the *Ratilal Gandhi* case.[55] Thus we find in this judgment:

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48. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, 1954, p. 1054.
* *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 7th December, 1948, pp. 865-66.
49. There is an elaborate discussion by the Supreme Court of the distinction between a tax and a fee in its judgments in the *Swamiar* case, *Jagannath Das* case, and in the *Ratilal Gandhi* case. Reference may be made to them by the interested reader. We have not quoted the discussion here as it is not very relevant to our purpose.

50. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Part IX, September & October, 1954; pp. 1052-1055.
51. *Ibid*, pp. 1054-1055.
52. *I.e.*, the Orissa Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1939, as amended in 1952.
53. Also see in this connexion the judgment of the Supreme Court in what we have called the *Ratilal Gandhi case.—Supreme Court Appeals*, 1954, Chaudhuri, Calcutta, pp. 538-57.
54. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 7th December, 1948, p. 883.
55. *Supreme Court Appeals*, 1954, Chaudhuri, Calcutta, pp. 545-49.

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"Article 25 of the Constitution guarantees to every person and not merely to the citizens of India the freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion. This is subject, in every case, to public order, health and morality. Further, exceptions are engrafted upon this right by Clause (2) of the Article. Sub-clause (a) of Clause (2) saves the power of the State to make laws regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice; and Sub-clause (b) reserves the State's power to make laws providing for social reform and social welfare even though they might interfere with religious practices. Thus, subject to the restrictions which this Article imposes, every person has a fundamental right under our Constitution not merely to entertain such religious belief as may be approved of by his judgment or conscience but to exhibit his belief and ideas in such overt acts as are enjoined or sanctioned by his religion and, further, to propagate his religious views for the edification of others. It is immaterial also whether the propagation is made by a person in his individual capacity or on behalf of any church or institution. The free exercise of religion by which is meant the performance of outward acts in pursuance of religious belief, is, as stated above, subject to State regulation, imposed to secure order, public health and morals of the people. What Sub-clause (a) of Clause (2) of Article 25 contemplates is not State regulation of the religious practices as such which are protected unless they run counter to public health or morality but of activities which are really of an economic, commercial or political character though they are associated with religious practices.

"So far as Article 26 is concerned, it deals with a particular aspect of the subject of religious freedom. Under this Article, any religious denomination or a section of it has the guaranteed right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes and to manage in its own way all affairs in matters of religion. Rights are also given to such denomination or a section of it to acquire and own movable and immovable properties and to administer such properties in accordance with law. The language of the two Clauses (b) and (d) of Article 26 would at once bring out the difference between the two. In regard to affairs in matters of religion, the right of management given to a religious body is a guaranteed fundamental right which no legislation can take away. On the other hand, as regards administration of property which a religious denomination is entitled to own and acquire, it has undoubtedly the right to administer such property but only in accordance with law. This means that the State can regulate the administration of trust properties by means of laws validly enacted; but here again it should be remembered that under Article 26 (d), it is the religious denomination itself which has been given the right to administer its property in accordance with any law which the State may validly impose. A law which takes away the right of administration altogether from the religious denomination and vests it in any other or secular authority (*sic*), would amount to violation of the right which is guaranteed by Article 26(d) of the Constitution.

"The moot point for consideration, therefore, is: Where is the line to be drawn between what are matters of religion and what are not? Our Constitution-makers have made no attempt to define what 'religion' is and it is certainly not possible to frame an exhaustive definition of the word 'religion' which would be applicable to all classes of persons . . . Religious practices or performances of acts in pursuance of religious belief are as much a part of religion as faith or belief in particular doctrines . . . The distinction between matters of religion and those of secular administration of religious properties may, at times, appear to be a thin one. But in cases of doubt, as Chief Justice Latham[56] pointed out . . ., the Court should take a commonsense view and be actuated by considerations of practical necessity."

V

Let us pass on to Article 28 of the Constitution, as quoted before. So far as Clause (1) of the Article is concerned, we may say at once that it follows as a corollary to the principle of neutrality in regard to religious matters which the authors of our Constitution have accepted as one of its fundamental principles. And it is really unavoidable in a country like India where there is a "multiplicity of religions". In

56. Of Australia in *Adelaide Company vs. The Commonwealth*, 67 C.L.R. 116, 129.

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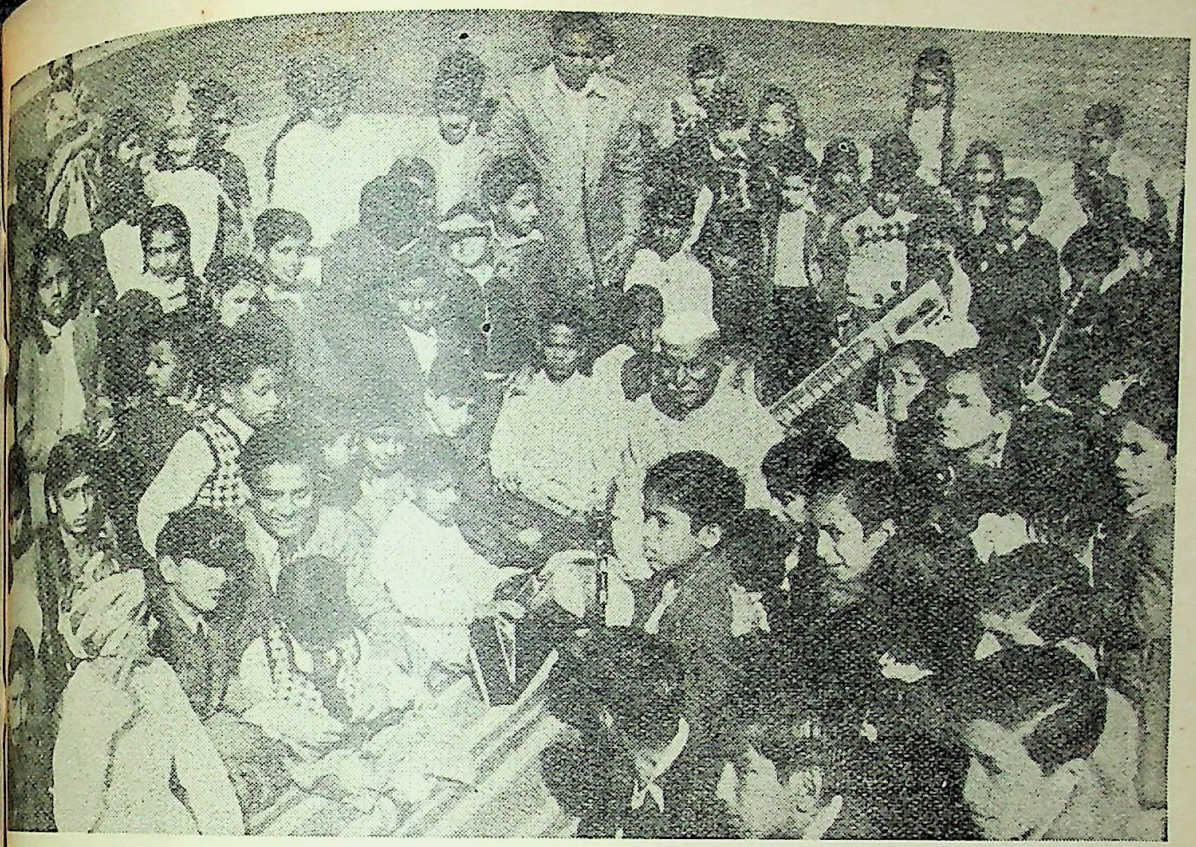
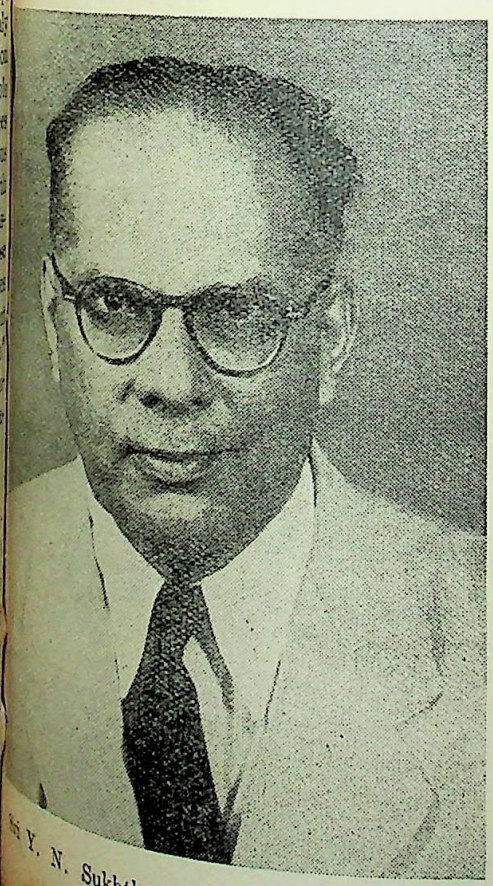
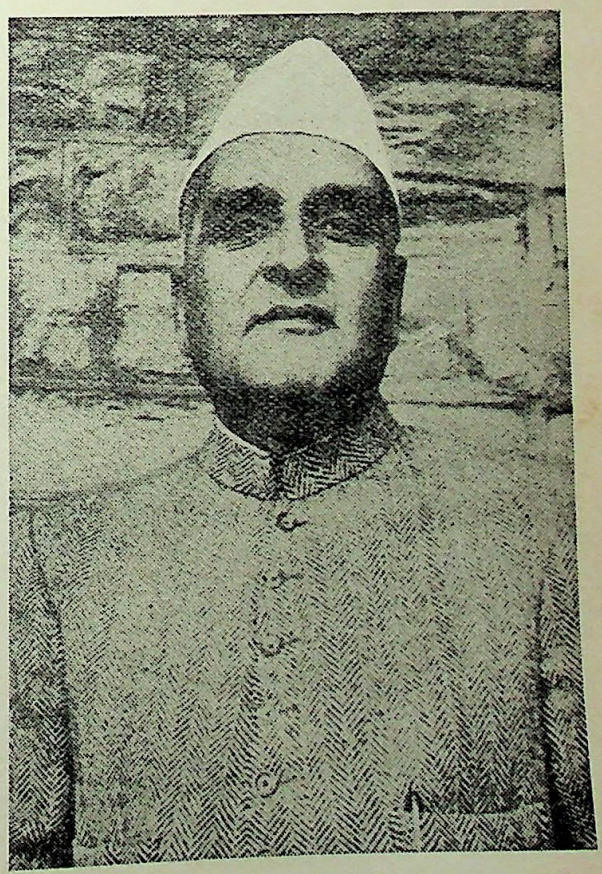


President Dr. Rajendra Prasad attending the 'Children's Corner'-special broadcast organised by All-India Radio at Rashtrapati Bhavan Gardens



Sri Y. N. Sukhthankar, Governor-designate of Orissa



Sri Bhimsen Sachar, Governor-designate of Andhra Pradesh

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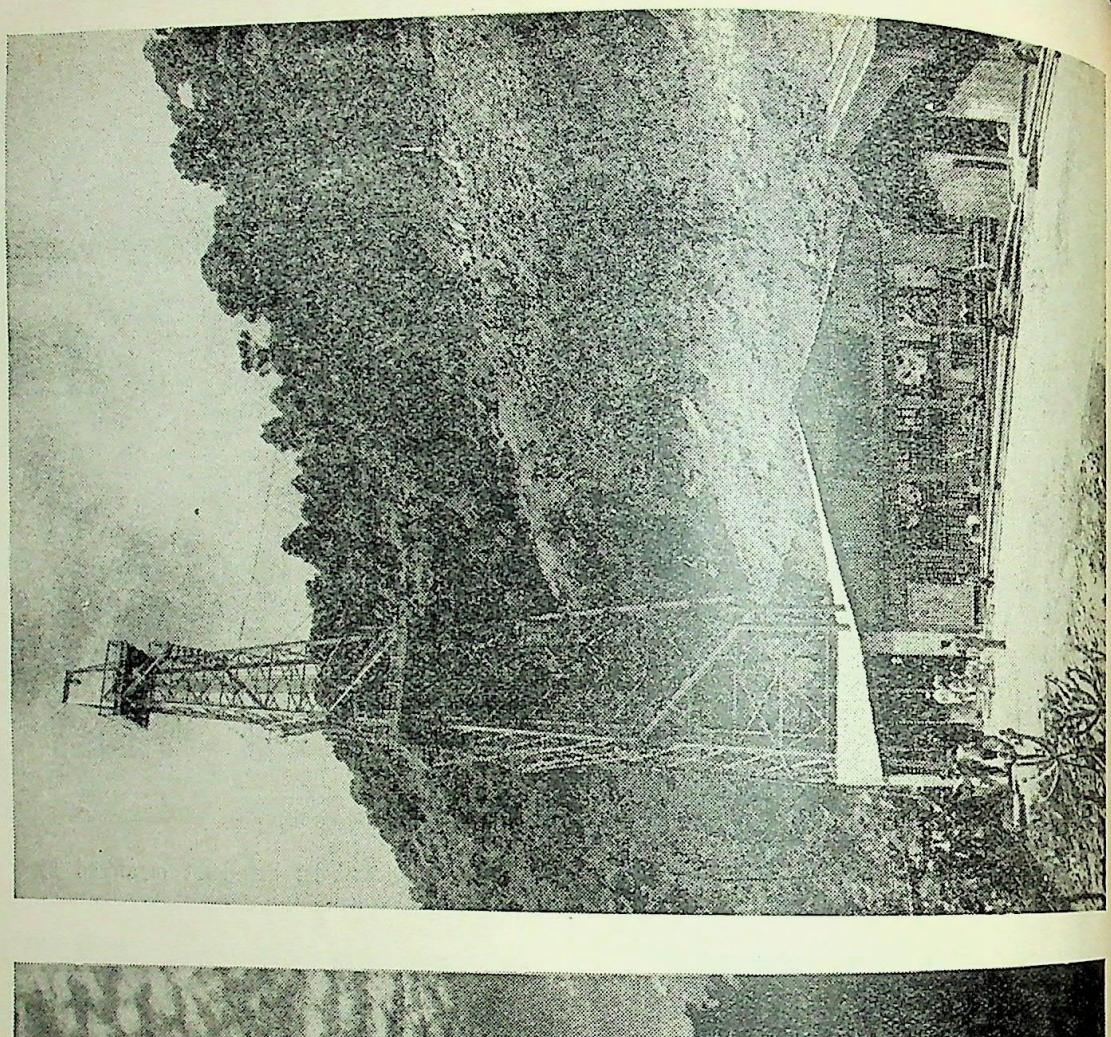

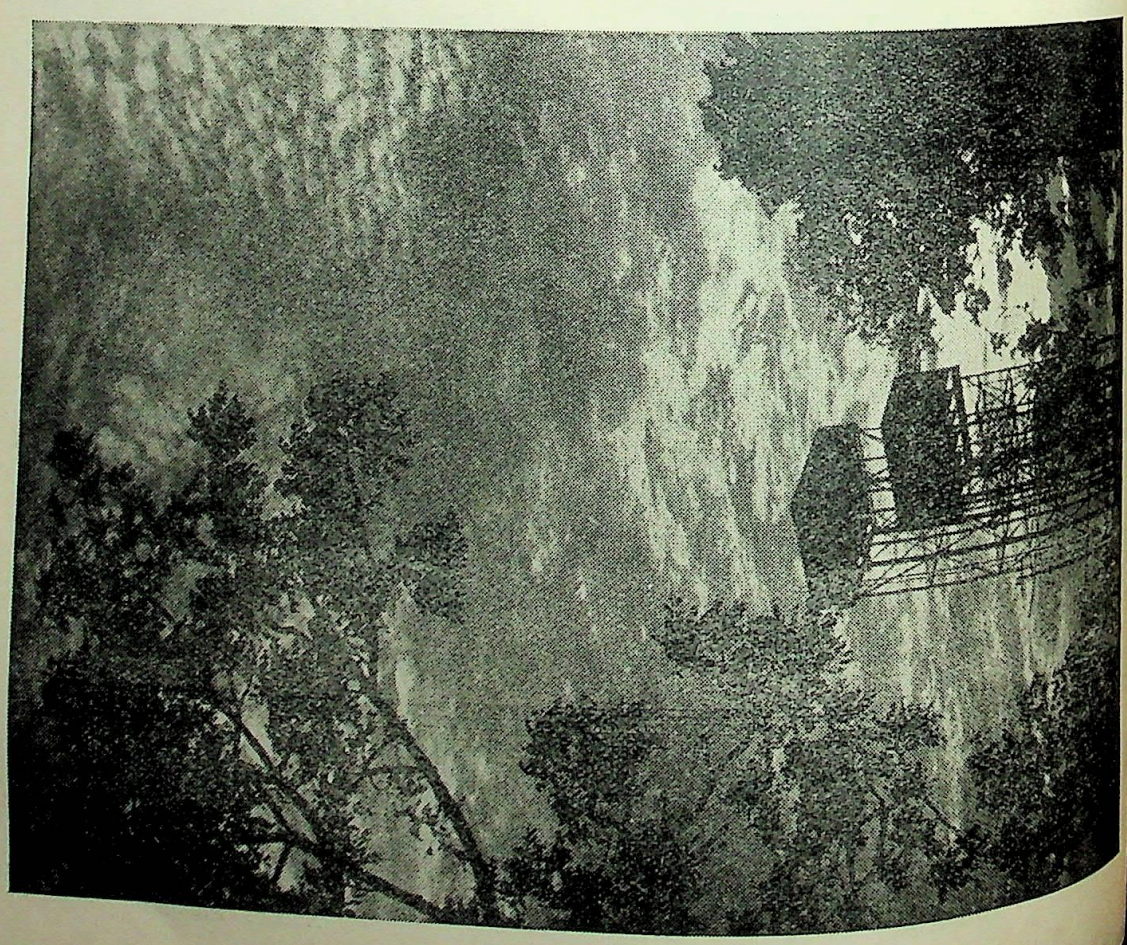

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B. R. Ambedkar was, therefore, hardly wrong when he stated[57] in the Constituent Assembly on 7th December, 1948, in connexion with Article 22(1) of the Draft Constitution of India which practically corresponded to Article 30(1) of the Constitution:

"Take a city like Bombay which contains a heterogeneous population believing in different creeds. Suppose, for instance, there was a school in the City of Bombay maintained by the Municipality. Obviously, such a school would contain children of the Hindus believing in the Hindu religion, there will be pupils belonging to the Christian community, Zoroastrian community, or to the Jewish community. If one went further, and I think it would be desirable to go further than this, the Hindus again would be divided into several varieties: there would be the *Sanatani* Hindus, Vedic Hindus believing in the Vedic religion, there would be the Buddhists, there would be the Jains—even amongst Hindus there would be the Shaivites, there would be the Vaishnavites. Is the educational institution to be required to treat all these children on a footing of equality and to provide religious instruction in all the denominations? It seems to me that to assign such a task to the State would be to ask it to do the impossible." What is true of a city like Bombay does apply *a fortiori* to the Union of India as a whole or even to any of its constituent States.

Clause (2) of Article 28 seems to be very clear. And what Dr. Ambedkar stated* in the Constituent Assembly on 7th December, 1948, in its justification may be noted here. "There have been cases," he said,[58] "where institutions in the early part of the history of this country have been established with the object of giving religious instruction, and for some reason they were unable to have people to manage them and therefore they were taken over by the State as a trustee for them. Now, it is obvious that when you accept a trust you must fulfil that trust in all respects. If the State has already taken over these institutions and placed itself in the position of trustee, then obviously you cannot say to the Government that notwithstanding the fact that you were giving religious instruction in these institutions, hereafter you shall not give such instruction. I think that would be not only permitting the State but forcing it to commit a breach of trust."

Clause (3) of Article 28 achieves, to quote the words of Dr. Ambedkar again, "two purposes." "One is," he said,[59] "that we are permitting a community which has established its (educational) institutions for the advancement of its religious or its cultural life, to give such instruction in the school. We have also provided that (the) children of other communities who attend that school shall not be compelled to attend such reigious instructions (*sic*) which undoubtedly and obviously must be the instruction in the religion of that particular community, unless the(ir) parents consent to it. As I say, we have achieved this double purpose and those who want religious instruction to be given are free to establish their institutions and claim aid from the State, give religious instruction, but shall not be in a position to force that religious instruction on other communities." Thus, under Clause (3) while a community "is free to give religious instruction" in its educational institutions and the grant, if any, "made by the State shall not be a bar to the giving of such instruction, it shall not give (religious) instruction to, or make it compulsory upon, the children belonging to other communities unless and until" the consent of their parents has been obtained.[60] Further, the continuance of the recognition of an educational institution by the State would, it is submitted, depend on the fulfilment by the institution of the requirements of Clause (3). It may also be noted here that, according to Dr. Ambedkar, once an educational institution, whether maintained by a community or not, gets a grant out of State funds, it must be open to all communities.[61] Presumably this follows from Clause (2) of Article 29 of the Constitution.

It should, however, be pointed out here

57. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 7th December, 1948, p. 883.

* In connexion with the proviso to Article 22(1) of the Draft Constitution of India which in essence corresponded to Clause (2) of Article 28 of the Constitution.

58. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 7th December, 1948, p. 886.

59. In the course of his speech on Article 22 of the Draft Constitution of India, which in effect corresponded to Article 28 of the Constitution.—*Ibid*, p. 884.

60. *Ibid*, p. 884.

61. *Ibid*, p. 884.

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that religious instruction as contemplated by Article 28 of the Constitution, should not be confused with the pursuit of academic studies or the course of training in cultural subjects. This point seems to have been established from the following discussion[62] in the Constituent Assembly on 7th December, 1948, although it must be admitted that, in the absence of any authoritative definition, the court of law alone is competent to state what exactly is meant by religious instruction:

"Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I put the honorable Member one question? There is, for instance, an educational institution wholly managed by the Government, like the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. There the *Vedas* are taught, *Smritis* are taught, the *Gita* is taught, the *Upanishads* are taught. Similarly in several parts of Bengal there are Sanskrit Institutions where instructions in these subjects are given. You provide in Article 22(1)[63] that no religious instruction can be given by an institution wholly maintained out of State funds. These are absolutely maintained by State funds. My point is, would it be interpreted that the teaching of *Vedas*, or *Smritis*, or *Shastras* or *Upanishads* comes within the meaning of a religious instruction? In that case all these institutions will have to be closed down.

"The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Well, I do not know exactly the character of the institutions to which my friend Mr. Maitra has made reference . . .

"Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Take, for instance, the teaching of Gita, Upanishads, the Vedas and things like that in Government Sanskrit Colleges and schools.

"The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: My own view is this, that religious instruction is to be distinguished from research or study. Those are quite different things. Religious instruction means this. For instance, so far as the Islam(ic) religion is concerned, it means that you believe in one God, that you believe that *Pagambar* the Prophet is the last Prophet and so on, in other words, what we call 'dogma'. A dogma is quite different from study.

"Mr. Vice-President:[64] May I interpose for one minute? As Inspector of Colleges for the Calcutta University, I used to inspect the Sanskrit College, where, as Pandit Maitra is aware, students have to study not only the University course but books outside it in Sanskrit literature and, in fact, Sanskrit sacred books, but this was never regarded as religious instruction; it was regarded as a course in culture.

"Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: My point is this. It is not a question of research. It is a mere instruction in religion or religious branches of study. I ask whether lecturing on Gita and Upanishads would be considered as giving religious instruction? Expounding Upanishads is not a matter of research.

"Mr. Vice-President: It is a question of teaching students and I know at least one instance where there was a Muslim student in the Sanskrit College."

Thus religious instruction as contemplated by Article 28 of the Constitution is to be interpreted in a different way from the teaching of a particular religious subject—even a religious treatise—as a part of an academic curriculum. Of course, as already stated, the final decision on a disputed question like this rests with the court of law, and the court of law is expected to take a commonsense view of things in a matter like this.

In our later articles in this series we propose to deal with some other Fundamental Rights under our Constitution.

62. *Ibid*, pp. 884-85.

63. Of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 28(1) of the Constitution of India.

64. Dr. H. C. Mookherjee.

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THE JORDANIAN WHIRLWIND

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And now Jordan has been caught in the whirlwind of international power politics. The divergent air-currents of Russian communism, American capitalism and militarism, British imperialism and Arab nationalism have lifted this small State, in the centre of the Middle East political pressure zone, from the surface realities. The young king Hussain has dismissed the Nationalist leader Nabulsi and his cabinet which was opposed to Eisenhower Doctrine, and Nabulsi was a great exponent of Arab Nationalism. According to the king he had communist leanings. Another ministry was formed under Dr. Khaladi but he also could not carry on for more than a few days. He had to resign. The House of Representatives was dissolved, all political parties were banned and Martial Law was declared. Now the whole country is under the heels of military rule. The United States sixth fleet has been moved to the eastern Mediterranean and U.S. military men and politicians have indicated the possibility of dropping of paratroops units any moment at the deterioration of conditions there. A substantial dollar aid is waiting to hear the king say, 'Yes, come.' The USSR, on the other hand, has threatened grave consequences of any interference by the Western Powers in the affairs of Jordan. Arab heads of States, specially Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria are disturbed at these developments.

The genesis of the trouble is not far to seek. The Jordanian crisis is a symptom of the broader Middle East problem. The situation of the Middle East at the junction of three continents, has placed it at the cross-roads of commerce and trade, and the western countries which are most advanced industrially and commercially have a vital stake in maintaining there ocean, air and land routes to Eastern Africa and Southern, South Eastern and Far Eastern Asia. Besides, this is also at the route of 'logistics' for these regions. Economically also the Middle East is vital for the West. It has about 70 per cent of the world's oil reserve and produces about 20 per cent of world's output which supplies about 80 per cent of the Western European requirements on which depend their industrial and military strength and their standard of living. The entire plan of NATO defence will be shattered to pieces in the event of stoppage of supply for a long time. NATO being the 'first line of defence' in the American Hemispheral Defence scheme is of vital importance to the U.S.A. The U.S.A. cannot satisfy the oil needs of the Western European countries for a long time because of her own soaring requirements and dwindling home and the Carribean supplies. The location of this vital region close to the southern border of communist Russia has made the area strategidally important in the 'Power Bloc Politics,' for if once the region through communist subversion and infiltration falls in line with Russia, the freedom and security of the 'democracies' will be jeopardised. Except for Israel and Turkey which are a bit advanced, the whole area is subject to arid climate, backward economy, low standard of living, social weakness, and political unstability resulting from their natural environment and political domination by Britain and France and lately by the U.S.A. This has made the whole of the Middle East a fertile ground for communist activities. After the decline of British power in the region the U.S.A. has been trying to gain strength on the pretext that the Middle East has become a 'Power Vacuum'. Now it will be easier to understand the Jordanian situation in this regional setting.

Historically speaking, Jordan is a young kingdom. Formerly it formed a part of the Ottoman Empire. After the fall of this Empire in World War I several small political States came into being and Trans-Jordan was one of them. According to the promises of France and Britain the liberated States were to have national governments and administrations but after the cessation of hostilities the promises

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were forgotten and according to the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement the region was divided between them. Other great powers did not come in the picture because Russia was going through her revolution and the U.S.A. had characteristically recoiled to her isolationist policy. Thus France got the League of Nations' mandate over Syria and the Lebanon, and Britain received the mandate over Iraq and Palestine which also included Trans-Jordan. The breach of promises by these powers fanned the flames of nationalism. Germany's propaganda and subversive activities against Britain and France gained ground in the 'Fertile Crescent'. The U.S.A. also became interested by then and sided with the national movements in the name of their national heroes Abraham Lincoln and George Washington. Britain cleverly adjusted her relations with the countries of the region. Palestine was divided into two parts, the area east of the Jordan river being Trans-Jordan. In 1922 it was turned into an Emirate under a pro-British Emir Abdullah while his brother Faisal was made the King of Iraq. But the British controlled the Jordanian armed forces, the Arab Legion, by modernising and putting it under the command of General Peako and later on of John Glubb (known as Glubb Pasha) who became a *de facto* ruler. Thus Britain was successful for the time being in keeping the national emotionalism under control. During World War II, Britain, U.S.A. and Russia occupied nearly the whole of the Middle East to check the advance of Hitler. But again at the end of the war there arose intense opposition to foreign domination specially by Britain and France. The U.S.A. was now more interested both economically and strategically; and now that Britain was reduced to a third-rate power, the U.S.A. also waited to take her due place as the defender of the region against any outside interference, specially by the U.S.S.R.

In the face of all these combined forces Britain withdrew her rule from Trans-Jordan in 1946. Trans-Jordan became independent but even then the military control was maintained through the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty of 1948 which granted Britain the right to maintain bases at Amman, Mafraq and Aqaba and station troops for twenty years. Glubb Pasha was still the commander. In return for this Jordan was to receive an annual subsidy of £12,000,000. The creation of the Jewish State of Israel as a fulfilment of the British promise (Balfour Declaration of 1917) and the influx of 500,000 Arab refugees created grave rehabilitation problems for the desert State. This made Jordan (as now it began to be called due to the inclusion of the trans-part of Palestine west of the River Jordan) a bitter enemy of Britain and also of the U.S.A. which helped in the creation of Israel and gave it economic sustenance. There was also the inner rivalry between Britain and the U.S.A. The assassination of King Abdullah in 1952 and the accession of Prince Talat who was openly anti-British and Pro-American is said to be an American intrigue. But Britain also intrigued and influenced the Jordanian parliament to dethrone Talat on the pretext that he was mentally deranged. The minor King Hussain was put under a temporary Regency Council of pro-British men. But in the meantime Arab nationalism was growing stronger every day. The patriotic political parties, especially the National Socialist Party, headed by Suleiman Nabulsi, worked against all sorts of foreign interference in domestic affairs. The Baghdad Pact was rejected outright, Glubb Pasha was dismissed and the first free elections were held in 1956 which brought Nabulsi at the head of the government. Nabulsi had a mandate from the people to end the humiliating treaty of 1948, Anglo-French aggression over Egypt hastened his steps. He refused Britain the use of R.A.F. bases in Jordan against Egypt, joined the Joint Military Command with Egypt and Syria and abrogated the 1948 treaty as soon as the financial implication was solved by the promises of Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt to fill the gap created by the stoppage of the annual British payment. Thus Britain was expelled from Jordan. When the British treaty of 1930 with Iraq ended she kept her hold there by bringing Iraq in the Baghdad Pact but as Jordan had rejected the idea of any such pact earlier there was no thread to bind. With British exit Jordan became a place where both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. looked for influence. Jordan showing inclinations to enter into diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. and China, hence the U.S.A. became impatient to influence King Hussain not to let his coun-

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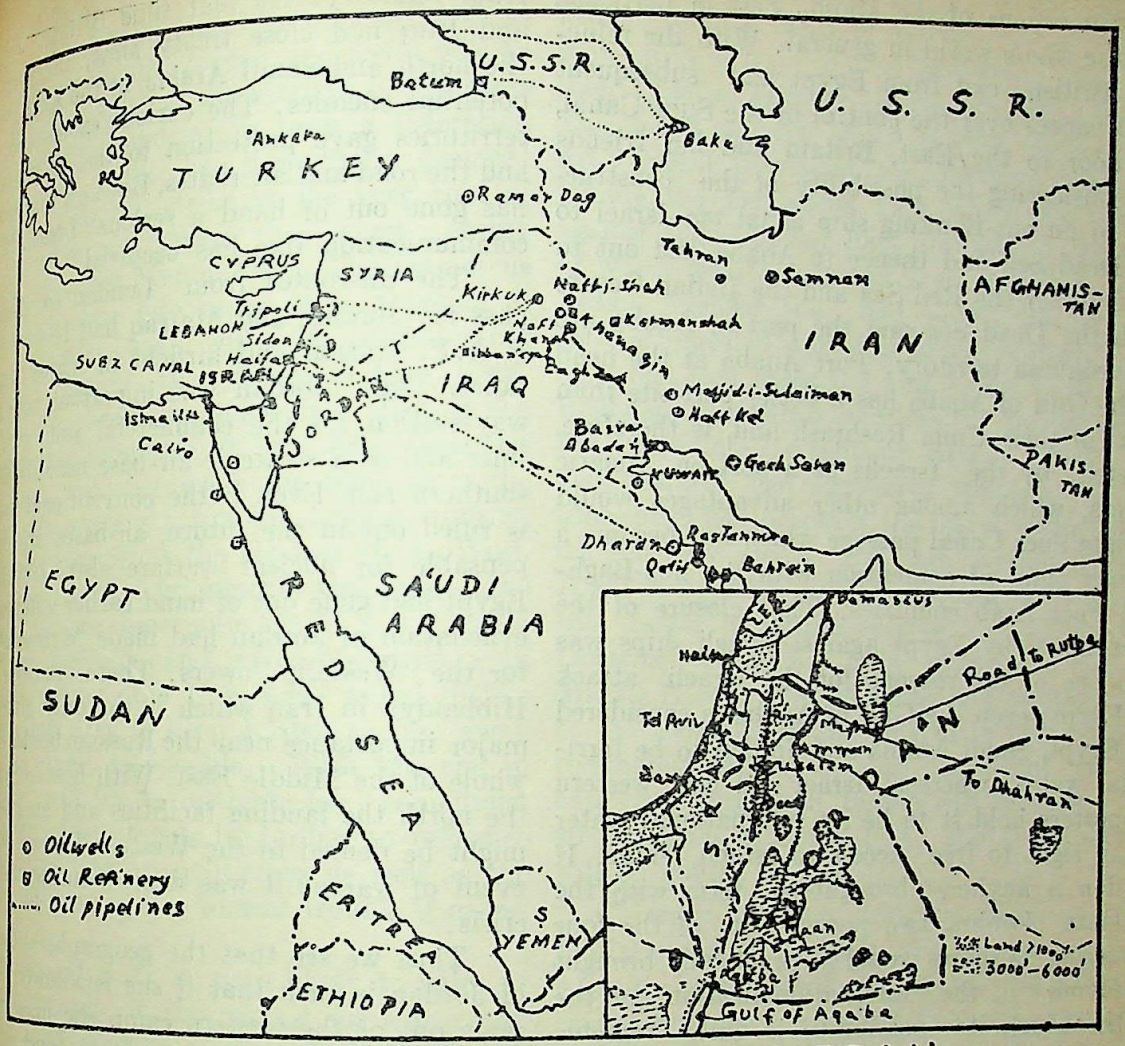

THE MIDDLE EAST AND JORDAN

that way. And what has followed is a result of this.

But why Jordan is considered to be vital for the big powers involved in the region? The answer is given by one very important geographical element of Jordan, her location. Though not even a single drop of oil is obtained from her territory, it is only Jordan's geographical location which has made the country so important in the Middle East where the political cross-currents are primarily seen on the surface because of liquid oil. Jordan is brought into oil politics because oil pipe-lines from Iraq and Saudi Arabia pass through this State to touch the Mediterranean ports on the west. In times of war even between the Middle East States themselves, as between Jordan and either of the neighbouring States, Israel, the Lebanon, Syria, Iraq or Saudi Arabia, the pipe-line can be cut to stop the flow of oil with all its disastrous consequences on the defence and economy of the West European countries. The Suez Canal crisis, after the withdrawal of British forces from the canal zone, has made this pipe-line even more important than before. One of the reasons for the domination over Egypt was to maintain the transport of oil through the canal and this is also the case with Jordan. Interested Powers are trying to bully Egypt to bring her in line with them and the same story may be repeated as regards Jordan on account of the similar situation from the point of view of oil transit. Renan's theory that 'a land so important to the rest of the world cannot be entirely independent politically' is working in the region.

The same locational factor has made Jordan a vital link in the ocean, land and air

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communications of the Middle East in particular and the whole world in general. With the reluctant British exit from Egypt and subsequent disturbances over the control of the Suez Canal, the door to the East, Britain and her friends are considering the possibility of the construction of an out-flanking ship canal *via* Israel to the Dead Sea and thence to Aqaba and out to the Gulf for the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Both the Dead Sea and the port of Aqaba are in Jordanian territory. Port Aqaba at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba has a better port-site than that of their Umm Rashrash and, is therefore, coveted by the Israelis as a port on Asiatic waters, which among other advantages would obviate Suez Canal passage which has become a serious point of contention with the non-Baghdad Pact Arab countries. The closure of the Suez Canal by Egypt against Israeli ships was also one of the reasons for the Israeli attack on Egypt; even the Gulf of Aqaba is considered by Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan to be territorial water whereas Israel and her western supporters hold it to be an international water with right to free access to Israeli ships. If Jordan is anyhow brought to term with the Western Powers, two powers out of the four bordering its shores would be practically brought in favour of the internationalization of the Gulf, though its possibility is quite remote. The strategic role of this ocean lane has been exemplified in the last world war when this 'back-door route' was successfully used to build up powerful forces for the annihilation of the enemy forces in North Africa. This route also included the road from Aqaba to Mann and thereafter the Hejaz Railway entering into Syria. In the event of invasion from the north the same port of entry and lines of supply can be used to defend the oil-wells and the pipelines of the region.

The new all-weather trunk road runs from Haifa, the Israeli Mediterranean Port, *via* Amman, the Jordanian capital, to Rutba and Baghdad and then to Basra near the head of the Persian Gulf. This road traverses the landbridge between the heads of the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea. This communicational interest had prompted the British to make a curious north-east extension of the Jordanian territory to form a continuous frontier with that of the equally curious western extension of the Iraqi territory. At that time Britain, Jordan and Iraq had close treaty aims, and Syria in the north and Saudi Arabia in the south were potential enemies. The curious extension of the territories gave protection to the oil pipe-lines and the road and air routes. But now that Jordan has gone out of hand a serious breach in the communication line has occurred.

The air-routes from London to Karachi pass *via* Jordan, and Mafraq had became a big R.A.F. station and airfield of major importance. Thus Jordan was important both as a way-station for the commercial and civil air lines and as a strategic air-base near the Soviet southern rim. Even if the conventional warfare is ruled out in the future, air-bases are indispensable for nuclear warfare also. Ismailia in Egypt had gone out of hand earlier and now the evacuation of Jordan had made Mafraq useless for the Western Powers. There remains only Hibbaniya in Iraq which is the only airfield of major importance near the Russian border in the whole of the Middle East. With hostile Syria in the north the landing facilities and air passage might be denied to the Western Powers in the event of war as it was denied during the Suez crisis.

Thus we see that the geographical location of Jordan is such that if she is allowed to remain out of the western camp she may present a serious breach in the ocean, land and air communication system and thus substantially affect the defence strategy of the Western Powers led by the U.S.A. in the region.

The locational factor gains added importance in view of the recent political developments and set-ups in the Middle East. The Baghdad Pact countries of the Middle East—Turkey, Iraq and Iran—are close friends of the Western Powers but they are separated from Israel, another friend of the Western Powers (though not recognised by Iraq and Iran) by Jordan. Thus the Pact area (Iraq and Iran) fails to have a free and direct outlet to the Mediterranean. Jordan is forced to be a friend of the U.S.A. there will be a continuous zone of friendly States right from the southern Mediterranean shores to the western borders of India. This will make the Pact stronger and more effective. This zone will separate Syria and the Lebanon in the north from Saudi Arabia and Egypt in the south and south-west respectively.

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will be broken away from the united front of the hostile Arab States and the joint army command between Egypt, Jordan and Syria will be nullified. This will foil the attempt of the three joint command countries to form a federation between them which has been their declared objective. This will strike at the very root of the leadership of Nasser, the worst enemy of the west in the Middle East. The Damascus Pact, which came into being as a reaction to the Baghdad Pact, will be considerably weakened. Israel, the stooge of the West, which is the breathing space for them if the surrounding atmosphere at any time becomes suffocating, will become a bit safe from the Jordan side where she has the longest frontier, in case Jordan rejects the shadow of the West. Because all these developments will make the Western Powers, especially the U.S.A., militarily, economically, and politically stronger in the Middle East, the U.S.S.R. would dislike it and would try to keep Jordan as far away from the West as possible. With this end in view she will try to instigate her communist and other leftist friends in Jordan to influence the vocal and active politicians as well as the public sentiment and to foment trouble if necessary.

But the U.S.A. is more likely to gain, at least temporarily, in the contest for supremacy in Jordan on account of three factors. Firstly, because Jordan is governed by a king who fears the rise of leftists in whose scheme of things there is no place for a king. The U.S.A. is no enemy to kingship in the Middle East, rather she favours this system because it is easier to influence one man and keep the whole nation under domination. The history of the grant of oil concessions to the U.S.A. in Saudi Arabia shows that it was King Saud who in spite of popular opposition granted concession on one-fourth royalty basis. The nationalist rising in Egypt has swept away the king and there is no kingship in Syria and the Lebanon. Thus the U.S.A. finds these countries dangerous for his personal future and finds a closer friend in Iraq and Saudi Arabia. As the U.S.A. preaches against these countries, he stands to gain. Secondly, the King of Jordan and the King of Iraq belong to the same Hashamite family. Iraq being a member of the Baghdad Pact leans towards the West and carries his cousin in Jordan with him. The family has old enmity with Syria. The King of Jordan remembers how they were driven out of Damascus and how their plan of Greater Syria had been foiled. This blood relation which is very thick in the Arab World, prevented the Jordanian king from joining the Damascus Pact which was aimed against the Baghdad Pact and one of the aims of which was to turn out Iraq from the Arab League because she had joined the Pact in spite of repeated warnings to the contrary. The only fact that holds the king closer to the anti-Baghdad Pact Arab countries is the danger of her immediate neighbour Israel which has demonstrated her aggressive strength several times after her inception, the attack on Egypt being the most recent. But this relation between Israel and Jordan may be expected to change for the better if Jordan accepts the Eisenhower Doctrine which has been introduced in the Middle East to give economic and military help to the countries in the region in case there is communist activity or open aggression. In that case both Israel and Jordan will be under the strong hands of the U.S.A. and their policies will be guided by her.

Thirdly, Jordan's economy requires substantial financial backing from a rich nation. After the exit of the U.K. she has lost a financier as well as a source of financial organisers, technicians and skilled personnel. The future of Jordan's 1,400,000 people, 500,000 of whom are disgruntled refugees from Palestine, depends on the implementation of the economic programme. The greater part of the country is bare sandy tableland; only the higher and rainier western part of the tableland near the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea is suitable for crop raising while further east where rainfall drops sharply, nomadic tribes find only a poor living. To rehabilitate the backward economy Jordan has planned for irrigation and agriculture schemes, extension of the port of Aqaba, a road link between Aqaba and Amman, the capital, a national oil refinery, the development of potash and phosphate industries and the rehabilitation of Jordan's part of the Hejaz Railway. Though Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria filled up the gap made by the stoppage of British annual subsidy, they are not able to finance all these projects as they have serious financial limitations. For the Arabian Potash Company which

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is a Jordanian project, Egypt and Saudi Arabia had agreed to subsidise £125,000 each and Syria and the Lebanon had promised £62,500 each while the rest £625,000 had to be found out by Jordan herself. Besides, the oil refinery project is expected to cost £4,100,000 and the Aqaba port development and the road link with Amman are expected to cost about £4,500,000. All this money cannot be expected from the poor Middle East anti-Baghdad Pact neighbours and the king smells the danger in the communist money (though openly he is to admit help from any quarter). So there is a great temptation to accept the Eisenhower Doctrine, if not in name, in spirit.

If due to these factors Jordan is lured in the trap laid out by the U.S.A. the whole scheme of things in the Middle East is going to be changed. The plan of Nasser will be shattered and the entire political and military set-up in the Middle East will go through a drastic change. This will be a defeat not only of Nasser but of all the anti-Baghdad Pact countries of the Middle East. This is why they are trying to influence King Hussain not to go for the Eisenhower Doctrine. But the king is trying to play the role of the man with the donkey trying to please everyone. He swears in the name of Arab nationalism and abhors the idea of pacts to please his people and to seek the hands of his neighbours and at the same time welcomes financial help (with no strings attached) from any quarter whatsoever to please both the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. But will this role succeed for long? People doubt. The wind must blow this way or that. Even today it is apparent, the wind has the tendency to be westerly. This may prevail for sometime only; the cyclone in the people's mind cannot be far behind.

———:O:———

PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF BENGAL NATIONALISM (1905-1910)

An Analysis of Sri Aurobindo's Political Thought During the Swadeshi Days

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The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal was not a mere political agitation. It was the dynamic outburst of the soul of a nation which was trying to obtain crystallised self-expression. Behind the movement lay the philosophical and sociological teachings of Lokamanya Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, Bipin Chandra Pal, Surendranath Banerjee and also Rabindranath Tagore. Sri Aurobindo's political thought provides us an insight into the foundations of that movement and its basically spiritual-political orientation.

Aurobindo illustrates his theory of divine determinism in history with reference to Bengal nationalist movement:

"Nationalism is immortal, nationalism cannot die because it is no human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to jail."

He considers God or Atman to be the leader of the movement and hence in his speeches he advocates a return to the spirit and the realisation of its plans and dictates. If the voice of the spirit would have been rightly listened to and apprehended there could always be found people who would act according to the command of a God-inspired leader. If the movement of nationalism was in the divine plan, the British invasion of India was also, according to Aurobindo, a part of the spiritual mechanism because the former was the antithesis of the latter. In the eighteenth century the country was full of traitors, self-seekers and powerful men. It was the reign of Tamas. The time was ready for the slavery and political dependence of the people of the country. At that period the British appeared on the scene to effectuate the inscrutable design of providence. Hence the cruel and inhuman repressions perpetrated by British imperialism were also a part of the divine plan.

"Repression is nothing but the hammer

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God that is beating us into shape so that we may be moulded into a mighty nation and an instrument for his work in the world."

The principal aim of the divine power behind British imperialism was the effectuation of India's unification, a task which Aurobindo considers to be the central trend in the history of India for the last two thousand years. Being a mystic who reads the will of God in history he interprets all the principal events in the course of the Bengal movement and the general movement of Indian nationalism to be designed and willed by God. He considers the historic breach of the Congress at Surat also to be a part of the divine will in action. Tilak's deportation to Mandalay in Burma was also the will of God.

"It is He, not any other, who has taken them and His ways are not the ways of men, for He is all-wise."

Since the real leaders of the movement were not Aswini Kumar Datta or Tilak, however great they might be, but God himself, hence his will had to be accepted.

This theory of divine determinism of history and the ultimate leadership of political movements (like Indian nationalism and the French Revolution) by God is a cardinal belief of the Hindu philosophical mind. In the Mahabarata and the Puranas there are instances of providential interventions in course of history. In the Gita it is stated that wherever there is anything great and colossal in human and cosmic history that is to be considered as a manifestation of the divine. The Vedas contain the classic where the king of the gods is solicited for killing a great destructive demon. Thus what Aurobindo is doing is only restating a vital Hindu theological creed. The difference however is that he brings in other illustrations from the different countries of he world to substantiate his point of view. Such a divine and providential historical interpretation was suited to the sociology of the time because it not only provided a rationalisation of much that would have appeared otherwise as terrible, cruel and frustrating but it also suffused the people, the leaders and the movement with great consolation and a tremendous optimism in terms of the belief in an inevitable future success.

The metaphysics of divine determinism implies the concept of "God-sent leader." All great movements in history require leaders who are voluntary agents for executing the divine will. They are infused with divine energy and force. The philosophy behind such a conception is that Kali works through these great men. Kali is the dynamic aspect of the absolute being and she is the embodiment of divine force, dynamics and energy. It is not accidental that she works more in one man than in another. A leader is chosen because he vindicates the possibilities of a willing channel of the divine force. Once chosen, Kali never rejects him nor allows him to reject her, unless the main objective has been realised. In the Bhagavadgita Krishna tells Arjuna that although being over-powered with an egoistic notion the latter would like to renounce warfare still it could not be possible because the great powerful force of Nature would almost compulsively goad and impel him to action. For the concrete success of any movement several types of instruments are needed. Some may be rejected and thrown while some are preserved. "This is the greatness of the great man, not that by their own strength they can determine great events but that they are serviceable and specially forged instruments of the Power which determines them." Kali takes possession of them and hence such leaders can achieve results beyond any ordinary canons of rational calculation, prediction and expectataion. Rationality and foreseeable possibility are the human criteria of judgment but since Kali is the divine dynamism acting in the cosmos she can effectuate the impossible. Hence the people commissioned to work out the will and design of the divine manifest signs of superhuman strength and will-power because they are 'full of force of the *Zeitgeist*.' The idea that a power beyond man was working in the nationalist movement in Bengal was a matter of strong faith in Aurobindo and in a speech in Bombay in January, 1908 he said :

> ". . . . this great nation will rise again and become once more what it was in the days of its spiritual greatness. You are the instruments of God to save the light, to save the spirit of India from lasting obscuration and abasement."

The political theory of the God-sent leader as the divine instrument for effective terrestrial action is a logical implication from the teachings

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of the Bhagavadgita and the Tantra. Vivekananda honestly believed that by grace of the spiritual realization of his great teacher Ramakrishna, Kali had entered into him and was using him as the instrument for reviving the ancient gospel of the Vedanta. A psychologist or a psychoanalyst or a materialist may try to explain this phenomenon as a mental hallucination or a chimera or even as a kind of opium to dupe oneself or the people. But several great leaders had this kind of faith. Christ, Mahomed, Napoleon believed that they were being goaded and guided by a divine power. Moses, St. Paul and Savonarola had such faith. In our days Gandhi believed himself to be a divine agent to reveal the greatness of non-violence as a political method by attaining the political salvation of India through it. The honest belief in their being the instrument of a higher power or destiny which transcends the ordinary notions of causality has been a vital force guiding several great leaders. The German Nazi cult of Fuhrer inculcated that the leader is not chosen by a democratic process but he emerges like Joan of Arc at critical epochs to save the nation from immediate peril. It is very true that there are great differences between the consequences which have followed in imperialistic fascism and the other ethical movements like Christianity or Gandhism from the acceptance of the idea of a destined or a God-sent leader but the sociological typology of the claim is similar because the basic thing is the transcendence of normal social causality and the operation of laws and factors which have an appearance of the gigantic and the colossal. This theory of the God-sent leader as found in Aurobindo has a remarkable similarity to the concept of the world-historical-individual in Hegel's philosophy of history.

Bengal and pre-war Ireland were attempting to realize the soul of the nation. In the Bengal Swadeshi Movement there was a pronounced and conscious subjectivism. The nation was conceived not as a territory but as a psychological, even a spiritual being and even when political and economic motivations were prevalent it seemed that they were "instruments of self-expression rather than objects in themselves." Hence the Bengal nationalist movement was not an imitation of and derivation from the West but was unique. Bengal through a galaxy of great leaders and thinkers recovered the ancient spirit of the Vedanta and Yoga and Tantra and "forced the world to hear of its spiritual personalities." Spiritualism imparted to the Bengali movement a vital political consciousness. In his speeches as a nationalist leader Aurobindo referred to the realisation of God in the nation.

". . . . Your common Mother. That is not merely the soil. That is not merely a division of land but it is a living thing. It is the Mother in whom you move and have your being. Realize God in the nation, realize God in your brother, realize God in a wider human association."

". . . . the three hundred millions of people of this country are God in the nation, something which cannot be measured by so much land, or by so much money, or by so many lives. You will then realize that it is something immortal, that the idea for which you are working is something immortal and that it is an immortal power that is working in you."

This realization of the immortal power and spirit of the divine being was to be achieved by a total surrender and consecration of oneself to the great cause. Even poverty and obscurity were to be devoted to the motherland. This notion of surrender does not imply exhaustion of the impulse to action but it emphasises the creative role of the subject as the instrument of the supreme divine being. This idea of the new national religion putting emphasis on the realization of God in the lives of the three hundred millions was a new note in the traditional Indian Vedanta. It signified almost an apotheosis of social and national work. People were asked to see "the birth of the Avatar in the nation." The emphasis on the realisation of God in the country through the visualisation of the present "Motherhood of God" distinguished Bengal nationalism from the European counterparts.

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KATHODIAS OF RAJASTHAN

A Tragedy of Lost Souls in the Woods

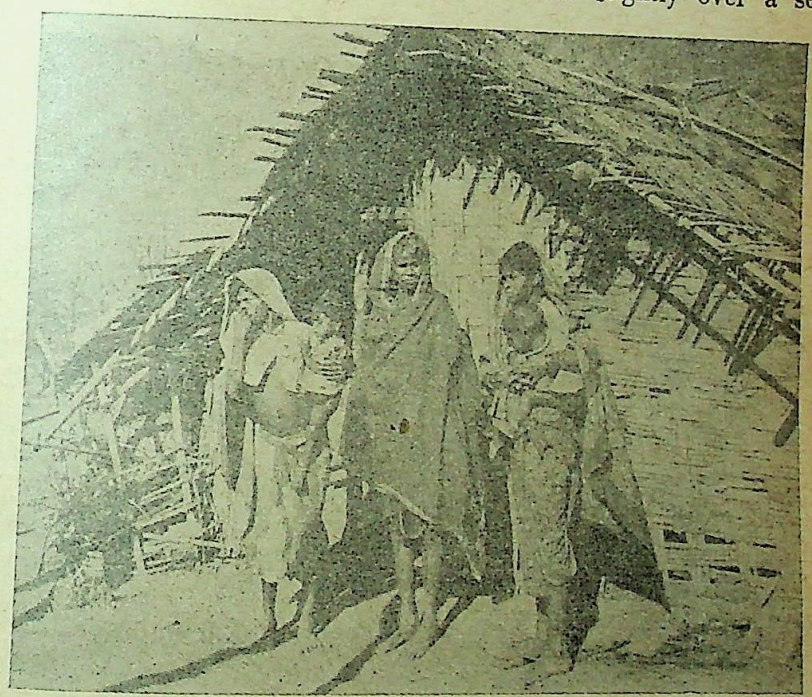
By N. K. PAREEK

In Rajasthan which, incidentally, has less than 10 per cent of its total area under forests, the Aravalli forest in Udaipur has been serving as an 'iron curtain' around an aboriginal tribe leading a life of perpetual misery and dishonour for 50 years or more. Thanks to Shri L. M. Shrikant, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, and the zealous workers of the Rajasthan Seva Sangh for raising this 'iron curtain' and leading these poor and ignorant people from what may be called darkness to light.

Engaged as labour for the manufacture of Katha or catechu, the tribe came to be known as Kathodia by their Muslim employers, the Bohras, a noted commercial community, who impressed with their skill at Katha-making persuaded about 250 families to part with their parent stock of hills of Western Khandesh district of Bombay State in search of new fortune in the forests of Udaipur. They were employed in the remote interior of Phalasia, Kotra and Kherwara tehsils of Udaipur district which abounded in Kher trees, the raw material for manufacturing Katha. The process involves the removal of the bark of this tree and cutting the tender portion beneath into small chips which are boiled in earthen pots to form a paste to be dried up later. The dried up substance becomes the superior Katha or red catechu which only the master-manufacturers, the Kathodia women, can prepare. The inferior or black Katha, which does not require so much skill, is manufactured by a group of other Kathodias from Vindhya Pradesh who visit these areas every year during the Katha season from October to February.

It was about half a century ago that these simple and manly Bhils of Khandesh led away by the rosy promises of the Bohras migrated to Rajasthan to degrade themselves into Kathodias. Their struggle for existence all these 50 years has been a tale of woe, of unceasing sorrow resulting from the crafty technique and cunning manoeuvres of the greedy contractors of the forests.

In the thick of the forest in these areas the sight of men, women and children, all under-fed and semi-nude, felling and fetching the Kher trees on their bony shoulders and dirty heads is the typical picture of a Kathodia family. They work under atrocious conditions as many hours as the contractor wishes them to do. And for all this hard toil, they are paid at the rate of one 'Pali' or two per day per family of 2 to 3 persons. A 'Pali' includes slightly over a seer of maize and chillies, salt and garlic in proportion to the quantity of maize. Half a bottle of liquor once a week is more than a mere temptation to these people who naturally are addicted to alcohol to forget the insults and injuries to their human dignity. The contractor is kind enough to supply one *dhoti* to the male and another one to the female in the name of clothing at the close of the season. This *dhoti* is 2 to 3 yards of cloth with which the men and women can hardly cover their hips and knees. A loan of 5 to 6 maunds of grain is also given to pull on during off-season. This loan the Kathodia can in no case re-pay before



This is the home these Kathodia women have known for the first time as their own at Ambasidaiya in Phalasia Tehsil of Udaipur District

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the next season is on and thus he remains bound to work for the same contractor for many successive seasons.

A group of Kathodia women and children photographed near Ambasidaiya before the Rehabilitation Scheme was launched in 1953-54

During the interval between two seasons, generally extending to 7 months, the Kathodias find themselves in a miserable plight. The rainy season is still worst when the Kathodias without anything which they can call their own, keep themselves on the move from one forest to another, surviving on Mahua and wild root-onion, Koli Kanda, which causes itching even when one touches it. Sometimes these wild roots and grains also become scarce and the Kathodias are left with no other alternative than to live on the hunting of birds and the flesh of dead animals in the forest.

When the season is on the Kathodias report to the contractors to earn a living again. After the day's work the Katha manufactured would be arbitratily weighed against a stone picked up from a nearby Nalla. The Naik or the leader of the Kathodia group, a simple and ignorant man like others of his clan, would agree that the stone was 5 seers even when it was more. When it the Katha is weighed and on this basis the wages calculated. The amount thus summed up is then reduced, often to a few coins, by deducting from the price of the grains, spices, liquor and cloth supplied since the previous season.

The shelters of leaves and bamboos under which they pass their leisure hopelessly fail to serve their purpose during the rains and they would wait for clear weather under a huge tree. The chill winter nights they pass by covering their shivering children with leaves, the grown-ups singing and dancing around a huge jungle fire to the accompaniment of the Dholak.

Socially, the Kathodias are no better than what they are economically. The only link between them and the outside world has been the contractor and his men, who have tended only to stiffen their attitude towards things modern. Their personality and life has marked

A rehabilitated Kathodia family at Ambasidaiya

tribal traits. They are a truthful and hospitable people; on the whole a good stuff of labour, stamina and capacity for hard work.

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speak a mixture of Marathi, Gujrati and Bagdi, the dialect of the local Bhils.

Social customs of the Kathodias resemble those of the Hindus, but the dead are buried instead of being cremated. Five relatives put rice in the mouth of the deceased and some pice or a rupee on his palm. After burial the spot is marked by a stone. Five days later the male members of the family get themselves shaved.

Diwali, Holi and Rakshabandha are the popular festivals when they sing and dance collectively. The worship of Kalika is prevalent among them and often during the illness of their dear ones they would burn the forests to propitiate this deity. Forest drugs are the only medicines they know, but they would rely more on superstitions, witchcraft or Jantra-Mantra for the recovery of a patient.

The birth of a son is announced by the beating of a *Thali*—a plate of brass or bronze. The mother worships the Sun after taking her bath and while the new-born is swung in a cradle of cloth hung under a tree, the members of the family sing and dance to celebrate the event.

Marriage is the best occasion for community dancing. The bridegroom has to pay *Dapa* ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 21 to the bride's father. A *Mandap* is erected by pitching up four sticks of the Saldi tree covered by the leaves of the Jamun tree. Under it the marriage is solemnised with the burning fire as the witness.

An average Kathodia is quite ignorant of his appalling poverty and exploitation. The prolonged sufferings have made him quite indifferent to his surroundings. He would endure all mal-treatment and see his woman beaten and dishonoured by the contractor's men before his very eyes. During the course of half a century many had thought of going back to their home-land, but how could they evade the burden of debt on the one hand and find money to meet the expenses of journey on the other! So they remained stranded and waylaid by the contractors until the rainy season of 1953, when the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, then on a tour of the Bhil areas, came across a group of these lost souls in the woods—almost naked and half-starved people sojourning in the jungle in Kherwara Tehsil. A scheme was soon sanctioned by the Government of India for the rehabilitation of 100 Kathoda families in the first instance. As the scheme was initiated, the vested interests came forward to nullify the good work undertaken and keep these unfortunate people where thy were. Ultimately, however, sense prevailed and 89 families were settled on agricultural lands at Ambasidaiya in the extreme western corner of Udaipur district. In 1954-55, 60 more families were settled at Ambasa, 5 miles from the former settlement.

Under the scheme subsidies for the purchase of bullocks, seeds, agricultural implements and reclamation of land were given at the rate of Rs. 380 per family. Every family was allotted agricultural plots measuring 10 to 15 bighas free of charge. But even this was not enough. Agriculture was a novel adventure for these people who could take to it only gradually with the help and guidance of a whole-time Supervisor posted there for the purpose.

At Ambasidaiya a multi-purpose co-operative society has been formed of all the Kathodia families and another has been organised at Ambasa to look after the rehabilitation work and promote the trade of forest produce like *mahua, mahua seeds, gum, honey and dholi musli*, an indigenous herb used in medicines. A pucca school building dominates their fields where education is imparted to their children with agricultural bias. A part of the building is Panchayatghar, the place of their evening gossips and social education and community entertainment programmes.

From Katha-making and semi-slavery to agriculture and independence was a far cry for these people, who only four years ago, were driven from forest to forest like a flock of sheep. But the progress achieved so far has enabled the settlers at Ambasidaiya to dress themselves well although to their women the *odhani* (Sari), the blouse and the skirt seem apparently to be burdens imposed by the new order. Women in a few well-to-do families have come to possess silver ornaments too. The average income per individual family has so far gone up to Rs. 135 for Kharif and Rs. 162 for Rabi. The income from the forest produce may roughly be estimated at Rs. 170 per family per year.

However, the settlement of these 149 families in the two villages at a total expenditure of about Rs. 1,50,000 so far has solved the problem of their liberation and rehabilitation only partially for about 100 Kathodia families are still in the wilderness leadng the same life of beasts of burden, exploited and starved by their employers.

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HISTORIC BLAIR HOUSE WELCOMES WORLD LEADERS TO WASHINGTON

A dignified, yellow-stucco mansion, popularly known as Blair House, has since 1942 been placed at the disposal of official guests of the President of the United States. Among its famous occupants have been the present Queen of England when she was Princess Elizabeth, the King and Queen of Greece, the Emperor of Ethiopia, the Prime Minister of India, the Chancellor of Germany, the Crown Prince of Japan, the President of Turkey, a Premier of Burma, the President of Liberia, the President and the Premier of France, and the President of Korea.

Situated diagonally across from the White House, Blair House which is now known officially as the President's Guest House, fronts broad Pennsylvania Avenue which offers a quick route to the Capitol and other Government buildings, the various embassies, as well as many cultural and historic points of interest.

Drawing rooms, separated from a large panelled dining room by a central hall, stretch the full length of the first floor of Blair House. A spacious second floor library overlooks a formal garden in the rear of the house. On the third and fourth floors are sitting rooms and bedrooms.

The house is furnished with English, French and American antiques, tapestried chairs, long mirrors. Aubusson rugs, fourposter beds, crystal chandeliers. On the walls hang rare Currier and Ives prints, portraits, oil paintings and an autographed pencil drawing of Abraham Lincoln.

Fine china, glass and antique silver are used in the dining room. Food is prepared on the premises according to the special wishes of the guests.

For three years, from 1948 to 1951 while the White House was being reconstructed, President Harry S. Truman and his family lived at Blair House. In its dining room the President and his Cabinet held their regular weekly luncheon meetings, while the Berlin airlift, the launching of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the resistance to Communist aggression in Korea held the newspaper headlines.

The Blair House takes its name from a Washington family which at one period was referred to as "perhaps the most influential family in the country." Originally built in 1824 by Dr. Joseph Lovell, the first Surgeon General of the U.S. Medical Corps, the house was purchased by Francis Preston Blair in 1836. Six years previously Mr. Blair was asked by President Andrew Jackson to come from the state of Kentucky to edit the Washington *Globe* as a means of winning support for Jackson's policies.

Mr. Blair was personally close to President Jackson, who often visited the Blair House. Over the years, President Martin Van Buren, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun and many other political leaders came to Blair House to consult with Mr. Blair on national policies.

From 1845 to 1852, Blair House was rented successively to the historian George Bancroft while he was U.S. Secretary of the Navy, then to Secretary of the Navy John Y. Mason, Thomas Ewing, the first Secretary of the Interior, and Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury.

Montgomery Blair, son of Francis Preston Blair, moved back to Blair House in 1852. He played a prominent part in the formation of the Republican Party, at the first convention of which his father presided.

President Lincoln appointed Montgomery Blair his Postmaster General. He often walked across the street from the White House to visit the Blair House. In July, 1862, in a small room on the first floor of Blair House, Lincoln wrote the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamtion.

After the death of Montgomery Blair in 1897 the house was occupied by his son, Gist Blair, who lived there until his death in 1940. One of Gist Blair's great concerns was to keep the house and its furnishings intact as a family memorial.

Under such conditions Blair House was purchased by the United States in October, 1942. Two years later the Government bought the adjoining Blair-Lee House which was built next door just before the Civil War for Elizabeth Blair Lee. The only daughter of Francis Preston Blair, she had married Samuel Phillips Lee, who became a rear admiral in the U.S. Navy. A few years ago a passageway was made through the walls to connect both houses.—*USIS*

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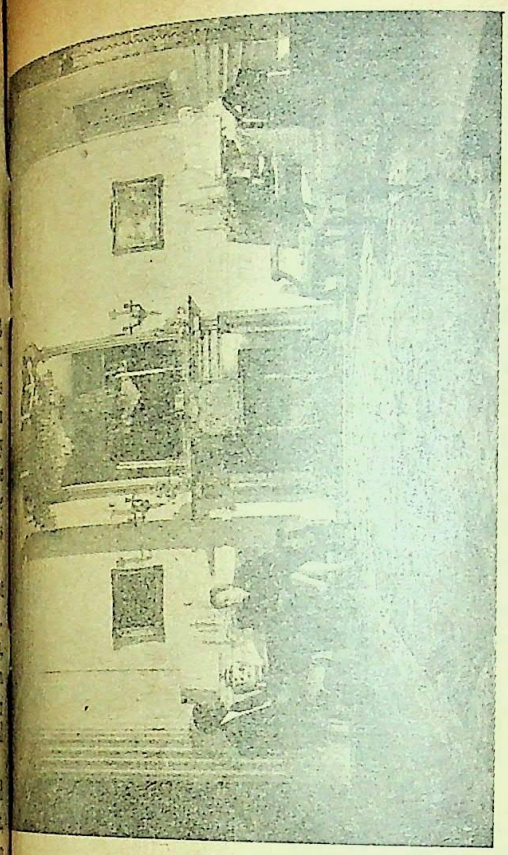
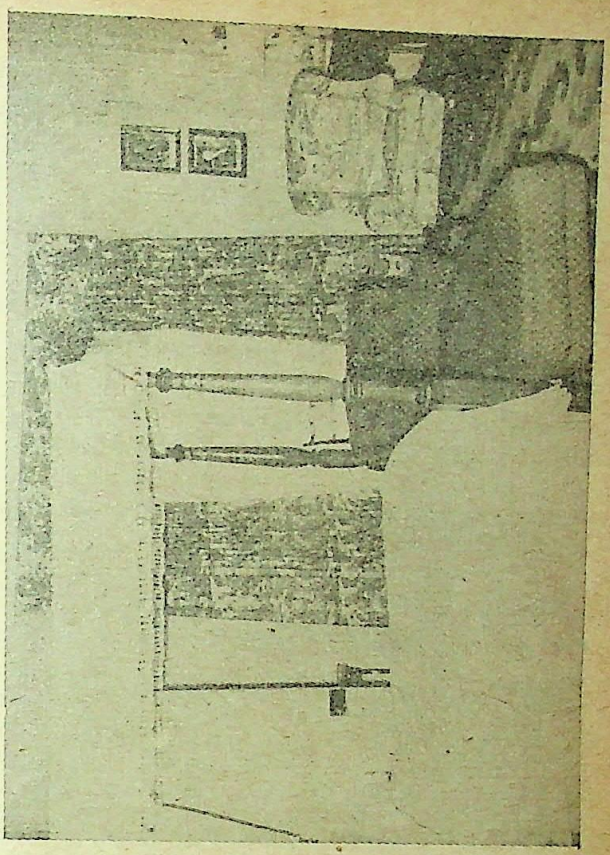
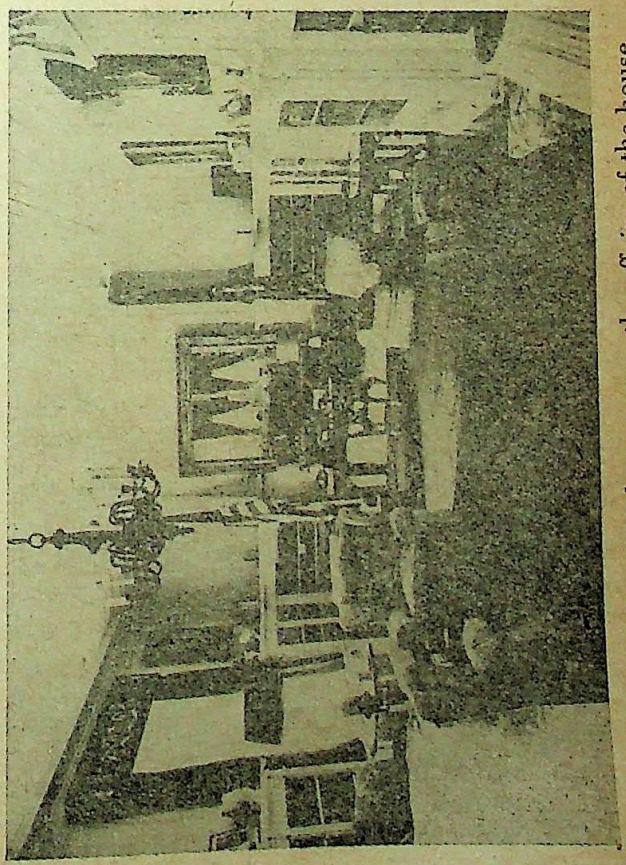


The Library of the Blair House



The President's room in the Blair House

Premier U Nu of Burma leaving Blair House



Mrs. Victoria Geaney who manages the affairs of the house for the U. S. Government

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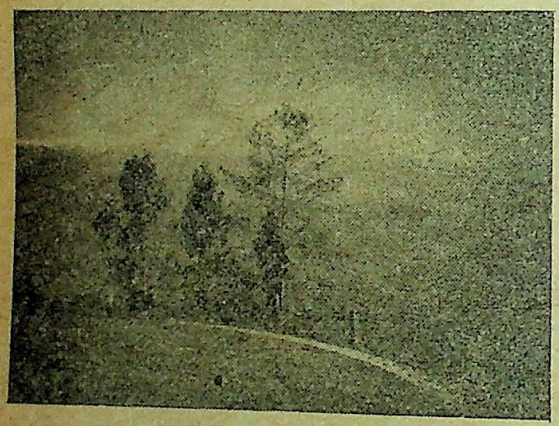
A VISIT TO DARJEELING

By RABINDRANATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.Com.

The hill-stations of the Himalayas have peculiar charms. The scenic beauty, the relative coldness of the place and the sportive feeling evoking the visitor's mind to climb up and down the hills are definitely exhilerating to body and mind. Darjeeling, aptly called 'the queen of the hills', is superb. The gorgeousness of Kanchanjangha covered all over her peaks with fleecy white snow is really a wonderful sight to look at. She has been alluring people particularly of the plains from time immemorial to stand by and gaze at her colourful grace and beauty making one to forget his earthly cares and anxieties for the time being. No pen can describe the wonderful display of colour on her peaks during sunrise and sunset.



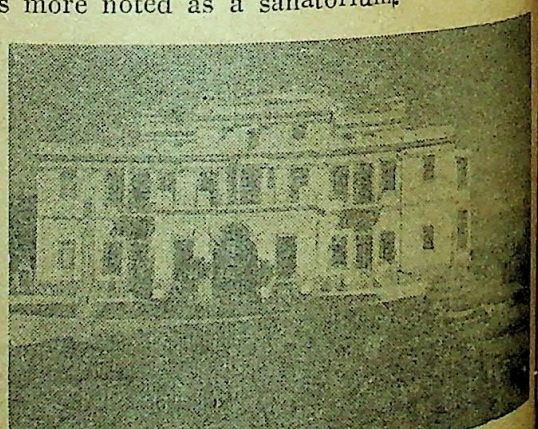
Kanchanjangha from Rajbhavan

This realm of beauty has an interesting history behind it. Prior to 1835 it was in the territory of Bhutan. In the same year the then British ruler of India received it as a gift from the king of Bhutan when it was practically no man's land. Immediately it was attached to and came within the boundary of Bengal. Since then the hill tribes, *viz.*, Gurkhas, Bhutias and Lepchas have been immigrating together with the Bengalis because of the economic advancement of the place. At present the majority of the population are Bengalis and Gurkhas, and the other hill tribes are gradually merging into Gurkha community. These people generally speak in Khaskura language which has affinity with that of Rajputana. Now-a-days the hill tribes are fast growing modern through education and the contact of world tourists.

Our sojourn was planned in proper time when the cold air of winter was fast fading away with the advent of spring, the flora attiring with the cloak of new green leaves, the fauna setting out for breathing in the open air the rumbling streams rushing forth and the sky looking turquoise blue.

Visitors go to the hill-stations primarily for two objectives—respite and sporting purposes. We were in the latter group. The odd journey between Calcutta and Darjeeling did not embarrass us at all. It gave us varieties of enjoyment. From broad-gauge to steamer to meter gauge and then to narrow gauge were full of fun. To leave one sort of conveyance with bag and baggage and to enter the other with an untiring spirit and energy was as exciting as anything could be.

The journey from Siliguri to Darjeeling by train capitivated our mind. The rail-road of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway is a unique engineering feat. The train goes sometimes straight, sometimes halts abruptly to turn back and then again moves up by which a considerable height is covered. The natural view of this place is always appreciated by the connoisseur of beauty. On the way, we saw Kurseong the second and the most important hill-station of this region. The population is remarkable. Educational institutions, markets and shops have come into existence through the growing need of the people. But it is more noted as a sanatorium.



Rajbhavan

Our party was composed of six young [illegible]. When we reached Darjeeling it was midday. The station is situated at the height of 6812 ft. above sea-level. At this time the weather of this place was similar to that of Calcutta in December

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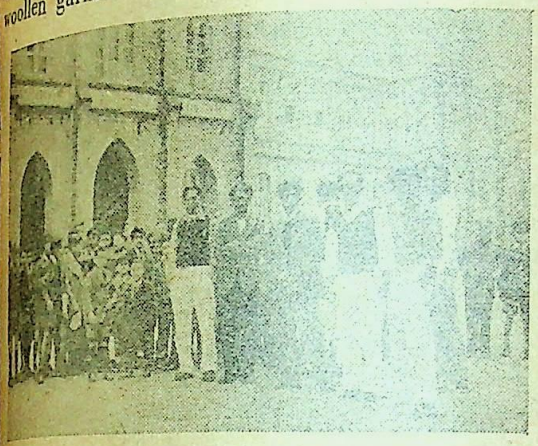
What a difference of temperature was recorded in the thermometer between plains and the hills! While Calcutta was sweltering with tremendous heat, the people of Darjeeling were still using woollen garments and taking hot baths.

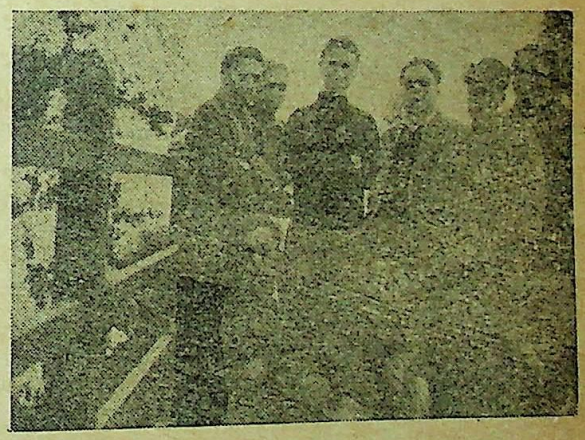


A Darjeeling School of repute

Towards Darjeeling, Ghoom is the highest point which is above 8000 ft., high. The train goes downward from here towards north making the entire picturesque Darjeeling visible. More conspicuous than this is the glamorous Kanchanjangha which seemed to us that she was situated at one end of the town but the distance was considerable. The natural vegetation of Darjeeling is worth seeing. Of these vegetations cinchona plays an important part for humanitarian purposes. Most of the quinine of the world is being manufactured and exported from this place. Besides plantations of good quality tea, fir, pines and other varieties of trees adorn the town and its sorroundings in a pleasant setting.

Immediately after arriving at a hotel on Lebenla Road we chalked out a plan to visit the spots worth seeing. The most attractive place of the hill-station is the Mall. We pierced the heart of the town towards the Mall on foot. On both sides of the streets there were big and small shops dealing in varieties of goods. We reached the Mall within a quarter of an hour from our hotel. It was a square plot of land with well-planned position. On either side there were shops, the Tourists Information Office, the Children's park and horses' stables. From the northern side of the Mall a narrow path went downhill. A few minutes' walk would lead one to a sacred place, sacred to all Indians especially to the Bengalis, "The Step Aside," where the immortal Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das breathed his last. Now it is a public hospital.

From the Mall we took recourse to riding which was very amusing. We rode to the Birch Hill though a narrow zig-zag way. The top of the hill was well-decorated with nursery. There were deck chairs to sit on. The view of Kanchanjangha was very clear from this summit. On another peak stood the magnificent Raj Bhavan which a few years back was practically closed to the public. But now it is open to all. We had the opportunity of visiting the beautiful garden within the compound of the Raj Bhavan which we enjoyed fully. Below Raj Bhavan the Himalayan Mountaineering School has newly been started. Towards further north was Lebong, the site for military barracks and a race-course ground. On way back we halted at St. Joseph's School. It is an old institution with spacious compound. We met students. They hailed from different parts of the country. Their sense of discipline and courtesy gave us much pleasure. Next, we went down the hill where we found the 'Happy Valley' tea garden and the Botanical garden. 'Happy Valley' tea is said to be one of the best of its kind. We saw the process of manufacturing tea. In the Botanical garden we were astonished to see varieties of trees and orchids.



We met Mr. Norkay Tenzing

When we were about to arrive at our hotel a patch of cloud appeared and overcast the horizon. It gradually grew in density. Within a few minutes it began to drizzle and we got wet. This state continued for the whole day. The entire Darjeeling town was veiled with a white sheet of fog.

After two days there was an end of such weather and without losing further time we started for Kalimpong by a jeep car. Kalimpong is situated on the eastern range of Darjeeling and is 4000 ft., high. The distance by road is about 42 miles. It takes about six hours for the up and down journey. Though Kalimpong is easier to go from Siliguri yet we had heard the name of Darjeeling-Kalimpong road and

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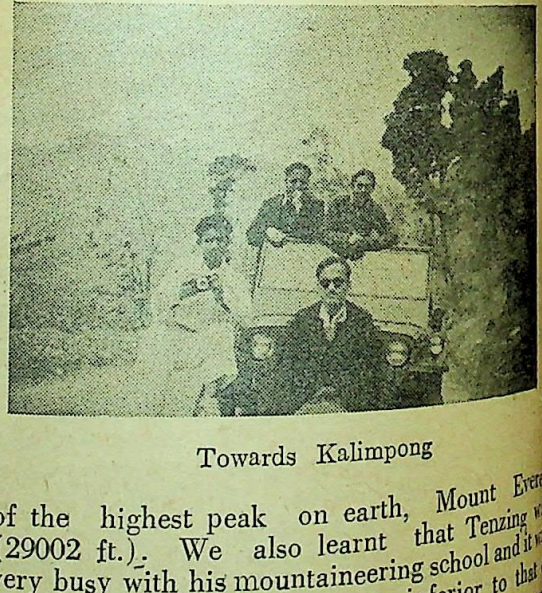
its thrilling journey. Visitors, it was reported, go to Kalimpong by this road to enjoy the panoramic sight. When our car was crawling from the steep mountain towards the bank of the roaring Teesta at the bottom of the two mountain ranges, amidst the bush of firs against the background of peaks touching the horizon, the silvery Teesta was seen beyond and varieties of flowery plants and tea gardens stretched in an unending procession. We were enraptured with the beauties of nature.

With the niece of Tenzing

Kalimpong is a small hilly town and noted for its business centre. It connects the Indian Union with countries in the heart of the Himalayas. People come from Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet with sheep, goats and wool to exchange for their daily necessities. We saw all the places of interest there, *viz.*, nursing homes, cottage industry, churches and the market. We came back from Kalimpong the same afternoon.

Next day in the late hours of night we started for the Tiger Hill to see Mount Everest and sunrise against the silvery Kanchanjangha. When it was two hours yet to be dawn we boarded a jeep car. Our car was slowly getting up the hill with a roaring sound of its engine breaking the silence of the late hours of night. The search-light of other cars followed us. It was no doubt an adventurous trip. Our car stopped at 300 ft. below the highest point of our goal. We started on foot. It was severely cold and our leg was aching as we climbed. The path was very steep and required heavy physical strain. Though the top of the Tiger Hill had the provision of parking cars it was extremely risky to go there by car.

It was just a quarter to five when the eastern horizon was coming into light from darkness. The sky was becoming beautifully pink and crimson. Then after various changes in colour it reflected as dazzling silvery white against the snow peaks of Kanchanjangha. Mount Everest was very far from the Tiger Hill from which only the remote peak was seen amidst vapours rising from it. Leaving at 6-30 A.M. we went straight to another peak opposite to it. Between them at the bottom lay a wide space of land sorrounded by hills on all sides where two water reservoirs were constructed. These are 'Senchal lakes'. Water is supplied to Darjeeling town from these lakes. To enter here permission was required. We secured it from the Municipal authorities. On our way back we halted at Rose Bank, the summer residence of Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan. It looked similar to Raj Bhavan. From here the house of Mr. Tenzing was visible. We had already visited his house on several occasions to meet him but we were baffled. But fortune favoured us this time. Mr. Norkay Tenzing was at home. We were cordially welcomed by him and were delighted to learn from his lips about his famous and successful conquest



Towards Kalimpong

of the highest peak on earth, Mount Everest (29002 ft.). We also learnt that Tenzing was very busy with his mountaineering school and it was his aim to make it in no way inferior to that of any Swiss School on the Alps, the playground of Europe. He would try to remove the apathy of the Eastern world, particularly the people of the tropical and sub-tropical regions, towards mountaineering sports in spite of the fact that the world's largest and highest mountain was within their easy reach. We pray to God that his dream may come to fruition in the near future.

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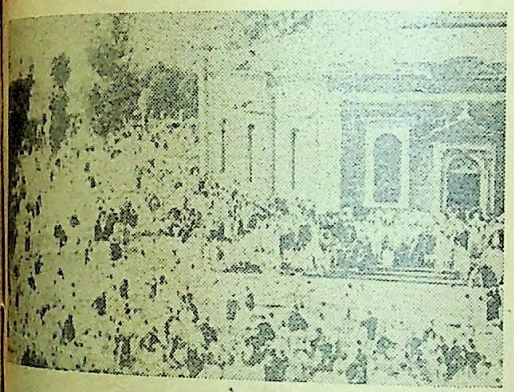
GLIMPSES OF ETHIOPIA

By ZAMIR HASAN KAZMI

INDO-ETHIOPIAN links date from antiquity. Friendly relations between India and Ethiopia can be traced as far back as the seventh century B.C. when there was a regular exchange of goods between the two countries. The old contacts were re-established during World War II when the gallant Indian soldiers helped their African brethren throw off the cruel fascist yoke.



The Church of St. George at Addis Ababa

Emperor Haile Sellasie's recent visit to this country has not only revived the sweet memories of the age-old ties but has also brought the two of the world's ancient countries much closer.

The word 'Abyssinia' by which the country was formerly known, is tabooed by the Ethiopians because it connotes 'mixed'. It is now officially called 'Ethiopia' after a Greek word meaning 'burnt face'.

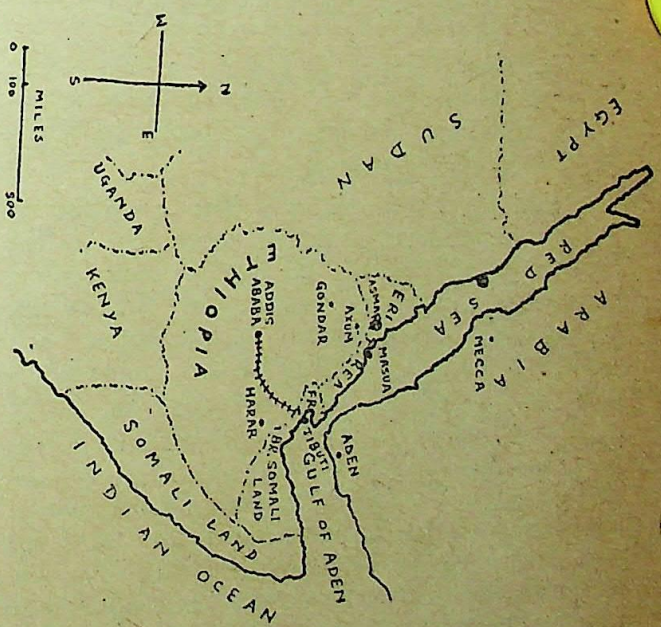
Situated in the north-east Africa, Ethiopia is a high table-land with a delightful climate, dotted with snow-clad peaks and scored by deep chasms, a fringe of low-lying desert around and within it a miscellany of varied races and religions.

Ethiopia put together with Eritrea which was federated with it in 1952, covers an area of nearly 4,000,000 square miles and estimates of its population range from 15 to 20 million. Half of the population is Christian and the rest is either Moslim or Pagan.

The country has vast tracts of virgin soil, untapped deposits of mineral wealth and abundant supply of water.

Ethiopia's beautiful hills, smilling dales, magnificent lakes and numerous rivers, green fields and thick forests, fauna and fascinating ancient buildings make it a paradise for curious tourists.

Ethiopian history goes back to three thousand years. A popular Ethiopian legend has it that the fame of wisdom and the miraculous healing power possessed by King Solomon of Palestine reached the ears of the celebrated Queen of Sheba who suffered from a mysterious disease; and she went all the way to Jerusalem to see if Hakim Solomon could help her. The legend goes that the royal meeting united both the sovereigns in a life-long partnership and the child—Menelik I—who was born to them, ascended the throne of Ethiopia in 930 BC.; and all the Ethiopian monarchs are the descendants of that illustrious potentate.



Learned and enlightened, Emperor Haile Sellasie—the name means 'Power of Trinity' —commands great respect among his people. Besides Amharic, the official language of his multilingual kingdom, the King speaks English and French fluently. Despite his apparently weak physique and advancing age, he works most of the day and much of the night to bring his primitive country into step with the modern world.

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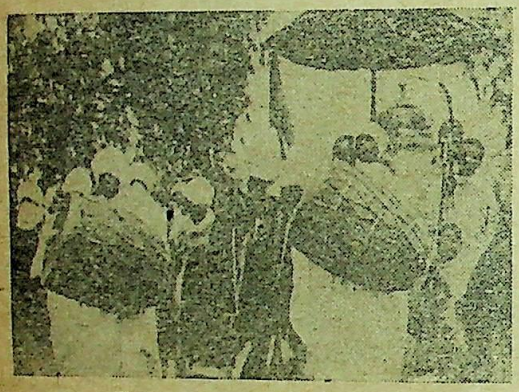
A firm believer in the democratic system of Government, Emperor Haile Sellasie granted a Constitution to his subjects just after his Coronation in 1930 and revised it in November, 1955 delegating greater prerogatives to his people through their elected representatives. He has established a net-work of schools and colleges throughout the country, has sent pick of the flowering youth abroad for training and is struggling against the unprogressive feudal-lords to develop the enormous reserves of the sub-soil wealth of his domain.



A Christian procession in Addis Ababa accompanied by throbbing drums, bells and brass-sistra

In short, Haile Sellasie is a completely devoted patriot who is gradually and steadfastly directing his backward people towards progressive enlightenment.

Ethiopia has in the past been a victim of Italian imperialism. Italian aggression on the country goes back to the last century when encouraged by their successes in Eritrea and Somaliland, the Italians invaded the vast Ethiopian hinterland in 1896 but in the battle that was fought at Adua, Emperor Menelik II repulsed the aggressors with frightful slaughter.

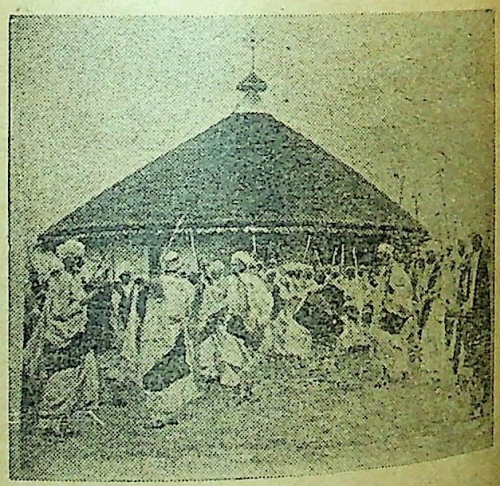
Ethiopians continued to enjoy freedom unchallenged till October, 1935 when a minor border clash at Mal-Mal, a water-station in the desert gave the much-desired opportunity to Mussolini to march his fascist troops into the country with modern arms, aeroplanes and gases. The freedom-loving and fearless Ethiopians put up a heroic resistance with whatever arms they had but were subjugated with the utmost barbarity.

Undaunted by this forcible occupation of their country, the Ethiopian patriots continued to wage a relentless guerilla war against the enemy until in 1941, the intruders were finally overthrown with the help of the British and the Indian troops. The enthusiasm and courage with which the Indian soldiers fought to liberate their oppressed brethren won for them the eternal love and veneration of the Ethiopian people.

Religion plays a major part in the life of the Christian population which follows the Coptic Church, an ancient branch of Christianity. Accompanied by melodious tolling of bells, chanting of rituals and dancing by the priests to the cadence of cymbals, drums and brass-sistra, the weekly church service lasts throughout the night and has much in common with the religious rites performed by the Jews during the days of King Solomon.

Except for the criminal cases which are decided by the official courts, the litigants generally approach a third person and request him to act as a judge in their dispute. The parties plead their cases before the judge thus chosen and abide by his decision.

Amidst much merry-making and prolonged feasting, the marriage ceremonies are performed both according to the religious rites and the ancient customs of the land. In case of divorce, the chattels pooled at the marriage are equally divided among the divorced couples, and their children below the age of three remain with their mothers.



Ethiopian priests dancing in front of a church

Surrounded and punctuated by the fragrant and fast-growing Eucalyptus trees, Addis Ababa the capital of the country sprawls over many hills and reminds one of the topography of ancient Rome. Two rivers run through the hill-girt city which houses about a quater million people. Constructed on the summit of a hill are the Imperial Palace, the Audience-Hall and the Parliament building while another hill is crowned by the Church of St. George which was built in commemoration of the great victory at Adua.

With modern buildings rapidly replacing the age-old *tukols* or the round huts and its mud-

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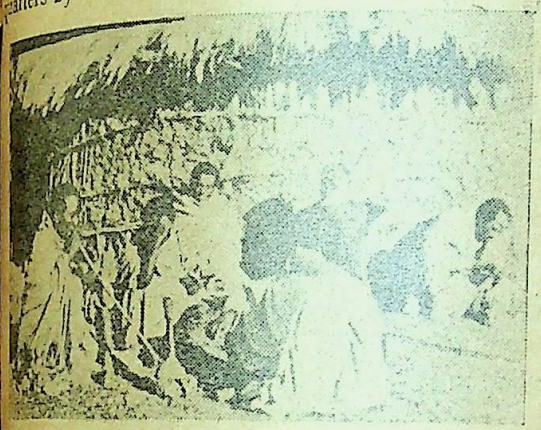
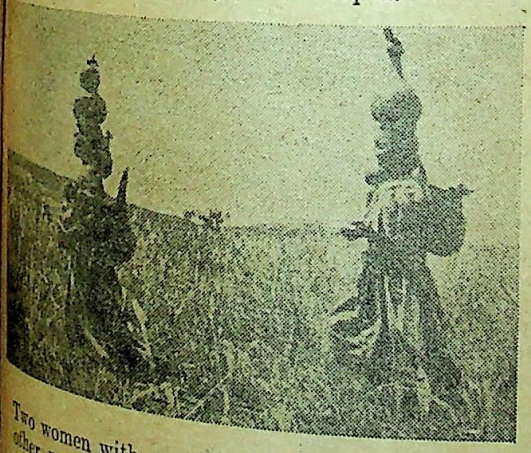
flooded with the European and American goods, the Ethiopian metropolis appears to be well on the road to westernization. 50-mile-long French owned railway line—the only one in the country —connects Addis Ababa with Jibuti, the head-quarters of the French Somaliland on the Gulf of Aden. The capital is also linked up with the Eritrean Red-Sea ports and other provincial head-quarters by motorable roads.



Ethiopian peasants enjoying hubble-bubble (*hukka*) outside a hut

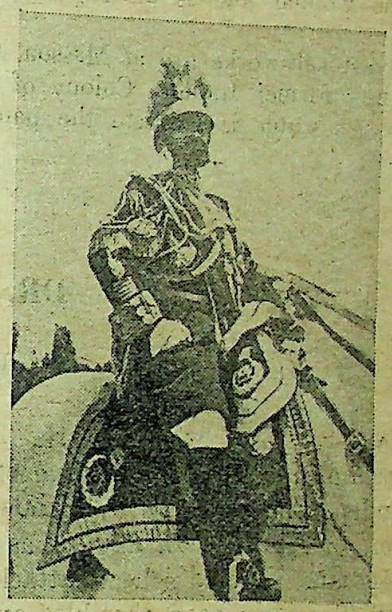
Centuries of history and legend sorround the ancient city of Axum lying far away in the north-west. Glories of country's past are enshrined in this great old town where all the Ethiopian rulers—right from the founder of the dynasty down to the present monarch—have been crowned. The proposed excavation of the archaeological treasures of Axum will unravel many a mystery which shroud the history of Ehtiopia.



Two women with water-jars on their heads and other necessaries of life on their backs, passing through a rye-field

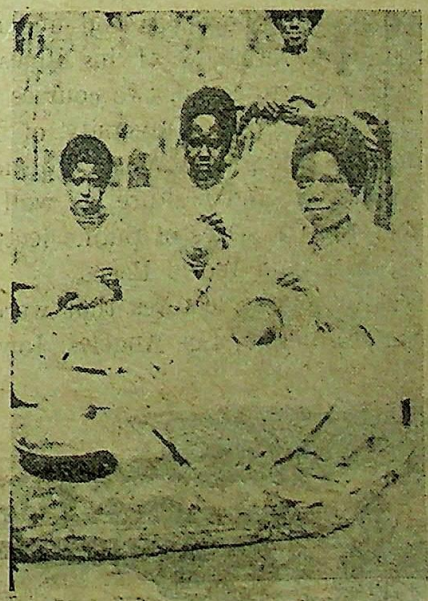
Among other notable towns are Harar, the picturesque capital at the province of the same name and the religious centre of the Ethiopian Moslems; Goudar, once the capital of the kingdom where stand the ruins of some of the fine buildings erected by the Portuguese architects in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Lalibola which is known as the 'Jerusalem of Ehiopia,' is famous for its wonderful churches hewn out of the rocks in the twelfth century; and Asmara, the decently built capital of Eritrea.

Coffee, a popular beverage, is by far the most profitable export of the country. Originally grown in Kafa, a province in southern Ethiopia



King Haile Sellasie

whence it derives its name, Coffee is now extensively cultivated in the fertile province of Harar, the 'Garden of Ethiopia.'



Curly-haired Ethiopian women weaving baskets. Basket-weaving is one of the most important and popular cottage industries of Ethiopia

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Among agricultural produce are *teff* (a kind of millet used for bread-making), barley, maize, wheat, pepper and cotton. Agriculture is still carried on mainly by primitive methods but sufficient crops are grown to provide for home consumption.

Manufacture is confined to home-made cotton cloth, with finer woven fabrics and coarsely decorated leather. Basket-weaving is popular among the women and is an important cottage industry.

The vast salt-works are at Massua, the main port of the former Italian Colony of Eritrea. There the sea-water is led isto the pans or the basins formed by the dykes and the intense heat of the Eritrean Coast quickly dries up the brine leaving deposits of crystallised salt.

Salt-making is the chief industry of the country.

Despite the lack of funds and technical skill which stand in the way of Emperor Haile Sellasie's plan for the rapid development of the rich agricultural and mineral resources of his country and for harnessing its limited water power, Ethiopia has, since the end of World War II, made a remarkable progress all round under His Majesty's benevolent and enlightened rule.

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DR. TARAKNATH DAS

By LEON SINDER

Dr. Taraknath Das, whose work has been justly acclaimed and whose lifetime efforts for Indian independence are so well known to all the readers of *The Modern Review*, as they are to most Indians, suffered a heart attack in New York City. The same heart that bled and fought for India's freedom now fought for Dr. Das's life and, we are happy to report, has succeeded in winning the fight. Although Dr. Das is now on the road to recovery, the fight to foster greater friendship between India and the West, based upon greater knowledge and understanding, has suffered the blow of his illness with him. Dr. Das has to cancel two courses he was planning to give at the University of Hawaii this summer on India and World Politics, and Indian Civilization and Culture, as well as the opening lecture of a series of public lectures on the Middle East and World Peace.

A series of public lectures that were to be held in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Iowa and Chicago on India and the Current International Relations that would have attracted large audiences as is usual with Dr. Das, were also cancelled. The students at the University of Hawaii, India and the Americans fortunate enough to attend these lectures, all will be a bit poorer by this unfortunate illness. In a world so beset by so many troubles, the strong, sane and wise voice of understanding, as personified by a Taraknath Das, is sorely missed even for a little while. So we all say, in India and in America, get well soon . . . you are needed now as much as when you were in the forefront of India's and Asia's fight for freedom and dignity.*

* June 15, 1957.—Today was his 73rd birthday, and it was celebrated quietly by his niece Nilima Das at the Fifth Avenue Flower Hospital of New York with one 'mango'—the symbol of success in India—and symbol of India.

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OPIUM PROHIBITION IN WEST BENGAL

By B. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., LL.B., D.J.

Two views, diametrically opposed to each other, long held the field in the matter of Opium prohibition in India. The official view of the British Government was embodied in the famous Despatch of Lord Hardinge in 1911 stating that the prohibition of Opium-eating in India, we regard as impossible, and any attempt at it is fraught with the most serious consequences to the people and the Government." The All-India Congress Committee resolution in 1924, on the other hand, called for a total prohibition of opium consumption, and was typical of the public opinion in this country.

A system of rationing in opium has been in force in West Bengal for the last four years. Two lakhs of registered opium-eaters were each given a ration-card with quotas which have been subjected to progressive reduction from year to year. In the next few months, however, all this will go, and opium will be totally prohibited throughout the State. A few States have already given a lead in the matter. The target-date for West Bengal and a few other States is the March, 1958. The remaining States will follow suit in course of another year. This does not, of course, mean that India will have nothing to do with opium any more. The cultivation of poppy, the source of opium, will in part, continue on a controlled scale in order to feed the Central Opium Factories at Ghazipur and Neemuch. Opium, thus produced, will be mainly used for medicinal and scientific purposes including the rest for the manufacture of opium alkaloids which has a ready market at home and abroad.

Thanks to the insistent public opinion in the country as also to the international criticism of the Indian policy, the deleterious effects of opium have at last been recognized. The story of its use is long and interesting. We have the authority of Abul Fazl's "Institutes of Akbar" to tell us that the use of opium for infants was common in Malwa as far back as the 16th century. The activities of the British Society for the suppression of the opium trade resulted in the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1893 to enquire into all the circumstances connected with the production and the sale of Indian opium. It was a time when opium was freely administered to children by their mothers in many parts of India. This was sometimes done to prevent diarrhoea and other infantile ailments or to correct certain properties in the milk, but mostly to lull the children to sleep so that the mothers could pursue their duties at home or in the fields undisturbed. The adults used the drug widely as a stimulant or in the popular belief of its medicinal value. Cases of opium-smoking and the use of decoction were not unknown. Yet the Commission concluded that "the obstacles, administrative, financial, and political, to a system of prohibition appear to us to be at present insurmountable." The chief obstacle to the enforcement of prohibition, it pointed out, was the disposition of the people of India, "a matter on which we are specially required to report by the Order of Reference." Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P., in his minute of dissent to the report of the Commission, however, stated that the "Minutes of evidence contain a large body of testimony showing that prohibition or restriction would be approved by the mass of the people in many parts of India. More than a hundred witnesses (three-fourths of whom are natives of India were in favour of prohibition in addition to a number of others who desired some form of restriction short of prohibition."

The findings of the Royal Commission were a guide to the British Opium policy in India throughout. This policy was backed by medical and expert advice, and the readers may be interested to know how even the doctors differed in their approach. Sir Charles Macwatt, Director-General, Indian Medical Service (in 1925), described "Opium as one of the greatest blessings to India, far more than can be realised by residents in Western countries . . . . I myself when I travel, as well as at home, always keep for personal use, as necessary, a certain amount of some preparotion of opium; and I should feel very much if I were not a medical man and could not obtain it." But even Sir Charles could not but say that "its abuse may be one of the greatest curses." The risk of laymen

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administering opium doses to themselves cannot be over-emphasized.

The twenties of the present century saw the formation of public opinion against the Government's Opium policy. A series of articles by Mr. Kodanda Rao appeared in the *Servant of India*. The Indian National Congress authorized Rev. C. F. Andrews to make an unofficial enquiry into the question of Indian opium with special reference to Assam. The International Opium Conference, held about this time, received a petition from India demanding world-wide restriction of the traffic in narcotic drugs to the needs of medicine and science. The petition was signed, among others, by Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Needless to say, the production of opium was grossly in excess of the medical or scientific needs of the country, and it was an imperative necessity then, no less than it is now, to abolish opium traffic for purposes of revenue, thereby ensuring the moral well-being of the people.

The association with the example of other addicts is the usual cause of taking to opium. Disease came next as a cause of addiction. Referring to the national leaders' demand for immediate prohibition, Mr. H. C. Alexander, the author of the book, *Narcotics in India and South Asia*, rightly observed:

> "The official already quoted and some other Europeans I met declare that this would mean the death of thousands of addicts. This seems incredible. I spoke to a prison medical officer, who told me that many opium-addicts go to prison, and he never allows them any opium there; in many years' experience, he had only once thought it wise to give a dose for two or three days. For the first few days, he said, the addicts feel very miserble and think that they will die; they continue in a mad state for about a month; aftr three months, without opium, they are entirely new men, robust and strong, hardly recognisable even by their own wives. Testimony to the same effect was given before the Jubbulpore Opium Enquiry Committee; only five per cent of the opium-addicts who go to prison require the drug, and even they are broken of the habit within a fortnight. Col. R. N. Chopra's account of withdrawal symptoms is almost to the same effect. The essential thing is that a man should know that his source of supply is cut off. Then he will soon get rid of the craving."

A resolution to purge the country of "this terrible social, economic, and moral evil" moved by no less a person than Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary in the Council of State in 1925, was rejected by the Government. At last, in 1947, the Government of India bowed to the international opinion and the wishes of the people in the country, and declared as their policy "the prohibition of Opium production except for medical and scientific use." The All-India Opium Conference, 1949, recommended that within a maximum period of ten years, the use of opium for other than scientific and medical purposes should be totally prohibited. A progressive annual ten per cent cut in production and internal supplies came into force during the financial year 1949-50. We are now well on the way to achieve Opium prohibition in this country. The example of China is before us. A drastic action by the Government, it is said, rid that country of the widespread evil of opium. We, in this country, have been following a gradual programme in the matter and have every reason to expect an abiding success. The All-India Narcotics Board has been doing useful work in this connection. The Government considers sympathetically every case of acute hardship to the opium-addicts as far as its means permit. A scheme of hospitalization is under preparation and is designed to treat the obstinate cases of addiction.

The baneful drug will soon be a thing of the past. With increased medical facilities in the country, the quasi-medical uses of opium constitute a threat to the national health. The production of the drug will be strictly limited to the requirements of science and medicine, and all the available resources will be utilized to manufacture opium-alkaloids under the supervision of the Government of India. This new-started industry has a bright future and is bound to give a fillip to India's exports for earning dollars. Opium, the killer, will, thus, undergo a sea-change in its role and turn into a blessing to the country. The field of constructive activities has known many a silent and far-reaching achievement. The Opium prohibition is surely a significant step in that direction.

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RELIGIOSITY OF OMAR KHAIYAM

By Prof. Dr. MOHAMMAD YASIN, M.A., LLB., Ph.D.

Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the Bough,
A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse—and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
And Wilderness is Paradise enow.

—Khaiyam

Omar Khaiyam needs no introduction. Born at Nishapur in Khorasan in the latter half of the eleventh century of the Christian era, and dead within the first quarter of the twelfth, Omar has been raised to the pinnacle of prominence and popularity from the limbo of oblivion in which he had otherwise been destined to live. Today, Khaiyam's adherents hail from all over the world disregarding the barriers of race and religion. He is woshipped as an apostle who preached the gospel of "eat, drink and be merry"—a doctrine having the charms of its own, and most practical in many ways.

Khaiyam's outloook of life and the world has been a matter of great controversy and speculation. Zealots of various schools of philosophy and religion try to snatch away Khaiyam within their fold. Some believe him to be a mystic of high order. Others regard him to be a man of religion. There are also others who condemn Omar Khaiyam as the most sensuous of men, having nothing to do with religion or philosophy and satisfying his lust with women and wine. Cold critics hold that Khaiyam offers nothing categorical. He was a poet, pure and simple, and in the flights of poetic imagination wrote what he felt and perceived at different times and in varying circumstances. He has no cut-and-dried system of thought whatsoever. But a dispassionate study of Khaiyam based on his *Rubaiyat* reveals the man and his philosophy.

The venom poured by Khaiyam on the instability of the world and its passing glory, the emphasis on the Present, the homage paid to wine, his all-wise, and a disregard for worldly pursuits and his gradual hardness as Khaiyam moves on to expound a philosophy of life, characteristic of himself.

Khaiyam teaches that a man must care for the Present as he thinks it fruitless to brood over the dead Past which is not to return. The Future is unforeseen, and no one could foretell what is to come. Far-sighted and sagacious persons may ridicule it as unwise, but Khaiyam knows that the element of accident plays the determining role in a man's life. Time at one's disposal is very short; hence he hastens to make the best of it:

Ah, fill the Cup:—what boots it to repeat
How Time is slipping underneath our Feet:

Unborn Tomorrow, and dead Yesterday,
Why fret about them if Today be sweet!

One Moment in Annihilation's Waste,
One Movement, of the Well of Life to taste—

The Stars are setting and the Caravan
Starts for the Dawn of Nothing—Oh, make haste!

Notwithstanding the outward profession of profligacy and frivolity there is a deep and touching strain of sobriety in Khaiyam, the man and the philosopher. Khaiyam is not inconsistent, neither does he indulge in hasty generalisations. He ponders over the matter, argues, and then comes to a conclusion—a creed for himself, an article of faith for his admirers almost sacred like any book of religion.

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Khaiyam says:

Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint, and heard great Argument
About it and about: but evermore
Came out by the same Door as in I went.

Our philosopher is in search of Truth, the Ultimate Reality, and no one can challenge his honest endeavours. But lo! he returns dissatisfied from the doors of the doctors of religion and philosophy, the gods on earth. He then turns to Heaven:

Then to the rolling Heav'n itself I cried,
Asking, "What Lamp had Destiny to guide
Her little Children stumbing in the Dark?"
And—"A blind Understanding!" Heav'n replied.

Religion is a matter of belief and blind following. It is a folly to test it on the scales of reason. Providence wanted to satisfy an inquisitive mind with an un-questioning faith, the very antithesis of the man and his mind. Khaiyam wanted to know something about God and the Universe, and he was disappointed. Someone whispered into his ears that the intellect of a man is limited. Man is a finite being and it is impossible for a finite being to know the Infinite God, the Supreme Intellect. He clearly saw the futility of human intellect and he "divorced the barren reason."

Khaiyam never rebelled against God rather he became a staunch believer in Predestination and the Will of God:

The Ball no Question makes of Ayes and Noes,
But Right or Left as strikes the Player goes;
And He that toss'd Thee down into the Field,
He knows about it all—He knows—He knows!

Oh Thou, who dids't with Pitfall and with Gin
Beset the Road I was to wander in,
Thou wilt not with Predestination round
Enmesh me and impute my Fall to sin?

Khaiyam believed that he is not responsible for his doings. He is only a puppet dancing on the world's stage at the instance of others. There is no sense in being gloomy and downcast or to repent for what is known as sin. Khaiyam cheers us: Get up and be merry and he would say:

How long, how long, in infinite Pursuit
Of This and That endeavour and dispute?
Better be merry with the fruitful Grape
Than sadden after none, or bitter Fruit.

Khaiyam tried and failed, and he failed on the right side. What Khaiyam has the boldness to avow and makes of it no secret, others conceal and confuse. They grope in the dark and chase a mirage, unattainable and incomprehensible. The mystery of heaven is still unsolved. God is worshipped, revered, and dreaded but is still unknown. God is Truth and Truth is God and Khaiyam, following in the footsteps of the righteous, believed as a matter of serious conviction that Truth could not be explored and analysed. And hence,

But leave the Wise to wrangle, and with me
The Quarrel of the Universe let be:
And, in some corner of the Hubbub couch'd,
Make Game of that which makes as much of Me.

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THE POEMS OF SOROJINI NAIDU

By SATYA GANGOPADHYAYA

PROMENADING through the streets of the sprawling city of Hyderabad, one suddenly comes across a quiet walled bungalow with bushy tall trees casting shadow on the entrance, where a marble plate announces its name "The Golden Threshold." A furtive look inside discovers a rosy swing in the verandah and some lonely bird croons in some corner. Here lived Sm. Sorojini Naidu, the nightingale of India. *The Golden Threshold* is the name of her favourite book of poems.

Altogether she wrote three books of poems —*The Broken Wing*, *The Bird of Time* and *The Golden Threshold*. Most of the poems were written at a comparatively tender age when she was in England for study. Her poetry is said to have sprung from Mathematics, but it does not smack of the latter's abstruseness. She acquired surprising mastery over the English language even at that age. Even a casual study of her poems convinces about her large stock of words and their sensitive application. It is no wonder that she later grew to be one of the best writers in English in this country.

Love has always inspired the best and the majority of the world's literary works. Sm. Naidu is no exception; her love-poems outnumber all others. Sometimes their sincerity and her romantic approach to love reminds one of the romantic poets of England. Here is one instance:

Forgive me the sin of mine eyes,
O Love, if they dared for a space
Invade the dear shrine of your face
With eager, insistent delight,
Like wild birds intrepid of flight
That raid the high sanctuaried skies—
O pardon the sin of mine eyes!
(*The Sins of Love*)

Or we may quote the first stanza of her poem entitled "Devotion":

Take my flesh to feed your dogs if
you choose,
Water your garden trees with my blood
if you will,
Turn my heart into ashes, my dream
into dust,
Am I not yours, O Love, to cherish
or kill?

And in her love-poems what surprises is a strain of melancholia, a sigh for unfulfilled desire and for absence of reciprocation. Such attitude is born of wide experience which is not expected in a young poet. In "Caprice," she compares her heart and soul with a ravished flower and an emptied wine-cup, flung away:

You held a wild flower in your finger
tips,
Idly you pressed it to indifferent lips,
Idly tore its crimson leaves apart,
Alas! it was my heart.
You held a wine-cup in your finger-tips,
Lightly you raised it to indifferent lips,
Lightly you drank and flung away the
bowl,
Alas it was my soul.

Or, in "Destiny," the unfaithfulness of man and the consequent suffering of the woman are described in these touching lines:

Love came, with his ivory flute,
His pleading eye, and winged foot.
"I am weary," he murmured, "O let
me rest
In the shelterng joy of your fragrant
breast."
At dawn he fled and he left no token....
Who cares if a woman's heart be broken?

This tone of frustration in love dominates her poems. The reader hardly comes across one which gives expression to the joy of love and life.

The most dynamic feminine personality among the freedom-fighters of later days could be traced in poet Sorojini as well. Apart from writing poems on the yearning for freedom and for the rejuvenation of the motherland, such as

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"To India," "The Gift of India" "Memorial Verses," "An Anthem of Love," etc., she also associated such personalities as M. A. Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi and Gokhale with her verses. Referring to her book *The Broken Wing*, Gokhale had asked: "Why should a song-bird like you have a broken wing?", and she replied in a verse. One poem, entitled "Awake" and dedicated to M. A. Jinnah, was recited at the Indian National Congress, 1915. Of course, qualitatively these poems do not deserve much attention.

Through some poems vibrates the heart of a loving mother. Her son Dr. Jayasurya, ex-M.P., and daughters, Sm. Padmaja, Governor of West Bengal and Sm. Lilamani are well-known today. Her other son Ranadhera died prematurely. She has dedicated some of her poems to them. She wished Sri Jayasurya, whom she affectionately called "Golden Sun of Victory, born in my life's unclouded morn, in my lambent sky of love," to be the sun of song and liberty. Her poem on Sm. Padmaja runs thus:

Lotus maiden, you who claim
All the sweetness of your name,
Lakshmi, fortune's queen, defend you,
Lotus-born like you, and send you
Balmy moons of love to bless you,
Gentle joy-winds to caress you.
Lotus-maiden, may you be
Fragrant of all ecstasy.

And for "Limpid Jewel of Delight," "Living Jewel" youngest Sm. Lilamani, she wished that she would be 'securely set in love's magic coronet' and be 'laughter-bound and sorrow-free.' Some other poems such as "The Queen's Rival," or "The Cradle Song" are also projections of her loving heart. In the former, Gulnar, queen of Persia, ill at ease, could find her rival in her own baby only and not in the seven most beautiful brides brought for the king, who

'. . . Shone round her ivory bed
Like seven soft gems on a silken thread?'

In 'Cradle Song' and 'Slumber Song for Sunalim,' the rhythm of swinging and the beat of the lullaby can almost be felt:

From groves of spice,
O'er fields of rice,
Athwart the lotus-stream,
I bring for you
Aglint with dew
A little lovely dream.

When I visited Hyderabad, the swing in the verandah, referred to in the opening paragraph of this article, which must have been used by Sm. Naidu in her respite, instantaneously reminded me of these poems.

The cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad have grown like twin sisters. Sparsely populated they have the Charminar, the Hussain Sagar Lake, the Victoria Garden, etc., as the places of interest. The hill-stream Musi passes through Hyderabad and is spanned by about half a dozen bridges, some of which look attractive at night. The ancient fort of Golkunda is not far away. All these had a strange fascination for Sm. Naidu. She composed several poems on the city she loved so dearly. Some such poems are "Nightfall in the City of Hyderabad," "The Royal Tombs of Golkunda," "Songs of my City," "The Hussain Sagar," etc. Her father Dr. Aghorenath Chattopaddhyay who was the Principal of the Nizam College of Hyderabad was widely respected. His young talented daughter also therefore had access to the court. One ode written by her, was presented to H.H. the Nizam at a Ramzan Durbar. Another poem was dedicated to Her Highness the Begum of Janjira with whom she developed intimacy.

Hyderabad was the centre of Muslim life and culture in the Deccan. Sm. Naidu was brought up in its air and she learnt to like and respect it. This is manifest in many poems composed by her. In the "Call to Evening Prayer," she pays her tribute to Islam in the following lines.

Allah ho Akbar! Allah ho Akbar!
From mosque and minar the muezzins are calling.

Pour forth your praise, O chosen of Islam!

Swiftly the shadows of sunset are falling.
Allah ho Akbar! Allah ho Akbar!

In "The Old Woman," her sympathy for the old Muslim woman sweals in the following lines:

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In her weary old age, O dear God,
is there none
To bless her tired eyelids to rest?
Tho' the world may not tarry to help
her or heed
More clear than the cry of her sorrow
and need
Is the faith that doth solace her breast:
"La ilaha illa-l-Allah,
Muhammad-ar-Rasul-Allah."

This was a boon to the nation as it afterwards played a great part in the efforts for a reapproachment among the Hindus and Muslims in the political arena.

The most significant feature of her poems is their native background. This was in obedience to a suggestion made by an eminent English critic who appreciated her talent. The result has been fascinating. Her poems opened a window to the fascinating panorama of the Indian life and nature for the English-reading public. Stereotyped imitative compositions would not have achieved this result. Her favourite flowers are Asoke, Champak and Gulmohar and they have found ample scope in her poems. The episode of Nala-Damayanti, the Indian gypsy, the sorrows of a pardanashin lady, the Buddha, the love-song of a Rajput, Basant Panchami, the festival of Serpents, Indra, lord of rain, the lotus-born goddess, Lakshmi, the Imambara, the cities of Delhi and Hyderabad, Kali, the mother, and the episode of the flute-player of Brindabana and Radha, the milk-maid—all have been incorporated. Even such strange beliefs as

"If a lovely maiden's foot
Treads on the Asoke root,
Its glad branches sway and swell,—
So our Eastern legends tell—
Into gleaming flower,
Vivid clusters, golden-red,
To adorn her brow or bed
Or her marriage bower"

—are not spared. The predicament of Radha has been thus expressed:

I carried my curds to the Mathura fair,
How softly the heifers were lowing,
I wanted to cry, "Who buy
These curds that are white as the
clouds in the sky,
When the breezes of Shrawan are
blowing?"
But my heart was so full of your
beauty, Beloved,
They laughed as I cried without knowing:
Govinda! Govinda!
Govinda! Govinda!
How softly the river was flowing!

Her poems were appreciated in London and New York. One volume edition comprising her three books was published in America. For publication in India, they had to wait. The volume published by Kitabistan of Allahabad, comprising her three books, is, I am afraid, out of circulation now. Translations of her poems in book form are also not known to have been brought out in any Indian language. She sacrificed her poetry for patriotism. Her eminence in politics completely overshadowed her as a poet. Attention should be paid for reprint of her poems and for their translations as well before even educated posterity start to question: 'Honestly, did she ever write poems?'

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GENEVA STORY

By NRIPENDRANATH GHOSH

The UNO building in Geneva stood like a flower-bedecked white elephant. Sunshine added indescribable grandeur to it. Inside, delegates of all nations were discussing something less romantic,—hydrogen bomb to be exact. Oddly enough a canopy of secrecy shrouded the entire proceedings. Pressmen were not allowed to know exactly what they discussed except that radiation from explosions adversely affect not only those alive but also those in mothers' wombs.

How to make such an evil weapon is no more a secret than the making of my portable Corona. But the subject of its effect of radiation is!

The chief of the press department is a good-hearted fellow with a great deal of respect for power. He gave me one look and at once saw that I was neither powerful nor connected —even remotely—with anything like it. His two lady secretaries were politely rude. They don't tell you to get out. They make you wait, wait and wait and upset your whole day's programme. But I bear no ill-feeling towards them. The chief or his secretaries are no exception.

It was 18th April. The night before I heard on the Radio about the new Indian Cabinet. But due to my shaky knowledge of German I missed the bit about the Ministry of External Affairs. I was relieved to see in the *Manchester Guardian* that 'he' after all did not get that post. As our new Minister of Defence he will not be our mouthpiece in the United Nations. Secondly, foreign diplomats will not be offended by aggressive mannerisms just because they happen to be white. His London apparatus will be deprived of his occasional *abirbhaba* during which it made brisk political business.

This news certainly compensated for the sadness caused by the secrecy of the Conference. Our mental peace restored, three of us—a German, an Italian and myself—climbed on a car and left Geneva.

Geneva—and Switzerland as a whole—is more of a state of mind than a place. Dethroned and reigning monarchs, exiled leaders and official delegates, tourists rich and not so rich, spies, interpole agents, consuls and press reporters are its permanent features. Lenin lived here for years.

What I shall remember most about this town is a little yellow building in Rue Necker behind the Catholic Church near the Station. Three of its rooms house the international HQ of the I.L.M., short for the International Labour Movement. It is active throughout Western Europe. It organises schools, film shows, libraries, maternity clinics, excursions and discussions with world-famous men of art and science for the workers and peasants of the region. With the help of Swiss Government and the UNO it helped rehabilitate 11,000 Hungarian refugees* in Switzerland which is half the size of West Bengal. Madame Ban, the secretary, told me point-blank, "Yes, we are prepared to extend such aid to the Asian countries provided there is a centralised body to use it." I had no answer to this offer—so sudden, so generous and so unconditional.

Our car sped along the mountainous road to Lugano. Each of us took a turn at the wheel. For we were, averaging 80 kilometers an hour. Silence enveloped the countryside. The only sound was the continuous humming noise of our German Ford engine. Other cars whizzed by almost at regular intervals. The whole atmosphere made us feel as if we were in the outer space. It takes one's mind off the road and causes sleepiness. That is the danger. Many a driver falls prey to this altitudinal magic, forget the hairpin curve ahead of him and drive straight into the space—into his coffin. We slowed down our conversation but just about kept it up so as to make the driver feel that he had company. Meanwhile, we have covered a lot of Swiss territory as well as politics.

Swiss history has not been profaned by St. Bartholomew, York, or any form of inquisition. Her society is not polluted by any form of political leprosy. Hitler tried to provoke separatism among its German minority with the ultimate objective of parcelling out the country among Germany, France and Italy. He found no support whatsoever. The country has four official languages; The fourth one called Romansh is spoken by 50,000 people in the

* 38,957 are still left in Austria.

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ton of Graubuenden. The people are not only confident and sober but contaminate the visitors with these virtues. Hence all nations come here to reach understanding and make peace. This land is a God-cum-man-made device to absorb the excitement of the contending powers. It is the highest country in Europe and a natural fortress except for the gap at Basle which has been recently fortified.

Everything in Switzerland looked good. So good that the whole air had a touch of unreality. Flags, flowers, festoons and sunshine whichever way you looked. Roads were spotlessly clean and so were the cars rolling on it. Every one wore clean suits. Very few have dared to travel in Switzerland in the type of clothes that I was wearing.

No one can discuss world politics without mentioning Geneva, Locarno, Lausanne and Montreaux. Although situated in Switzerland they have nothing to do with it. The Swiss hope is that some day, their country will form a part of a belt of neutral states composed of Finland, Sweden, Germany, Austria and Yugoslavia.

Women do not vote. Recently, in a nation-wide referendum the women denied themselves the right. I have questioned quite a few women of different social status on this issue (although there is little difference of status in practice). They had a 'Swiss' answer. "Politics is complicated enough without us adding fresh complications to it. We are more useful at home."

Swiss are not the herrenvolks. But their politics at the dirtiest level is cleaner than ours or that of any other nation at the cleanest. There has never been a political scandal or any brutality in any election campaign. People are literate but they never jaw about politics which occupies the back page of the newspapers. Social Democrats are the strongest as a party but they do not command majority in the Federal Assembly because of an alliance between the Conservative and Liberal parties.

Statistics show that an average of 2,950 people migrate abroad, mostly to the United States. Migration to U.S.A. is one of the pillars of national economies of the West European countries.

Country	*Population*	*Annual average migration*
Britain	5 crores	117,362 (1920-1947)
Germany	8 crores	35,798 (1920-1939)
Sweden	½ crore	6,724 (1918-1947)

These immigrants—physically fit and technically skilled—pay their own passage to the States. So the latter increase every year its number of technicians without spending a penny.

Most of our boys who come here in the private capacity are for the time being lost to our slowly expanding industry, if not for a considerable number of years, unless of course, they have good connections at home. I personally happen to know nearly a dozen of them scattered in Zurich, Stuttgart, Essen, Glasgow, London and places like that. Once they used to say, "There must be somebody in India who would want us". Now they talk differently. "Who the hell want us, anyway".

In the countries of middle Europe, Indian students and those from the Middle East can take bath everyday or even twice a day if they like and the 'hausfrau' will think nothing of it. If they feel lonely they could go to any cafe and do their homework over one single cup of coffee, and good coffee too. No sloppy waitress will turn them out. They do not go to bed worrying about tomorrow's humiliation either in their digs or in the factories where they are training. The absence of the constant irritant keeps them mentally healthy. They sleep better, eat better, work harder, learn better and behave more naturally than those trained in U.K. Their outlook is based on contact with different sorts of people, newspapers, Radio and Television programmes and cinema newsreels. There was a complete black-out in U.K. of our Prime Minister's visits in Moscow, Riyadh and Washington. It was not so on the Continent.

My visa allows me to stay in Switzerland for two more months, my railway-steamer ticket for one more week and my pocket less than a week. So, I took the train to Paris. My verdict—if I am entitled to one—is: No human energy is wasted in Switzerland. Nobody is neglected. If human right, honour and dignity are the criteria of democracy, then Switzerland is the greatest democracy on earth.

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A SHEAF OF ART-BOOKS

A Review

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

It is a subject of stock complaint among artists and art-lovers in India that the years of Independence have not seen any quickened and live interest in the visual arts on the part of educated Indians whose enthusiasm in other forms of Art, such as Literature, Music, and Dancing, has progressed in geometrical progression. There are three ways through which public interest in pictorial art progresses in other countries: through illustrated lectures on the Fine Arts organized by the Art Museums; through temporary and permanent exhibitions of Art; and through Art-books. In Calcutta, hardly more than four illustrated lectures on Fine Art are delivered at the Indian Museum in the course of a year. The records of other cities are no more creditable. It must be conceded that in Calcutta, as in other cities, a fashion, a very healthy fashion, has grown up to have numerous temporary exhibitions of pictures, sculptures, and art-crafts throughout the year, though they seldom gather any respectable crowds of visitors and generally our educated brethren neglect or ignore them. There remains the third medium to stimulate interest in the Fine Arts—the medium of popularising them through the publications of illustrated books on Art. Here the Indian record is very poor and disappointing. There are practically no readers of books on Art. And publishers cannot take the risk of publishing even cheap books on Art, which are more or less expensive ventures, as, even the addition of coarse-grain cheap half-tone blocks is a formidable item of expense on the growing items of costs of paper and printing. India has not therefore been able to develop any manner of tradition in the publication of illustrated books on Art, for the simple reason that there is no manner of demands for this class of publications. We are tempted to refer to the achievements of the British Press in this branch of publishing enterprise. Apart from the expensive Art-books, published by the Oxford, Cambridge, and London Universities (which include many items on Indian Art), at least a dozen private publishers have for more than half a century stimulated public interest in Art by publishing attractive books on Art at popular prices. The well-known houses of Murray, Methuen, Duckworth, Unwin, and Bell, to name only a few, have to their credits publications of Art-books, of which any nation could be proud. We will only refer to the series of Art-books published by George Bell & Sons from the beginning of the century. The *British Artists Series* (Large post—8vo, in special bindings with 90 to 100 illustrations, priced at 7s. 6d. or roughly Rs. 5 each); *Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture* (post 8vo., with 40 illustrations and photogravure frontispiece at 5s. or Rs. 3-12 each); Bell's *Handbooks of the Great Craftsmen* (Imperial 16-mo, profusely illustrated, and priced at 5s. each); Bell's *Cathedral Series* (covering all the architectural monuments, profusely illustrated and priced at 1s. 6d. each); and, lastly, a remarkable series called Bell's *Miniature Series of Painters* (with 8 illustrations each, priced at a shilling each). This creditable record has been recently beaten by the Pelican books with several art-books with collotype illustrations, priced at ten annas each. In recent times the English traditions of art-publication have been creditably upheld by the enterprizing House of Faber, which has stimulated art-studies by a brilliant series of publications with magnificent colour-plates which cover not only several phases of European painting, but many charming schools of Indian pictorial art. In India, a valiant attempt has been made by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information to give the lead in the matter of art-publications, but, not with any notable success. On the other hand, some private enterprises led by the Saraswatee Press, Calcutta, and by A. Gossain, a venturesome publisher, have made a distinguished contribution by publishing a number of well-produced books on Indian sculpture deserving high praise.

From the sheaf of new art-books now before us one likes to believe that we are at the beginning of a new era of book-production dealing with the rich traditions of Indian Art. The first one, *Textiles and Ornaments of India*, a charming product of the world-famous Museum of Modern Art, New York, is based on an Exhi-

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...tion of Indian Textiles and Ornaments held at ...the New York Museum in 1955. The aim of ...this book is not only to delight the eye and ...enrich the American aesthetic experience, but ...to give recognition to the great craftsmen of ...India, whose achievements are perhaps more ...representative and symbolic of their nation as a ...whole than any in the world. A nation, which ...could produce such dreams of beauty in the ...medium of the prosaic art of weaving and of ...metal-ware, attained the highest summit of ...aesthetic sensibility which is a sure index of the ...spiritual stuff of their culture and civilization. ...Progress in modern India and the quality of our ...life must be judged by the standard achieved in ...our art-products in the mediaeval times, ...rather than by the much-advertised irrigation ...projects and factories for fertilizers. This bril...liant tribute to India's national genius is richly ...illustrated by 110 excellent plates, several in ...colour, and by two erudite essays contributed ...by P. Jayakar and John Irwin. The album is ...published by Simon and Schuster, New York ...and priced at four dollars.

Our second volume, very neatly printed ...and produced by Kala-Kshetra, Madras, ...priced at Rs. 9-8), is a collection of essays ...on *Art*, by Dr. Nanda Lal Bose, originally ...written in Bengali and lucidly translated by ...Amai Samanta. The valuable discussion of ...many practical phases of the understanding of ...Art and its many problems will be of use not ...only to all young practitioners of the visual ...arts, but to the would-be connoisseurs unable ...to find their way through the complicated ...mazes of canons of Art and the conundrums of ...technique. As a rule, practical artists however ...masterly in their productions of Art, are gene...rally unqualified in interpreting the funda...mental principles of Art to a lay public and ...this tragic truism is very happily confessed by ...Mr. Pene Du Bois, an American artist, in the ...funny title of his book: *Artists Say the Silliest Things*. The book before us in its excellent and ...illuminating discussion of many problems of ...Art is an eloquent testimony of the fact that ...there are some artists who can *paint* as well as ...interpret in a masterly manner not unworthy ...of a Ruskin, or a Pater. The book is illustrated ...by a number of demonstrative drawings and ...twelve fine half-tone blocks reproducing a ...number of European and Asiatic masterpieces.

Our third volume is a new edition of Dr. Coomaraswamy's little booklet, *Introduction to Indian Art*, published in 1923 by the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras, and long out of print, and very much in demand. It is the most succint and able presentation of the general outline of Indian art and most suitable as a text-book for art students. The book has now been reprinted and ably edited and supplemented by Sri M. R. Anand, distinguished Editor of *Marg*, by the addition of two chapters on architecture under Mussulman rule and on Moghul painting. But the most valuable emendation to this excellent handbook is the number of well-chosen illustrations (one in colour) and several significant brush-drawings, which present the basic quality of Indian art in demonstrative analysis which will be of great use to students. One will be unwilling to accept at its face value Coomaraswamy's confession that 'prejudices had crept into his approach to Indian art problems at an earlier period,' which led him to omit any presentation of Moghul art, a 'solecism,' which still persists in his comprehensive *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927), where he stated that "space did not permit the treatment of Mussulman art in India." The real reason was that the two streams of fundamentally different expressions of art could not be adequately and harmoniously treated in one volume. As a matter of fact long before the publication of the *Introduction*, Coomaraswamy had given illuminating and original presentation of Moghul Art in various lectures and articles, which contradicts the theory of a so-called prejudice. His confession is, therefore, in the nature of a courteous apology. In attempting to supplement the omission by adding two missing chapters to Coomaraswamy's booklet, the distinguished editor has been guilty of a greater "crime" by omitting altogether any significant illustrations or presentation of Hindu and Buddhist Architecture, for which the Taj can offer no compensation. Few will agree with the Editor's charge that the modern artist's recovery of possession of their old heritage in the frescoes of Ajanta has been 'disastrous', as for instance, in the works of Nandalal Bose, Asit Haldar and Khitin Mazumdar. (They are no more disastrous than the result of Jamini Roy's copying and repeating worn-out formulas of Bengal *Pata* Paint-

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ings). Yet we have nothing but praise for this able and revised edition of an excellent hand-book, richly presented and illustrated. Priced at Rs. 7-8, the book must be in every library in India.

Our fourth volume is the new and revised edition of Percy Brown's *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), recently published by the well-known Bombay publishers, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. The first edition published many years ago was a great success and was acclaimed as an exhaustive survey of he subject. In the revised and enlarged edition just published (255 pages of text, with over 500 illustrations, priced at Rs. 25), several new chapters have been added with excellent illustrations and plans dealing with the Architecture of Nepal and Ceylon, with four illuminating chapters on the Architecture of Greater India (Cambodia, Siam, Chams, Java and Bali) which help us to visualize the brilliant extension of Indian Architecture in the Indian Colonies. The great merit of Brown's excellent presentation consists in the fact that after Havell this is the only treaties of Indian Architecture studied by an artist and art-teacher who had analysed the structure and principles of the great schools of Building Art in India with penetrating aesthetic insight missed by archaeologists and archaeologists. Yet the author has carefully studied all relevant archaeological data with great industry and patience. His study of this great topic is illuminated by a number of conjectural restorations and isochromatic drawings, which help the students to understand the underlying structural principles, designs, and facades, in a manner which only the trained vision of an artist could have given us. The only imperfection, if an imperfection it might be called, is the insufficient utilization of the data of the *Silpa-sastras*, so skilfully used by Stella Kramrisch in her *Hindu Temple*. This is compensated by an exhaustive glossary of architectural terms (nine pages) appended at the end. A word of warm tribute is due to the publishers for producing such a profusely illustrated volume at a popular price. Taraporevalas have established a new tradition in book-production in India, with several sumptuous publications to their credit. This book has added a new feather to their cap and will fully justify their claim that their firm is a rich "Treasure-House of Books."

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

JAINISM IN BIHAR: *By P. C. Roy Choudhury. With foreword by Sri Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras. Patna, 1956. Pp. 110 and 16 plates. Price Rs. 5.*

In this work the author has attempted (Preface, p. ii) to bring to light some important but unexplored Jaina sites and shrines in different districts of Bihar, to indicate certain areas rich in Jaina antiquities for the purpose of their future exploration and discovery of the potential historical material. This claim is justified in so far as the author devotes the sixth and longest chapter to a detailed account of the Jaina antiquities in the Manbhum district some of which were left unvisited even by J. D. Beglar, the indefatigable Archaeological Assistant of General Sir Alexander Cunningham in the seventies and eighties of the last century and many of which are not even mentioned in the authoritative *List of Ancient Monuments in Chhota Nagpur Division*, published in 1... In another short chapter (Ch. V), the ...

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has dealt with the Jaina remains in the Kuluha Hills of Hazaribagh District, of which the last archaeological record was published by M. A. Stein in 1901. Other chapters deal with familiar Jaina sites such as Pareshnath Hill, Pawapuri, Rajgir and Vaisali. The present monograph is admittedly not a scholarly work, the author contenting himself as a rule with extensive quotations from the old Archaeological Survey Reports and District Gazetteers as well as works of recent scholars on various points relating to Jaina history and religion and archaeological remains. Frequently he gives details of the routes, conveyances and accommodation for the benefit of visitors. His system of translitteration of proper names follows as a rule the vernacular pronunciation. We have noticed a few serious defects in this work. The author writes in all seriousness (p. 7) the reference in Jaina scriptures to the Tirthankara Rishabha preaching in Magadha "at the end of the Stone Age and beginning of the Age of Agriculture." The author, again, repeats such exploded views about that of Asoka's propaganda on *dhamma* writing severely upon the Brahmanical Hindus (p. 66), and that crediting Kharavela, "Emperor of Utkal," with defeat of Pushyamitra Sunga, King of Magadha (p. 67). Among the useful features of this monograph are a short glossary and a bibliography, and above all, a series of sixteen well-executed plates. On the whole this book may be expected to fulfil the author's hope of stimulating the public interest in a neglected chapter of our history and culture.

U. N. GHOSHAL

PARAMAHANSA SRI RAMAKRISHNA: *By R. R. Diwakar. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Kulpatty, Bombay. Illustrated, Pp. xv + 300. Price Re. 1-12.*

The author has perused the Ramakrishna literature with great avidity since his youth in a worshipful mood, of which the book under review bears ample stamp. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa attracted notice of his contemporaries by his sincere devotion and austere practices. Swami Vivekananda explained the greatness of his *guru* to the outside world. But his countrymen at last also appreciated the greatness of this Superman of Dakshneswar. Literature on and about him grew in volume during his lifetime, and since his passing away, has grown beyond proportions. Not only in India, but even the savants of the West like Prof. Max Muller and Romain Rolland wrote appreciative treatises on the life and teachings of Paramahansa. The main characteristics of Mr. Diwakar's book lie in the fact that he has utilised most of the literature on Paramahansa, both old and new, and the result is the present volume. In twenty-three chapters and six appendices the author has been able to bring forth in writing the human and super-human aspects of Sri Ramakrishna. Illustrations, as many as fifteen, have been inserted in the book and have rendered it attractive to the general reader. Such a book of modest size and moderate price will go a long way to popularize the life and teachings of Sri Ramakrishna to non-Bengali readers in India and abroad. We congratulate the author and the Bharatiya Bidya Bhavan on the production of such a useful treatise.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

GALLANT END OF NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE: *By Harin Shah. Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi-6. Price Rs. 7-8 (India) and 12sh. 6d. and 2 dollars (Foreign).*

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is one of history's greatest patriots and revolutionaries. He lived for his country. A disciple of that great Indian Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das —whom, alas! an ungrateful nation has practically forgotten—Bose dedicated himself to the country's cause. His activities in South-East Asia during World War II hastened the liberation of the Motherland. As Harekrushna Mahtab, the veteran Congress leader, puts it, "It is perhaps correct to say now that, to the effect of the non-co-operation movement in India, the impact of the Indian National Army was a definite addition." Bose is said to have died in a plane crash in Taihouko (Taipeh in Formosa) on August 17, 1945. Many, however, do not believe that he is dead.

Mr. Harin Shah, the author of the volume under review, paid a visit to Formosa in August-September, 1946, as the only Indian member of a party of Foreign correspondents in China sent to Formosa by Chiang Kai-shek's Minister of Information. Mr. Shah conducted an on-the-spot inquiry into the mystery of Netaji's sudden disappearance. He met a number of people—Formosan, Chinese and Japanese—and on the basis of facts collected from them draws certain conclusions and presents them to the reading public. What these conclusions are, are apparent from the title of the volume in question.

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It is not a little strange that Mr. Shah took the nation into confidence full ten years after he had collected proofs of Netaji's tragic end. The publication of the present volume practically synchronised with the appointment of a committee by the Government of India in 1956 to enquire into the truth or otherwise of the report in Netaji's death and other allied matters.

Those who hold that Netaji is alive may naturally suspect that Mr. Shah's book was meant to lend weight to the contention that Netaji is no more to influence the verdict of the above committee, which has since reported that Netaji died in plane crash in Formosa in 1945. One of the members of the committee—a brother of Netaji—however differs.

Mr. Shah's explanation for not having published the book earlier does not carry much consideration. In his own words, "Bewildered at the cruel debate (over the truth or otherwise of the news of Bose's death), fed and fanned by some public and neo-public figures, I suffered the forced silence for 10 years."

As to the book itself, it is bound tastefully in board, profusely illustrated and printed on good paper. But printing is definitely poor, printing mistakes being too many even for the proverbial patience of the Indian reader. In his attempt to make the book pleasant-reading the author has produced the opposite effect. The style is heavy, strained and artificial. With a little more than 150 pages of reading matter (including 43 pages of Appendices), the book seems to be fantastically priced.

THE UNIVERSITY ENVIRONS: *By J. M. Somasundaram. Annamalai University, Annamalainagar. Price not stated.*

Education in British India owes much to private charities and enterprises—much more, indeed, than it owes to the Government patronage. The Annamalai University at Chidambaram in South Arcot district (Madras), "the only Tamil University in India—the first unitary, teaching and residential University of South India, with six Faculties and twenty-four departments and over 175 members of the teaching staff" and 2,006 students on its rolls in February, 1955, owes its foundation and development to the late lamented Dr. Rajah Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinand (1881—1948). Founded in 1929—the Senate was formally inaugurated on March 24, 1930—the Annamalai University has had the unique good luck of being piloted by an uninterrupted succession of eminent Vice-Chancellors inuluding Sir Samuel E. Raghunathan (1929-35) and the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1935-40), among others. The Government, it must be admitted, have all along contributed liberally to the University funds. During the none-too-long span of its life the Annamalai University has developed into one of the finest intellectual and cultural centres in the country. We wish many of our older Universities took a leaf out of the book of this young institution.

The Annamalai University celebrated the Silver Jubilee of its foundation on February 9, 1955, and the volume under review was brought out as a souvenir to mark the occasion.

Mr. Somasundaram gives an ably written brief account of the University from its inception. He gives besides a rather long but readable and learned history of the famous Nataraja Temple at Chidambaram, a principal stronghold of the Siva cult, and also of the places of interest within easy reach of Chidambaram. A number of plates and photographs add to the attractiveness of the volume.

It is a pity that so informative and interesting a volume suffers from a serious—almost unpardonable—omission. A University certainly needs funds, patrons, benefactors and administrators. But its reputation depends primarily on its teachers and students. More laurels have been won for Oxford and Cambridge by their teachers and taught than by any other agency. The learned author should have made at least a passing reference to the part played by the teachers of the institution to make the noble founder's dream a reality. A list of the distinguished alumni and of the eminent teachers who served the University in the past and serve it today would have enhanced the value of Mr. Somasundaram's *The University Environs.*

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

STORY OF THE SWELLING NUMBER IN INDIA: *By Anjan Kumar Banerji. Published by Benson's, 180-A, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-4. Pages 48. Price Re. 1-8.*

The writer has brought together in this booklet, articles published in newspapers some time in 1954. The question of population is very important in India. Every increase in population means increased pressure on land and subsistence. The problem has been dealt with from different aspects—food, land, employment etc., and ways out have been examined.

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planning is recommended because family planning is a stepping-stone to social planning. In the words of Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director, Delhi School of Economics, who has written a foreword, "The booklet will at least serve the purpose of drawing pointedly to the attention of the reading public the importance of undertaking family planning measures in the interests of employment, economic development and raising standards of living in the country."

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

(1) ANANDA CHANDRA VEDANTABAGISH, AYODHYANATH PAKRASI, HEMCHANDRA VIDYARATNA: (2) WILLIAM YATES, JOHN MACK, MADHUSUDAN GUPTA: *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat, 93-1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-6 Price Re. 1 each.*

These are volumes Nos. 95 and 96 in the series of biographies of important writers in Bengali—the *Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala*. The series, which now claims nearly a hundred volumes, owes its existence mainly to the untiring efforts of two persons—the late Brajendranath Bandyopadhyay and Sri Bagal. The latter, in the present volumes, has collected, with his characteristics care and judgment, information about six memorable writers of the last century and given us a clear outline of each one's life and work. Their contribution to the cause of the Bengali language is considerable, though their names are almost forgotten. As great literary artists they still deserve our recognition and gratitude since they enriched the language by translations and educative writings and incidentally helped our intellectual development and social progress.

The three Hindu scholars, whose lives have been described in the first book, were all associates of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and intimately connected with the Adi Brahma Samaj. They rendered immense service in the revival of Sanskrit learning and the exposition of our *shastras*. Ananda Chandra was well-versed in the Vedas and the Upanishads, and Ayodhyanath and Hemchandra showed exceptional aptitude in their translations of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.

William Yates and John Mack, missionaries of the Serampore Baptist Mission, helped the growth of Bengali language by their treatises and text-books on Science, History and literature. *Kimia Vidya Sar*, a pioneer work in Bengali on Chemistry, was written by John Mack in a fairly lucid style. It evinces his command of the native language. Madhusudan Gupta was a devoted student of the Medical Science and as early as in the mid-nineteenth century wrote books in Bengali on Anatomy, Physiology and British Pharmacopoea.

The terminology adopted by these scholars in their scientific treatises are likely to be helpful today when we are trying to impart education through the language of the land.

To Sri Bagal goes the credit of discovering from old records much of our 'buried treasure' and impressing upon us the importance of our precious heritage. He happily possesses, with his spirit of research, the power to co-ordinate his findings and fashion out of them living forms and interesting personalities.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

SIKSHA-VIJNAN: *By Jatindramohan Chaudhuri, B.A., B.T. Published by the Presidency Library, Calcutta-12. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a treatise on the science of education by an educationist who besides his knowledge of modern science of education is well-versed in ancient Sanskrit books on the subject. Education is a complex subject and authorities even differ as to the proper method suitable for a particular country. But there is unanimity as to the psychological approach of the problem of education. An universal attempt in fundamental education is being made at present by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cutural Organisation, particularly in underdeveloped countries with satisfactory results.

Books on education for the benefit of teachers are not many in Bengali and the present book is a laudable attempt by one who has theoretical grasp and practical knowledge of the subject. The book is divided into fifteen chapters and the subject of child education has been dealt with from various angles. The modern approach is psychological and the author has quoted freely from the authorities both European and American to make the book dependable. It is interesting to find Sanskrit quotations also here and there in support of modern thesis. Most of the chapters are of technical nature and will benefit teachers but the last two chapters on 'Building of Character' and 'Psychology and Teacher' will be read with pleasure and profit by any person interested in the education of the young. We wish the treatise a wide circulation among the teachers of West Bengal.

A. B. DUTTA

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HINDI

HIMALAYA PARICHAYA: *By Rahula Sankrityayana. Allahabad Law Journal Press, Allahabad. Pp. 569.*

Judging from the number of volumes, which have emanated from the pen of the great pandit in the past, and the large variety of themes with which he has dealt, it would appear as if Rahulaji is in himself a-hundred-and-one-title Library! To this assorted assemblage of his enviable and unusual intellectual gifts, he has now added an encyclopaedic work on the Himalayas, of which the present publication dealing with Garhwal, is the first of the projected series of five. Here is a study of the well-known mid-Himalayan region from every possible angle, topographical, historical, sociological and cultural, in all their ramifications. Not a single feature of the life of the hill-folks seems to have escaped the argus-eyed author. The travelogue, towards the end of his pilgrimages to Jamunotri, Gangotri, Kedarnath, Badrinath, Mansarovar and other places rich in natural beauty as well as in associations of holy aspirations, is an excellent tourist-guide to would-be pilgrims. *Himalaya Parichaya* is, indeed, an omnibus approach to the highest and holiest mountain-range in the world.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SARVODAIANI KEYLAVANI: *By G. J. Patel. Gujrat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad. April 1956. Price Re. 1-4.*

This has been a translation of Acharya Kripalani's Latest Fad—basic education—with about 30 pages of notes in small print. There is no doubt that it would help very much the Gujarati readers, to understand basic education in a lively manner from this book. However much basic education may have spread, there is no doubt that there is need of some book explaining the philosophy and the newness of the new system, its connection with the national culture and its development from our society, and this need the book fulfills.

This is really the way in which the book should be utilised by teachers and by educational thinkers alike—those who are engaged in spreading basic education and those who are merely watching it with interest.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Influence of Buddhist Philosophy in East and West

The concluding portion of the article under the above caption by Helmuth Von Glasnapp in *The Maha Bodhi* is given below :

As far as our present knowledge goes it was only gradually that Buddhism unveiled its essence to the occident. The Greeks already knew of the name of Buddha. They also knew of his supernatural birth and they were aware of the fact that the Samanaioi (sramana) were different from the Brahmanical ascetics. In the Middle Ages the story of Buddha's leaving His home was known in the Christianized form of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat. Marco Polo (1254-1323), the famous Italian traveller, paid his tributes to the saintly life of Gautama when he wrote in his Travel Diary : "Illec fist moult grans adbstinences, ainsi comme s'il eust este Crestien. Car s'il l'eust este, il feust un grand sains avec notre Seigneur Jhesucrist, a la bonne vie et honneste qu'il mena." "He lived a life of great abstinence as if he had been a Christian. For had he been, he would have been a great saint with our Lord Jesus Christ, considering the good and honest life he led." The first European traveller who mentions an important doctrine of Buddhism which distinguishes it from the other great religions of the world was the French traveller La Loubere, who wrote in his work "Du Royaume de Siam," published in 1691, (vol. 1, p. 395), "I think that one can establish that the Buddhists do not believe in a world-ruling deity." We are indebted to the great English Indologist Henry Thomas Colebrook for the first interpretation of the Buddhist theory that there is no wandering soul but nevertheless a rebirth caused by karmic influences. In the lecture "On Indian Sectaries," read at a public meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, February 3, 1827, he said: "There is not an eternal soul, but merely succession of thought, attended with individual consciousness abiding within body." Colebrooke also explained the "concatenation of causes and effects" which link one existence with another. Although many European scholars have dealt with this crucial point of Buddhist metaphysics it took years of investigation before the true sense of this doctrine was elucidated. The two Russian scholars Theodore Stcherbatsky and his pupil Otto Rosenberg have shown that the doctrine of the "dharmas," *i.e.*, impersonal soul forces, is the central philosophical conception which is at the bottom of all Buddhist philosophical thought. The great Belgian Indologist La Vallee Poussin has dealt more minutely with the problem in his magnificent translation of Vasubandhu's Abhidharma-kosha We understand now why the celebrated stanza "Ye dharmah hetuprabhavah" is the credo of all Buddhists.

It is to be regretted that most European Indologists in former times have continued to occupy themselves less with the doctrines of living Buddhism as they have been taught for over at least 2000 years than with speculations on the doctrine that the Buddha may have taught. Many of these scholars have tried to show that Buddha's own doctrine differed greatly from the doctrines that to-day form the basis of all Buddhist philosophy. It seems to me very improbable that Buddha was no philosopher at all, as some scholars think. For in a time in which—as the texts show—a very highly developed philosophical life was gong on in Ancient India, Buddha would not have been able to win adherents from the philosophically trained Brahmans and Kshatriyas if He had not propounded a doctrine which could hold its own in view of hair-splitting dialectics of materialists, agnostics, sceptics and the very elaborate systems of Brahmans and Jains. Other scholars are of opinion that Buddha's teaching was a special form of Vedanta and that the monks later on changed it to its present form. I do not think that this is probable. For to maintain this assertion it would be necessary to show in detail how the anatma-doctrine of the Buddhists has developed out of the alleged atma-doctrice of the Buddha. It will not do to quote some sayings of the Buddha unconnected with their context and to interpret them in the said manner. Nor is it to be understood that on the one side the texts at our disposal should be so reliable that the so-called true original Vedantic doctrine of the Buddha may be surmised therefrom, and that at the same time they should be so unreliable that most of their metaphysical contents have been fabricated by the monks of a later time. Nor do I understand what necessity there may have

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been for the Buddha to teach a particular new doctrine, when it was only a re-hash of the Upanishadic teachings of His time. One may ask with Professor T. R. V. Murti in his excellent book on the Madhyamika system, "If the atman had been a cardinal doctrine with Buddhism, why was it so securely hidden under a bushel that even the immediate followers of the Master had no inkling of it." In my opinion from the point of view of objective scholarship we may acknowledge that the real doctrine of the Buddha cannot be ascertained to-day because we do not possess manuscripts from His own hand nor were His teachings taken down on records. All we know of Him was taken down in writing only four centuries after His Nirvana. If we cannot ascertain with absolute certainty the original doctrine of the Buddha we may ask: what may it most probably have been? I think it most likely that His doctrine was, at least in its most essential points, a predecessor of what all Buddhists of today agree in. I can see two reasons for the Vedantic explanation of Buddha's teachings. One is an emotional one: the Vedantist has the natural endeavour to harmonize the teachings of the great Gautama with a system which he thinks to be the most sublime in the world. I myself having written several works on Vedanta have the greatest esteem for it. I consider Vedanta to be one of the most grandiose philosophical conceptions ever originated in the world of thought. But this admiration for the Vedanta does not carry me, as an historian of Indian Pholosophy, so far as to interpret Vedantic ideas into the Buddhist texts. The other reason why many scholars have tried to interpret the teachings of the Buddha in a Vedantic fashion is one of a view of history. It is an undoubted duty of an investigator of the history of Indian thought to show the dependence of every new system on older ones preceding it, and to trace its very roots to contemporary ideas. Now there is no possible doubt that the sublime teachings of the Upanishads were in existence before Buddha. As Buddha's Nirvana in some respect resembles the Brahma of the Vedanta it seems plausible to believe that Buddha was a sort of Vedantist. But this, in my opinion, is a delusion. For Buddha's Nirvana is in no way like the Brahma, the absolute being which is the very foundation of the world, or out of which everything that is has developed and came to existence. It is only that Nirvana is a state of peace, of rest, of calm in which it may be compared to one of the aspects of the Brahma. But there are many different systems in the world the ultimate aim of which is such a state of redemption. But the several systems as such differ widely from Advaita-Vedanta because they have a theistic basis, as the Mohammedan and Christian mysticism, or as Jainism, which denies the existence of a world-ruling deity. For this reason the reference to Vedanta carries no weight. One may, of course, argue that a similar need, or requirement is deeply rooted in many religious minds, but there is neither a necessity nor a possibility to trace all kinds of quietism to the same source.

There is yet another deliberation which speaks against the exclusive dependence of Buddha's teachings on that of the Upanishads. The Buddhism of the Theravadins and all the older schools is a pluralistic system. Now a pluralistic interpretation of the world was very common in Magadha, for Jainism was spreading there just in Buddha's time. As far as I know nobody has ever tried to deduce Jainism from the Upanishads or to interpret its doctrine in a Vedantic manner. I cannot therefore see any reasonable ground for assuming that Buddhism must have sprung from an Upanishadic fountain. In my work on the stages of development of Indian thought published in 1940 I have tried to trace the Buddhistic dharma-theory to antecedents in the Vedic time. For the Brahmanas and the Vedic texts teach a pluralism of substantial factors which have a strong similarity to Buddhist dharmas, for in this remote period of Indian thought qualities such as love, hatred, knowledge, etc., were considered as substances which had their own quasi-independent existence, and were not regarded as inherent in any substance. Of course by this I do not mean that the dharmas of Buddhism are in any way identical with these archaic concepts of the epoch of the Brahmana texts. What I would suggest is only this: that the Buddhist theory of dharmas many have arisen out of ideas that have their precursors in the Brahmana-time. Between these comparatively primitive and crude concepts of the archaic mode of thinking and the highly refined means of the Buddha there lay centuries of philosophical development. It may be that between these two periods other thinkers were active in shaping and perfecting these ideas, and in respect the Buddhist doctrine that there were Buddhas before Gautama may not be without foundation.

I have tried to show the contribution of Buddhism to philosophy. I have tried to show how the knowledge of Buddhism has developed step by step in the realm of the minds of European scholars. I have tried to point out some of the problems which European thinkers have tackled and I have taken the liberty of pointing out how I myself stand in this

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be it from me to maintain that the solutions have tried to offer are in any way definitive do I want to force them upon others who have more knowledge than I have. But haps the thoughts I have tried to expound may form a basis for a discussion which bring to light new facets of thinking and serve to elucidate some problems of hist philosophy.

My Travels in India

Arnold Toynbee writes in *Careers and* ures:

For a historian, who is travelling round the rld via South America and Southern Asia, ia is the most important and interesting ry on his route. She is important, to begin because of the sheer size of her population. other single country, except China, carries so r of mankind's eggs in one national basket. people of India are so large a contingent of whole human race that their destiny is a r of general human concern.

India is also important because she is one three great countries—the other two being a and Russia—that contain, between them, k of the world's peasantry. When the s of Pakistan, Indonesia, Mexico, and Europe are reckoned in, the world's ntry still amounts today to something en two-thirds and three-quarters of the 's total population. This means that the ntry's future is going to be decisive for man- and the crucial question for the peasantry they are to come to terms with the modern of life that has suddenly been conjured into ce by the Industrial Revolution.

n Russia, China and India alike, energetic pts to modernise the peasantry are being in our time; but the experiment in India equely important and interesting, because, in alone of the three titanic peasant countries, mpaign is being conducted on liberal lines. e two communist peasant countries, the nt is being taken by the scruff of the neck, n being forcibly put through the moder- on process. It remains to be seen whether sts of this dragooning will be permanent, is certain that the price has been the loss edom, and this is too high a price to pay, for indispensable economic progress.

Modernization

India, on the other hand, has chosen the and slower way of trying to persuade the 's conservative mind to opt for moder- voluntarily as a result of being rationally of its advantages. It is obviously a matter of immense importance for "the Free World" that this courageous and imaginative Indian experiment should succeed.

India is also an historian's cynosure for a dozen other good reasons. Will she succeed in her international policy of trying to persuade Russia and America to resign themselves to co-existence? As this is the only practical alternative to an atomic third world war, it is a major concern to the human race that the Indian policy of peace-making should not fail. And, anyway, whether it fails or succeeds, it is a matter of great interest for the contemporary historian to see something of it at first hand.

But, of course, the historian's interest is not confined to contemporary events. The whole of past history is equally his field; and major events in mankind's history, since the dawn of civilization, have taken place on Indian soil. India occupies a central position in the festoon of civilizations that is slung across the Old World from Japan at one top corner to the British Isles at the other. So the strategic, political and economic geography of the sub-continent—which for these purposes includes Pakistan—is meat and drink to the historian. He wants to see, with his own eyes, the lie of the land and the look of the landscape.

India reveals herself on her roads. An Indian road is never empty and never dull. There is a constant gentle flow of slowly-moving traffic: pedestrians and bullock-carts, flocks of sheep and goats and troops of monkeys: country buses (a revolutionary force) no longer pulled by bullock-power, but driven by internal combustion engines; an occasional lorry and a still less frequent elephant. Three or four millennia are ambling along side by side; and they do not even keep moving; they camp for the night by the wayside, with the bullocks unyoked and their drivers sleeping snugly under the wheels. In Southern India, the cartwheels are as big as the driving wheel of a locomotive; in Hindustan (Northern India) they are small with clumsily thick rims; in Upper Sind they are solid, with four holes scooped out of them to lighten their weight; and the turning wooden axle screeches and whines with a music familiar to travellers in Turkey. In Lower Sind, on the other hand, spokes reappear, and the wheels are small and elegant.

Age-old Life

The bullock-cart is a fascinating object of study—and an important one too; for this must still be far the commonest form of wheeled vehicle in the world. The total number of the world's motorcars and rolling stock must be

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trivial by comparison. So, on the Indian road, you meet the world's age-old peasantry following its age-old way of life, and the historian never tires of the spectacle. Read Kipling's description, in *Kim*, of life on the Grand Trunk Road, and you will know why.

But, alas for the Western wayfarer, all Indian roads lead, in a trice not to the 750,000 villages in which the people of India live but back into the Western World on Indian ground. Travelling through the countryside is an indulgence that is doled out to the inquiring visitors parsimoniously. After a day or two of seeing India, he is politely but firmly steered back into a British-made cantonment or factory; Rawalpindi or Bangalore or Calcutta, Madras or Bombay. In Calcutta you are still not quite out of India for, though Calcutta looks like Pimlico if you keep your line of vision tilted to the second storey, one glance at street level brings India back incarnate in her cows. But in Bombay the municipality has managed to banish the cows to the outskirts, and you find yourself interned in one of the standardised, supercities of the modern world.

Outline of Ghats

Bombay is full of interesting people; much of the world's business is transacted there; but you might as well be in Liverpool or New York. Through the windows of your too comfortable hotel, you look longingly, across the estranging sea, at the mist-veiled outlines of the Western Ghats. Over the top lies Maharashtra; but this authentic India is as remote as if a whole ocean lay between it and Bombay Island.

Next time I visit India, I shall not make any engagements or commit myself a terminal date. I shall buy a bullock-cart (Andhra type) and a pair of patient-eyed, white-oxen and then I shall set off on a journey without end. If ever I return, I shall come back this time with a cargo of real knowledge piled high between my slowly-turning wheels.

* * *

Is 'awaken' a transitive or an intransitive verb? I have never been able to decide, and I do not want to be told the answer now; for an ambivalent meaning of the word exactly fits my present subject.

The Indian peasantry are certainly being waked up today by a dedicated minority of their urban fellow-countrymen, but no amount of nudging and prodding would avail to arouse Rip Van Winkle from his long slumber if something were not astir inside the sleeper. And even if his would-be bnefactors knew that they could awake him up against his will by sticking pins into him, they are too humane and wise and scrupulous to administer this Russian treat... Their aim is to help the Indian peasant to help himself; and they will put up with frustrations and set-backs rather than coerce him. This is why the present Indian community development work is both admirable and intensely interesting.

Weight of Burdens

How long has the peasant been asleep? Almost as long as the time that has elapsed from to date, since agriculture was invented. Perhaps as many as eight thousand harvests have been reaped in the world so far; so not less than eight thousand years may have passed over the sleeping peasant's head.

What accounts for this prolonged state of coma? The peasant has been stupefied by the weight of the burdens placed on his shoulders. Cities and wars, pyramids and cathedrals, arts and crafts, kings and priests, soldiers and Brahmins—all these have climbed on to the peasant's back and have lived, as parasites, on his labours. They have stripped him of his surplus production, leaving him to live at starvation level, while these exotic institutions and privileged minorities have fattened on the fruits of his toil. Civilization, with its two congenital diseases, war and slavery—has been built up at the peasant's expense; and, till the other day, the peasant had taken it for granted that this was his unalterable fate.

Look into his countenance, and you will see there the same suffering, and the same patient endurance of it, that you find in the brown eyes of the mild oxen who pull the peasant's plough and draw his cart until they drop in their tracks from sheer exhaustion. This is how the ox's bucolic master and his womenfolk and children, have lived and died since civilization began.

The peasant's fatalism has, of course, been intuitive. It has not been founded on a rational interpretation of economic facts. Yet this has warranted it down to the outbreak of the 18th century agrarian and industrial revolutions. Up till then, mankind's surplus production was so small that, if there was to be such a thing as civilization at all, it was bound to be the monopoly of a minority enjoying it at the majority's cost. Today, for the first time in history, there is a possibility of amenities for all. All over the world today, the peasant is awakening to this revolutionary change in the age-old situation. In India today, it is the task of the power-that-be to help the peasant to attain the better life that is now at last within his reach.

Community Work

When we are talking of human progress, 'better' means 'better spiritually.' But

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the distinction between soul and body is an
ficial dichotomy. Man cannot develop his
iritual faculties if the material conditions of his
istence are depressed to an animal level. Where
level is as low as this, spiritual and material
velopment must go together; and both are
ered for in the present community develop-
nt work in India.

Any attempt to improve the condition of the
ge Indian peasantry has to be on a gigantic
ale and the whole mass cannot be leavened in
single operation. The work has been started
locks of villages distributed all over the sub-
ent. It is hoped that, in a few years, the
ork of the organization will cover all the
ges that there are.

At the headquarters of each block there is
e team of experts—a medical officer, an
ricultural adviser, a civil engineer—but the
en and women on the professional staff are
workers in the villages who are in direct
ch with the people. These village workers have
know something about road-building, well-
ing, public health and crops, and they have
to be diplomatists, because it lies with them
get the villagers moving under their own
. The work achieves success when leaders
m the villages who take up the work them-
ves and persuade their neighbours to follow

The officers of the community development
ganization set great store by winning over the
women. If the women are not persuaded
the value of the work, they will effectively pre-
the men from moving. But if once the
men are convinced the men's concurrence is
ured. Women are, of course, conservative-
nded but they are practical-minded too; and
ey will not inhibit them from adopting
ew arrangements, or even 'family planning,'
ve been demonstrated to their satisfaction,
ese innovations benefit their children.

PRIORITIES

What are the stages in the development
ess? The crowning achievement is a school-
se built with substantial contributions, in
ur and money, from the villagers themselves.
t things must come first and, for the
vement of life in an Indian village, the first
ities are wells and drains. In an unre-
ed Indian village the lanes ooze with a
ture of cow-dung and human sewage, and this
ds of a hundred debilitating infections seeps
the well, if there is one. So the first step
ds a cement-lined well with a high rim to
ect from contamination at ground level. The
xt step is to convert the poisonous lane into
pucca path with a concrete drain running
alongside of it. These elementary improvements
work wonders not only for public health, but also
for personal self-respect.

Such work may sound prosaic, but the spirit
behind it is imaginative and humane and the
practical idealism of this great Indian enter-
prise may be going to bring about one of the
most beneficent revolutions in the peasantry's
life that have been known, so far, to history.

* * *

India casts a spell over visitors from all
quarters of the earth. The Chinese Buddhist
pilgrims who made their way to Gandhara and
Bihar in the fifth and seventh centuries of the
Christian Era felt India's charm just as strongly
as the present-day secular Western inquirer.
There are few countries in which the foreign
traveller is so much frustrated and exasperated:
there are fewer that he so keenly regrets to
leave and so eagerly looks forward to seeing
again.

Long after one has seen that last of this
fascinating sub-continent, the music of its life
goes on singing in one's ears. It is a strange
orchestration, in which a harmony is produced by
a mixture of strains that would sound discordant
in any other country. The creaking of bullock-
cart axles comes into it, and the cawing of crows,
but the dominant strain is the inaudible voice
of the rivers, which speaks to the eye and trans-
mutes itself into poetry in the enchanted mind.

I have not seen the rivers of India in their
monsoon spate. Then, no doubt, they roar and
rage like Shiva's bull lashed into fury. I can see
them in this mood with my mind's eye, because
in imagination, I can fill with foaming water the
vast sand-beds or shingle-fields through which, in
other seasons, each river roams like a beneficent
python (beneficent because even the most tenuous
trickle of running water is a gift of the gods in
so thirsty a land).

—

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Medicines Own Neurosis

Roy Bridger writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Millionaires, who usually make their money by thinking differently to other people, are apt to succumb to a disappointing respect for the conventional when the time comes to allocate legacies. Research work on specific diseases is an old favourite. Yet if results are a criterion such funds are sadly misdirected.

A living organism is an obstinate bit of work. It knows just what it wants. If the right conditions are not forthcoming, it begins to pine, and no matter how drastically local symptoms are treated, the tendency to pine still remains. This is a rock against which medicine has vainly flung all its resources. Instead of going on and on with research work on local symptoms, is it not time to look for the conditions under which pining would not arise?

Already the prophets who keep a little ahead of the crest of the wave can sense that big changes must come. The upward trend of costs in curative medicine, says Dr. G. Mathew Fyfe, medical officer of health for Fife, will force a recognition that the first aim of our health services must be the prevention of disease. Discussing the question whether the Society of Medical Officers of Health should merge with the British Medical Association, the *Medical Officer* has expressed the view that there might be something to be said for the proposal "if prevention were now fully understood and practised by the medical profession as a whole, but the indications are that this happy state has not yet been achieved."

Dr. H. Mackenzie-Wintle, medical officer of health for South Oxfordshire, scorns conventional attitudes to "expensive placebos," which he believes could well be thrown into the river without loss. Other critics lay the blame on the doctors themselves. "If they will take the easy way of prescribing bottles and pills for all and sundry," writes Dr. T. R. Wilkie Millar, Edinburgh, in a letter to the *British Medical Journal*, "they must expect to reap as they sow." To account for the "fantastic numbers" being treated under the National Health Service, Dr. A. K. Bowman, senior administrative medical officer, Western Regional Hospital Board, Scotland, is driven to conclude that, either attendance at clinics and hospitals is becoming a national pastime, or the medical profession is losing its sense of judgment.

The Times, commenting on Dr. Mackenzie-Wintle's attack on "the fantastic array of purges, nerve sedatives, tonics, concentrates, rejuvenators, smell banishers, night drinks, processed this and irradiated that," is in no doubt that the cure with the doctors, who are prescribing an increasing amount of medicine. Harmful "cures" should be attacked as such, if necessary by strengthening legislation. Dr. Mackenzie-Wintle's suggestion that palatable purgatives should be the first to go, since they perpetuate the very ills they purport to cure, is particularly approved.

Medicine, for long an uncertain stumbler on the path of truth, is in fact today joining hands with sinister company indeed. To Dr. Johnson vivisectionists were "a race of men who practised tortures without pity, and related them without shame, and are yet suffered to erect their heads among human beings."

These days, says C. S. Lewis, we hardly dare to use such language—for we have let the other side win. Their victory is "symptomatic of matters more important still":

"The victory of vivisection marks a great advance in the triumph of ruthless, non-moral utilitarianism over the old world of ethical law, a triumph in which we, as well as animals, are already the victims, and of which Dachau and Hiroshima mark the more recent achievements."

In 1947 the number of experiments on captive animals was 1,287,341. In 1954 it was 2,433,487. Has our rate of elimination of disease doubled accordingly ?

Commenting on the remarkable fact that with over two million experiments carried out only three or four "minor irregularities" were reported, Dr. James F. Brailsford, in an elegant attack, in the *Birmingham Post*, on vivisection, writes :

"With the knowledge that irregularities in the treatment of human beings by doctors are of a very much higher proportion, I cannot believe that these three or four were the only irregularities, or that the many more were of such a relatively trifling nature."

Lord Dowding has drawn attention to the disparity between the imprisonment of men in cruelty, and the honours and rewards given to its pseudo-scientific professional whole. "This crime," affirmed the late Peter Freeman, M.P., "will go down in history as one of the blackest ever committed by human beings."

"You labour in a torture chamber and dissecting room,
I make my observations under the blue sky to the song of the birds,
You subject cell and protoplasm to chemical tests,
I study instinct in its loftiest manifestations,
You pry into death, I pry into life."

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There is a close connection between the legalized cruelty to animals at which Fabre expressed such profound horror and contempt, and the growing movement to enforce compulsory vaccination of human beings. In this respect should be noted a tendency to attempt to rescue vaccination from the disrepute into which it has fallen, by referring to the practice as a "public health" measure. The relative importance of the "infection" factor is no higher than a century ago, when sanitation as we know it was practically non-existent; yet even the Kinglake could relate in *Eothen* how he escaped unscathed from plague-stricken Cairo simply because he did not believe in contagion. This is not quite the whole story, but it is at least evident that advocacy of vaccination as a public health measure is a confession of failure in fields of greater relative importance.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Birth Control in China

Dr. Chou Ngo-fen of the Bureau of Women and Children's Health at the Ministry of Public Health of China writes for the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, New Delhi, as follows:

Modern Obstetrical Methods

I am a gynaecologist and obstetrician, and my work for the Chinese Government has to do with the health of women and children. In discharging my duty I frequently have to go to factories, schools, government offices and the countryside to see how the new obstetrical methods and the new ways of bringing up babies so vigorously sponsored by the People's Government are being carried out. On my rounds I meet many obstetricians, health workers, and old-fashioned midwives who have taken a course in modern obstetrical methods since liberation. From actual observation I have come to the conclusion that these people know their job. They are not only capable of doing perfectly safe deliveries but also of giving sound advice to mothers on how to take care of their babies. Tetanus, so deadly a foe to new-born babies in the past, is now rarely heard of.

During the past few years the living standards of workers and peasants have risen sharply. They are better fed and better clothed than before, and their health and the health of their families are taken good care of. In the past the high death-rate among small babies was due to the generally bad living conditions and the fact that there was no medical treatment available when they were ill. Both these circumstances are vastly improved now. In the past, when grinding poverty was all too common, parents in the villages sometimes even drowned girl babies, as girls were looked down on; but this attitude, too, has changed. Malnutrition and insanitary conditions led to an appallingly high infant mortality rate. Parents with many children often lost half of them. But now-a-days practically every expectant mother knows she will have her child safely and that her baby has every chance of growing up safely. Calculations based on investigations made by the Ministry of Public Health in the rural areas show that whereas in the past two million of the babies born annually would have had little chance of survival, now these babies, too, are saved.

On my trips to factories and the villages I constantly meet smiling mothers who will not let me go till I have seen their bonny babies; and they one and all praise the obstetricians and midwives trained in modern methods.

A New Problem

Safe deliveries and bonny babies naturally please everyone. But there are problems, and knotty problems too. In the past, the age for marriage was shockingly low. This is being slowly altered through the Marriage Law, which, for a start, allows marriage at the age of 18 for girls and 20 for lads. It is only in the big cities that there is any practicable knowledge of birth control. But the Marriage Law is comparatively recent, so that we still frequently come across young women still in their early twenties who have four or five children and women in their thirties who have seven or eight or more. This is a heavy burden on them. It is from such considerations that the question of birth control arises.

Unfortunately, over the past few years the Ministry of Public Health has stressed the protection of children to the exclusion of other factors. Doctors were not allowed, save in exceptional cases, to give people information on contraception, and no contraceptive devices were on public sale. Unable to get scientific advice, people often resorted in desperation to charlatans or quack doctors, with the tragic result that many were maimed for life.

But in a country like ours reasonable demands by the people cannot be long ignored. Whenever deputies to the National People's Congress were visiting factories and the countryside, the workers and peasants told them how badly they needed to know about birth control, and asked them to urge the departments concerned to look into the problem at once and satisfy the people's demands as quickly as possible. In 1955, Mr. Shao Li-tzu, one of the deputies, made a speech at the First Session of the First National People's Congress urging the government to spread a knowledge of birth control.

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Different Views

Shao Li-tzu's speech provoked heated discussion all over China. Some people still held out against the demand. Some looked at the matter solely from the standpoint of statistics. They say that since liberation industrial production has risen by about 10 per cent a year, agricultural production by 5 per cent, and population by only 2.2 per cent. Seeing how much faster both industrial and agricultural production are increasing than population, they say, we can give people a better livelihood without resorting to birth control. There are others who consider birth control as immoral or unethical. But the vast majority of people—the general public, population, specialists, doctors, educationists, members of the women's federations, the trade unions and the Youth League—are all advocates of birth control. Personally my sympathy lies with them.

As a woman I know from personal experience that to make the equality between women and men, which we won at the liberation, a real living thing, women must work and study hard. This means that they must be able to plan their families so that they are not tied down by the household drudgery which too many children entails. I am a mother myself and I know how difficult it all is. The children of New China are future builders of socialism and communism, and if they are to be equal to their task they must be brought up in a proper way. If you have too many children you simply cannot give them all the care and training that will fit them for their future work. My experience as an obstetrician tells me that women who have too many children or who have them too close together cannot get enough rest after pregnancies. That ruins their health and increases the incidence of diseases. Besides, children born under such conditions are frequently weakly themselves. All these evils can be got rid of if births can be properly spaced. There is nothing wrong, nothing immoral about birth control. Quite the reverse; *family planning* is in the highest interests of humanity.

As for the relationship between population and standards of living, I concede the point that production increases faster than population. All the same, China is a country with a huge population, and in the past her economy was dreadfully backward. The present rate of increase—over 10 million a year—is bound to hamper improvement of the people's lives and the provision of amenities like children's hospitals, nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools.

Spreading Knowledge

So, after weighing all the pros and cons, the People's Government decided to take steps to popularize and promote the practice of birth control. Needless to say, whether the people want to practise birth control or not is left entirely to their own discretion. The People's Government merely does the work of popularization and provides medical facilities.

I said just now that the majority of the Chinese people have no knowledge of birth control. The fact of the matter is that many people know very little about physiology and hygiene. Another stumbling block in the work of popularizing birth control is the fact that many people are still influenced by the old, feudal ways of thought. They still consider conception and birth as a completely mysterious process and, indeed, feel that even the mention of it is taboo. It requires both patience and tact to persuade such people to accept the modern view.

Our work of propagating birth control began in 1955, and ever since, the newspapers and magazines have had constant articles on the subject. The government departments concerned have issued pamphlets and posters, used lantern slides, held exhibitions, meetings and lectures to spread the knowledge of birth control. The aim is to explain both the technique and significance of birth control, to show that it is a matter which concerns both husband and wife, and that both must co-operate for successful family planning, and to strike a blow at feudal and obscurantist ideas. The various

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contraceptive methods and devices are explained and people are told where they can be bought and what places to go to or get in touch with for advice. All this has met with a warm welcome from the public.

Practical Steps

In popularizing and promoting birth control we are now working on the following lines:

1. *Contraception.*—We consider this the most important method of family planning. There are large quantities of contraceptive devices, both mechanical and chemical, manufactured and put on sale at reasonable prices. The Ministry of Public Health has also urged the medical schools and colleges to see what both Chinese and Western medicine can provide in the way of simple and effective methods. Many hospitals have opened birth control clinics and organised teams which visit government offices, schools, factories and the countryside to give practical advice. The Chinese Medical Association has set up a committee on practical birth control which studies and gives advice on contraceptive methods. It is already showing results. For instance, the adult population of Tientsin in 1956 was much larger than in 1955, but the city's birth rate fell by several thousand. A similar drop is reported from other places.

2. *Later marriage.*—The Marriage Law sets the lowest age for marriage as 18 for women and 20 for men. That, as I said above, is largely a compromise with folk custom. Some medical scientists hold that women should marry at around twenty-five and men around thirty. They will then also be financially and intellectually better placed to bring up a family. Some people propose that the legal marriageable age for men and women should be raised by several years. The disadvantages and advantages of marrying later are now being explained to the young people. Some deputies to the National People's Congress are proposing to amend the Marriage Law to raise the marriageable age by several years.

3. *Clinical abortion.*—Strictly speaking, any outside interference with a normal pregnancy holds risks to a women's health, and has in the past been strictly prohibited. People are not encouraged to regard aobortion as a contraceptive method.

4. *Sterilization.*—We consider this a method to be sparingly used and only in exceptional circumstances. No application is accepted unless it has the unqualified agreement of both husband and wife.

Care for the Young Generation

Let no one think that because we are popularizing birth control we do not love and treasure our children. The rights of all mothers and children are guaranteed by the Constitution of New China. Before and after childbirth women workers and employees in strenuous jobs are put on light work, the expenses of confinement are met by the State, they get 56 days' maternity leave on full pay, and so on. A fall in the birth rate does not mean that our responsibility for the health of women and children is less, but rather greater. We must help every mother to bring up each of New China's children to be a citizen sound in mind and body. As for those couples who want to have children but cannot because of some physical disability we shall do everything we can to enable them, too, to enjoy the joy of parenthood.

I should add here that we are not campaigning for birth control in the regions inhabited by China's national minorities. There we are doing all we can to increase the population. Before liberation, in the long bitter years of reactionary oppression, disease and privation lowered fertility, and huge expanses of territory where the minorities live are today only sparsely populated. It is government policy to help them to increase their population and create prosperity and happiness.

That, then is why we have spread the knowledge of birth control and how we are carrying it out. In the course of our work to spread a knowledge of birth control, to wipe out the remaining traces of the feudal outlook, to show people that it is better to work for the happiness of society at large than to raise overlarge families, to provide great quantities of cheap contraceptives and to train the experts needed will all take time, and problems and difficulties are bound to crop up. But for the sake of mothers and children, for the sake of the younger generation, for the welfare and prosperity of our people we shall not shirk our responsibilities.

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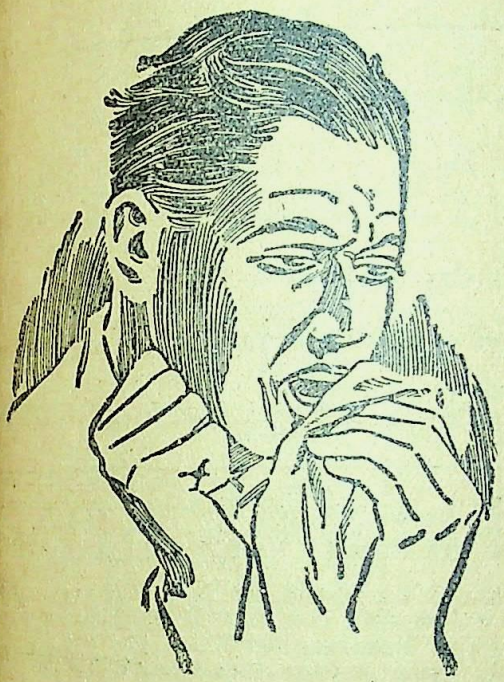

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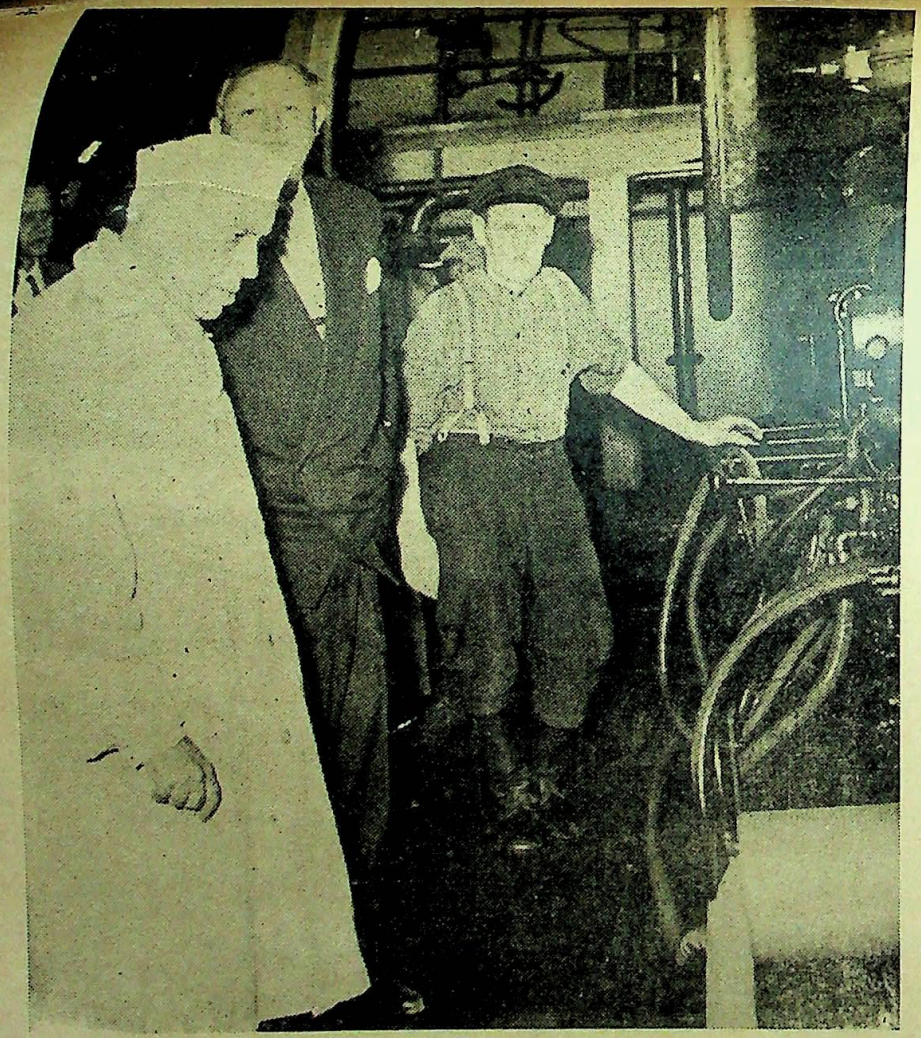

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THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST 1957

Vol. CII, No. 2 WHOLE No. 608

NOTES

Strikes and Welfare States

At the time of writing this note the news has come through that the threatened strike, of the Post and Telegraph department and of the Central Unions of Government Employees, had been averted at the eleventh hour. All we can say is that Shri Common Citizen, for whose welfare no one cares a hoot, has had a respite in the process of being bled white.

We have no doubt that a whole host of persons will claim credit for the staving off of the crisis, and that both sides of that assemblage of political adventurers, confidence men and stooges, that form the majority in our two Houses of Parliament, will claim victory, shamelessly and thoughtlessly. For the main issue, both on the Government side and that of the Opposition, is that of the loaves and fishes of political power, there is no question about the welfare of the comman man.

For it is apparent that Shri Common Citizen is of no account, excepting for the purpose of being bled white, by the Government, by the black marketeers and by the fraternity of double-witted gentlemen who throng the political platforms of India. How many continue to cherish illusions, about Five-Year Plans, about Welfare States and so forth, and keep on striving to make both ends meet, by the shedding of blood, sweat and tears, through endless and ceaseless honest labour, keeping his heart up through hope for halcyon days and faith in his leaders, but it will be all in vain. For honesty does not pay in the present set-up, Congress or Opposition, and will not pay in the future either, unless the very same Shri C. Citizen sets about altering the shape of things by the scrapping of all slogans and shibboleths and judging promises and precepts by actual results.

The Congress has shamelessly abandoned all the principles and tenets it had and completely perverted the old ideals of service, self-denial and sacrifice. It is the Common Citizen to-day who is called upon to perform all the service and to immolate himself by endless sacrifices—for the gain of his worthless leaders.

Organised labour also is attempting to assume control over the destinies of hundreds of millions of unorganised workers, by far cruder methods, for purely selfish and, in some cases, utterly unjustifiable motives. The output and efficiency of organised labour has sunk to a fraction of what it was a decade ago, thanks to the incitement of their unscrupulous leaders, of whom few have ever done any efficient and honest work. The Post and Telegraph department was renowned in the old days as being the most efficient, honest and incorruptible of all the Governmental services. It has now deteriorated beyond all recognition. We know there is want and insufficiency of means where the workers are concerned. But we know that at least 350 million people in India are even worse off and that barring the blackmarketeers and their myrmidons on the one hand and the Congress caucus, with their satellites and favoured officials on the other, there are but very few who are better off.

We are very strongly for all workers getting a living wage and for the raising of their standard of living. But this must be done without any victimisation of the poor suffering and unorganised common citizen, who constitutes 99% of the population. And unless the vicious cir-

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cle of falling labour output and rising of costs can be checked, that cannot be done. This is what our friends the organised workers have failed to understand. As a result they are leading the march towards disruption, which will mean ruin for all, inclusive of their own selves. If they had pressed for better living conditions not only for their own particular groups but for all, then they might have achieved something by convincing the self-seeking bureaucrats and their complacent masters that the day of reckoning will come soon unless a new set-up is brought into being.

Labour, organised or otherwise, must understand that public sympathy and popular support is essential for their cause. Otherwise the inevitable result is either Fascism or Totalitarianism, which means enslavement of the worker in either case. This is a proved historic fact which our Leftist wiseacres forget in their enthusiasm. There is widespread discontent and resentment amongst the nationals of India, against the Government, and this is growing as blackmarketing of essential materials, including foodgrains and fats, is increasing in an alarming fashion, and the standard of living of those who form the backbone of the communities is tumbling down. But this resentment must not be mistaken for sympathy for strikers or strike organisers. You cannot expect sympathy from a tormented man by further increasing his burdens. His attitude now is "plague on both thine camps."

Of course the Governmental machinery is accelerating the confusion, through its criminal neglect of the people's welfare. As far as any unbiased and intelligent person can make out our heads of State construe the meaning of the word "Welfare State" in a peculiarly limited sense. Welfare, it seems, follows strictly along the lines of protocol, down the tiers of the Congress hierarchy and bureaucracy to the lowest levels of the "Gazetted Officers." Besides these of course are the pets of the Congress High Command, the blackmarketeers.

In any decent and honest Government, let alone the Welfare State, Food, Shelter, Clothing and Medical Relief are carefully provided for all men. No blackmarkets can exist if the Ministry is honest and the higher officials incorruptible, no profiteering in house-rents is possible if the Ministry is really alert and careful.

Food prices have soared purely because of open blackmarketing. Decent people in Calcutta have been forced to go to slums, as we show in another note, because of ruthless requisitioning of flats by the Government and the stopping of house building by honest people of medium means, due to corrupt controls and unjustifiable constructional programmes of the governments forcing the prices of building materials to fabulous figures. And yet our brazen ministers talk about their "Welfare State" and reproach would-be strikers for "Anti-Social" activities, as if any striker group could out-do the performance of Pandit Nehru's Colleagues!

The Government and the People

The country is passing through a grave economic crisis and there is widespread discontent. The Central Government employees have threatened a strike from August 8 unless their demands are met in the meanwhile. The principal demand for the employees relates to an increase in their emoluments to make up for the deficits in their family budgets as a result of the sharp rise in the prices of most of the essential goods during the course of past few months. That there is great justice behind the demands of the government employees is certain and is not contended by even the Government itself. But the price increase has not hit only the persons in Government employment. Persons outside official cadres have been hit to a far greater extent.

The weekly *Vigil* has to say something very pertinent in this connection. We reproduce below its editorial remarks, in part:

"On all sides, demands for wage rises are becoming more and more strident every day. With prices soaring as they are, this is inevitable. And demands where they have organised pressure behind them are sooner or later bound to achieve some measure of success. Employers —whether government or other public bodies, masters of large-scale capitalist concerns—are organised and so are their employees, more or less. But all of them together form only a section of the country's population. Yet it is their and their disputes that practically monopolise all publicity.

"That the Government represents the

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all interests of the community is a claim which is plausible in theory but is not quite sustained by the facts. Subject to the demands of political necessity, it, too, subserves a group of interests which can be justly called sectional, and it is a matter of serious concern that this position is actually under a process of intensification in our country. In its higher reaches, the bureaucracy, as it goes on proliferating, is, also, at the same time becoming a distinct social and economic class together with those who, as employees or otherwise, are getting the lion's share of the benefits accruing from expenditure under the present Plan. The outline of the 'Establishment' that is shaping out of the alliance which in some respects is as novel as a mixture, of the politicians, bureaucrats and the higher capital-owning strata, is now more than dimly visible. What is also visible, perhaps a little less clearly, is the striving on the part of an emerging trade union bureaucracy for a place, even it be a marginal one in this 'Establishment'. To many, the prospect would not be quite so disquieting if this country were a functioning Welfare State with full employment and a tolerable minimum standard of living for all. But as we know, the capitalists, trade unions and the upper part of the Government's body together represent, in down-to-earth concrete terms, the interests of a fraction of the nation. But they are the organised and the vocal fraction.

"Of course, there is no dearth in the country of talk about the 'nation' and 'national' interests, when actually what is in mind are some sectional objectives. Calls are made for 'national sacrifices' in shameless disregard of the blatant actuality of the most monstrous differences in the economic position and standard of living between the high and the low. Endlessly the pleading goes on for increased *production* but often too often what the pleader is really interested in is *profit*. Organised labour themselves not infrequently seem to be reaching out for a privileged position and security not available to the greater part of the community. Insistence on larger and larger differentials in income appears to be the vogue. Fraternity, except within narrow groups, is becoming a mirage."

We fully endorse what the *Vigil* says on the point. It is symptomatic of the degree of the failure of the Government's policies under the Five-Year Plan that it now faces such stiff opposition from its own employees. While the other segments of the population has not been so vocal their desperate attitude also can be easily imagined.

Slum Dwellers in Calcutta

A sample survey conducted by the Statistical Bureau of the Government of West Bengal disclosed that about 132,800 families or 531,500 people lived in the bustees in Calcutta. The total area covered by the bustees in Calcutta was estimated to be 4,051.45 bighas. The survey confirmed the general belief about the dire poverty of the bustee dwellers—more than 58.78 per cent of the families had a monthly income of below hundred rupees. About 92 per cent of the families had to go with a monthly income of less than two hundred rupees; 6.49 of the families had an income between Rs. 201 and Rs. 350; 1.53 per cent had between Rs. 351 and Rs. 700. Those earning more than Rs. 701 per month constituted 0.38 per cent of the total families. The incomes of some families were as high as Rs. 2,000 per month; but their number was negligibly small. About 16.34 per cent of the families did not possess any assets.

About 62.01 per cent of the total population of the bustees in Calcutta were Bengalis; 25.29 per cent came from Bihar; 4.85 per cent from U.P.; 0.15 per cent from South India; and 0.15 per cent from Marwar.

The *Statesman's* summary of the report adds:

"Bengalis are able to secure employment equivalent to or above their percentage in the total bustee population only in the professional, technical and clerical divisions. In other types of employment, their share is less than their percentage in the total population. Their percentage is specially low in essential services and in work done by unskilled labour.

"The number of families investigated in the first phase of the survey is 3,100 and the population covered 10,870. The number of families investigated in the second phase is 26,211. On the whole, there are about 1,534 earners in different classes of occupations. Of them 823 are Bengalis and 711 non-Bengalis, their respective percentages being 54 and 46 against

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their percentages in the total population of 62 and 38. The average income of the earners is Rs. 69 per month. Roughly speaking, there is an employment seeker in one for every three families.

"About 77.10 per cent of the houses are kutcha and the balance pucca. About 1.5 per cent of the pucca houses are two-storeyed. Residential units shared by more than five families represent 48.86 per cent, by five families 6.49 per cent, by four families 9.92 per cent, by three families 7.63 per cent and by two families 6.49 per cent. About 20.61 per cent live in complete privacy either in independent houses or in independent residential units. Families occupying only one living room constitute 77.86 per cent, the average floor space per living room being 96.49 sq. feet. The number of persons per living room averages 3.18. Some bustee houses do not have sanitary conveniences and there is no water supply in a large number of premises. Conveniences wherever they exist, are inadequate and in about 90 cases out of 100 they are shared. In 35.15 per cent cases of kutcha houses and 26.67 per cent of pucca houses there is no water supply arrangement.

"Over 84 per cent of the families live as tenants while the rest as owners. The rent varies from Rs. 11 to Rs. 32 a month for houses with electricity and from Rs. 10 to Rs. 13 without electricity. The living expenditure of the families in the lower income level of Re. 1 to Rs. 100 amounts to Rs. 81.86, the expenses on other accounts being Rs. 3.51 a month, the corresponding figures for families of the Rs. 101—Rs. 350 group are Rs. 154.94 and Rs. 17.04 respectively.

"The report says that there is a tendency to understate the income and to inflate the expenditure. A family earning Rs. 100 or less spends Rs. 56.30 on food, Rs. 3.79 on clothing, Rs. 3.39 on fuel and light, Rs. 6.94 on housing and Rs. 14.95 on miscellaneous items. About 50 per cent of the expenditure on food is spent on cereals."

Currency and Finance for 1956-57

The Reserve Bank of India's Report on currency and finance for the year 1956-57, published recently, opens with a brief review of the general economic situation in the country. According to the report, the year 1956-57, the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, saw a further marked stepping up of the development effort in the economy, which was reflected in higher levels of investment in both the public and private sectors. Industrial and agricultural production recorded increases, but the growth of real output and voluntary savings during the year was apparently less than the rise in overall demand. On the whole, the Report states, the stresses and strains in the economy—of which the rise in prices and rapid decline in foreign exchange reserves were striking symptoms—were much more severe than in the previous year and consequently remedial action by Government and the monetary authority required also to be stronger and more varied.

A majority of foreign countries, the Report observes, had yet another year of high prosperity although due to limitations of capicity and adoption of restrictive and fiscal measures, the world-wide boom appeared to have slowed down particularly in the latter part of the year. Inflationary pressures continued in most countries, although they were, on the whole, less intense than in 1955. In some countries, the budgetary deficit was the primary source of inflation, but in many others it was the high rate of private investment accompanied by wage increases. Monetary and fiscal weapons were in general mobilised with marked success to restrain these pressures. In the latter part of the year, the world economy received a jolt from political and military development concerning the Suez, but this proved short-lived.

Because of the different degrees of inflation in different countries, the balance of payments position revealed divergent trends. Total gold reserves and official and private short-term dollar holdings of countries other then the USA increased by about $2 billion to $28.3 billion, but the increase was accounted for by a few countries, notably West Germany. The sterling area gold and dollars recorded a nominal rise of $200 million to $2,133 million during 1956. World trade showed a further expansion during the year, due mainly to liberalisation of imports, assisted by the increase in capital movements. Despite the widespread balance of payments difficulties, there was, on the whole, a further, though appre-

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progress towards the removal of exchange restrictions and discriminatory practices.

There was again widespread resort to monetary restraint measures in 1956 and also in 1957 to keep domestic investment within limits and to restore balance of payments equilibrium. This was reflected in discount rate rises reinforced by open market operations, variations in reserve ratios as well as selective credit controls. During 1956, as many as eleven countries revised their discount rates; Western Germany, Canada and Netherlands rerorted to the device. All these changes, except the third one in Western Germany, were in an upward direction, often following earlier rises. In the operation of the discount rate mechanism, an important innovation introduced in Canada was the linking of the Bank rate to the Treasury bill rate. Of special significance was also the sliding scale discount rate structure introduced in Chile. In 1957, there have been further discount rate increases, the most notable being the rise, to 2½ per cent, effective from May 15, of the Swiss Bask rate, which had remained unchanged for over 20 years at 1½ per cent. The other countries to raise the discount rates were France and Japan. Quantitative restrictions took the form of variations in reserve requirements of commercial banks in New Zealand, Brazil, Austria, France and Peru. In several countries, the measures of credit restraint were reinforced by budgetary policy, the main features of which were increases in taxation, reduction in expenditure and a general drive to increase national savings by offering higher interest rates and other incentives.

Development in the Indian Economy : In India, the rising trend of industrial production has been a notable feature of the Indian economy for the past several years, continued during 1956, the rise being shared by both capital and consumer goods industries prominently by the newer ones. The average general index (base: 1951=100) at 132.8 for 1956 recorded a further rise of 8.8 per cent over the 1955 level which itself was higher by 8.1 per cent than in 1954. A number of industries in the public sector also witnessed substantial progress and new targets were achieved almost in every enterprise. Overall agricultural production during 1956-57 is also estimated to be better than in 1955-56. Among foodgrains, the output of rice is estimated to have reached 28.1 million tons—a rise of 4.8 per cent over the previous year. Wheat production is also expected to be higher at 8.6 million tons as against 8.3 million tons in 1955-56. Among commercial crops, cotton output is estimated to show a significant increase of 20.8 per cent and that of sugarcane of 16.7 per cent.

One of the less satisfactory features of the Indian economic scene in 1956-57 was the continuance of the rising trend of commodity prices. Over the year, the Economic Adviser's weekly general index of wholesale prices (base : year ended August 1939=100) rose by 8 per cent on top of rise of about 12 per cent in 1955-56. The rise in prices during 1956-57 was, however, less continuous than in the previous year. As in the previous year, the rise occurred mainly in three groups, namely, food articles, industrial raw materials and semi-manufactures. The Reserve Bank's Report observes that the main stimulus to the price rise came from the steadily accelerating tempo of investment activity and the growing pressure of demand, particularly for foodgrains and industrial raw materials, superimposed upon some decline in agricultural output from the earlier record levels. Possibly, other factors such as some hoarding of stocks by producers themselves were also at work. Government's efforts to check the price rise have been directed both towards increasing supplies especially of foodgrains mainly through imports and restraining excess demand through fiscal and monetary measures. The fact that commodity prices did have periods of stability during the year, especially during the first few months of 1957 would seem to indicate that the action by Government and the monetary authority was met with parallel success, though this has mainly been in the direction of restraining a rise rather than producing a fall in pices.

Monetary and Credit policy during the year was one of controlled expansion, based on the twin considerations of assisting economic growth and restraining inflationary pressures. For this purpose, the Reserve Bank made use of general as well as selective credit controls. While the facilities for borrowing from the Reserve Bank were liberalised during the year under review, the cost of such credit was raised somewhat, largely in keeping with the trend of higher rates

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and also to discourage excess borrowing. The Reserve Bank's lending rate under the Bill Market Scheme, which had been put up from 3 to 3¼ per cent as from March 1, 1956, was raised to 3½ per cent in November 1956. The effective borrowing rate against usance bills was further increased by ½ per cent from February 1, 1957 as a result of Government's raising the stamp duty on usance bills. Simultaneously, the Bank also raised its lending rate on advances against Government securities from 3½ to 4 per cent. Further, with effect from May 16, the Bank rate itself was raised from 3½ to 4 per cent, and as from that date the effective borrowing rate against usance bills has been 4-1|5 per cent. Restraint on credit expansion was also exercised, for the first time, through directives under the power conferred by the Banking Companies Act, particularly in field of credit for the purpose of trading in foodgrains. The Report also mentions the enactment of the Reserve Bank of India (Amendment) Act, which provided for the needed flexibility in note issue and also endowed the Reserve Bank with greater powers to restrict the creation of credit by varying reserve requirements of bank.

The magnitude of expansion of money-supply with the public in 1956-57 was substantially smaller at Rs. 129 crores or 5.9 per cent as against Rs. 264 crores or 13.7 per cent in 1955-56, this being mainly due to the contractionist effect of a heavy balance of payments deficit which neutralised substantially the impact of a larger budgetary deficit. Scheduled bank credit recorded an expansion of Rs. 139 crores or 18 per cent, following a rise of 22 per cent in 1955-56, with the credit-deposits ratio advancing over the year from 73 per cent to 76.6 per cent. With all this monetary expansion, the economy continued to be characterized by an acute financial stringency, reflecting mainly the sharp increase in demand characteristic of a boom phase. The rise in deposit liabilities at Rs. 132 crores was Rs. 31 crores larger than during 1955-56. While in 1955-56, scheduled banks had brought in funds from abroad to the extent of Rs. 13 crores, they repatriated Rs. 15 crores during 1956-57. Net borrowings from the Reserve Bank recorded a larger net increase of Rs. 38 crores as compared to Rs. 28 crores in 1955-56 and, in addition, scheduled banks reduced their gilt-edged portfolio, whereas in the previous year they had augmented it. During the year under review, the financial accommodation provided by the Reserve Bank to State Co-operative banks continued to show a rising trend.

The *capital market* displayed signs of increasing strains under the continued pressure of demand for capital resources for development. The volume of funds raised during the year show a rise as compared to the previous year. Reflecting the general stringency in the money market, the gilt-edged market remains as firm as in the previous year. Share prices also recorded a net decline of 9.2 per cent in contrast to successive net increases of 6.1 per cent, 12.5 per cent and 9.4 per cent in the preceding three years. The decline in share prices was largely explained by the additional taxation measures adopted by Government, the disinflationary action by monetary authorities through raising of the interest rate pattern and prospects of decline in industrial profits as a result of increasing production costs. During the year, the activities of the different special institutions for the provision of finance to industry underwent a further expansion.

Reviewing Government finances, the Report states that the Plan outlay has been continuously rising. The revised estimate of the Plan outlay in 1956-57 is placed at Rs. 761 crores, as compared to Rs. 625 crores in 1955-56. However, the resources for implementing the Plan outlays have fallen short of the requirements, with the result that there has been increasing recourse to deficit financing, which is estimated at Rs. 257 crores for 1956-57 as compared to Rs. 157 crores in 1955-56. For 1957-58, the Plan outlay has been estimated to be around Rs. 900 crores, and the deficit of the Central Government is placed at Rs. 280 crores, after taking for receipts from the new tax proposals contained in the 1957-58 budget. Some of these are of a far-reaching nature, namely, a wealth tax and an expenditure tax. The new taxes are expected to bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 88 crores during the year 1957-58. The rate of interest on small savings has been raised by ½—¾ per cent.

The Report states that the impact of the rising tempo of developmental activity was most severely felt on India's balance of payments. The current account surplus recurring throughout the greater part of the First Five-Year Plan

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sharply reversed during 1956-57, with the emergence of an overall current account deficit of Rs. 292.5 crores as against a surplus of Rs. 17 crores in 1955-56. This was mainly due to the large increase in imports particularly of capital goods, resulting from a sharp rise in the rate of investment; food imports were also much higher than that in 1955-56. The foreign exchange resources were obtained partly through long-term Government borrowing and foreign grants, but largely through the drawing down of reserves. Sterling assets of the Reserve Bank of India dropped by Rs. 219 crores from Rs. 748 crores to Rs. 529 crores, after taking into account a net credit of Rs. 55 crores obtained from the IMF. Regionwise, the deficit was distributed over all the principal areas, but was concentrated in transactions with the OEEC countries, the deficit rising from Rs. 84 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 202 crores in 1956-57. In order to correct the payments gap, apart from borrowings from the IMF, effort has been made to obtain larger volume of foreign assistance as well as to restrict imports drastically. An agreement was entered into with the U.S. Government for import of agricultural commodities under the U.S. Public Law 480 for a total of Rs. 174.5 crores.

What use Foreign Loans ?

The Reserve Bank's analysis of the foreign exchange position of India presents a rather unhappy picture about the country's external prosperity. The latest issue of the Reserve Bank's monthly bulletin states that in 1956-57, exports remained practically at the previous year's level, while imports (Rs. 1,076 crores) which were about Rs. 325 crores more than in 1955-56, contributed to the change from surplus to deficit in the country's balance of payments. During 1956-57, there was a current account deficit of Rs. 292 crores as against a surplus of Rs. 16 crores in the preceding year. During the year 1956-57, the Government imports were valued at Rs. 280 crores as against Rs. 138 crores in 1955-56. The imports of the private sector also rose to Rs. 795 crores in 1956-57 from Rs. 611 crores in the previous year. The Reserve Bank observes that the balance of payments transactions during the first year of the Plan have given rise to two distinct consequences. On the one hand, part of the assumed deficit was necessary and it has now become a historical fact whatever the magnitude of the financing difficulties it presented. But the other consequence has been the need to take various corrective measures to redirect the courses of the country's balance of payments so as to conform strictly to available foreign exchange resources and to augment the foreign exchange themselves.

One of the main sources of augmenting our foreign exchange resources is foreign loans, particularly from the IBRD. With the latest loan of $90 million for the purchase of locomotives for the Indian railways, the total assistance so far received by India from that World Bank amounts to about $365 million. For the Second Five-Year Plan India expects loan from the IBRD to the extent of $800 million, but it is doubtful whether that expectation would materialize. The point is that continued dependence on foreign countries and foreign institutions for our economic development is not at all indicative of our growing prosperity. Foreign loans, unless be productive within a short period, constitute a drain on the foreign exchange resources of a country. While India's foreign borrowings are on the increase, her foreign balances are progressively on the decrease. There is, therefore, some serious backlog in our planning for production. One thing is certain and it is that India's productive capacity and so also the export potentialities are not increasing to the same extent as she is progressively increasing her foreign borrowings. In other words, foreign loans are used by India on projects mostly other than productive.

Just to say a few words about the recent railway loan taken by India from the IBRD. India has a railway route mileage for about 36,000 miles and that is one of the biggest in the world. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works alone is not adequate enough to meet the growing needs of locomotives. But India almost remained inactive over the question as how to increase the production of locomotives in the country. Sometimes ago hopes were raised that India would sooner be almost self-supporting in the production of locomotives within the country. But now that hope is belied. The point is that the Government policy in this respect is defective. Instead of utilising this $90 million

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for the purchase of locomotives from foreign countries, India should have started a few more locomotive building factories with the help of foreign loans. That would have increased the productive capacity of the country and India would not have to depend on foreign countries for the supply of locomotives. Locomotives are wasting assets and in the course of years this amount, $90 million, would go into waste without adding to the least to the productive capacity of the country. India should, therefore, turn more and more on productive projects with the help of foreign loans.

The Budget and the People

The recent concessions on wealth tax announced by the Finance Minister Shri T. T. Krishnamachari showed how far the Government was ready to accommodate big business in the country. While, with the exception of a slight modification of the postal rates, the Government stubbornly refused to budge an inch from its tax proposals which hit the common people, it went on to grant concession after concession to the wealthy and foreigners. Since the budget had been placed before the Parliament the Government announced five concessions: two in the previous session and three in the current session—all of which were in the interest of the people in the higher income group. The first two concessions related to "tax holiday" for five years for new companies, exemption from taxation of inter-corporate investments. Now the Finance Minister added three more: one was designed to reduce the taxation on the wealth of the foreigners owning property in India but residing abroad by about 50 per cent, the second one extended the five-year tax holiday to individual investors in new companies, and the third related to the exemption from assessment of the personal belongings other than jewellery.

On an analysis it would be found that none of the concessions granted had any justification from the economic point of view since the operation of the tax system in India never had been an inhibiting factor in the calculations of any enlightened entrepreneur. The foreigners had already been enjoying preferential treatment in the matter of the assessment of their wealth for the purposes of taxation. The new concession accorded them a still greater preferential status. In the original bill it has been proposed to exempt personal belongings worth up to Rs. 25,000 from taxation. The new concession apparently meant that a man's personal belongings would not be taxed whatever might be the value of those.

The tax concessions on investments in new firms were designel to provide incentive to investors. But a general concession in *all* fields was less likely to channelise investment into desired fields than could have been achieved by a policy of discriminating concessions. Then there was the very great possibility that unscrupulous businessmen might consider it more profitable to shift their investment from old to "new" firms to enjoy the five-year tax "holiday" from wealth tax.

The *Economic Weekly,* in an editorial article on July 20, underlines this potential danger as it writes: "While it may be conceded that concessions of the tax holiday type operate as powerful incentives, it would be inadvisable to ignore the possible pitfalls in the path of such concessions. In order to avail themselves of this concession, there might be a movement away on the part of individuals from old investments to new investments because only in respect of the latter that the tax holiday is permissible. A switch-over from old to new investments does not by itself add either to the sum-total of national saving or to that of investment. No doubt the fact that new industrial ventures carry higher yields, net of tax because of a tax holiday will be a factor which promotes investment. But we also have to reckon with the possible contingency mentioned above, *i.e.*, the tendency to dislodge old investments. To the extent this tendency reacts itself in depressed equity prices it is likely to distort investment perspective and therefore have an adverse influence on new investment decisions as well."

Dismissal of Journalists

Shri Narasimhan, a sub-editor of the *Hindu,* Madras, was recently dismissed for an editorial slip. But generally the dismissal of the editor has been taken to be due to his active interest in the trade union work of journalists in Madras, Shri Narasimhan being the Gen-

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Secretary of the Madras Union of Journalists. The Government of Madras have also taken interest in the matter of the editor's dismissal and are reported to have referred the matter to conciliation board.

From Madurai comes the news of the dismissal of Shri Brian Bobb, Chief Sub-editor of the Madurai edition of the *Indian Express* and President of the Madurai branch of the Madras Union of Journalists.

It is not possible to judge the merits or otherwise of the dismissals on the scanty press reports. It would, however, be questionable if the editors were dismissed solely because of their trade union activity. Neither does it appear reasonable that a sub-editor can be given the sack for one editorial slip—however grave that may be (in the case of a sub-editor it cannot be very great either). The State Government has done well in promising early attention in the matter. It is the fervent hope of all decent persons that the dignity of the press is not injured by any intransigence either on the part of the management or of the workers.

Solution of the Naga Problem

The *Statesman's* political correspondent in New Delhi reports that military operations against the Nagas in the Assam frontier would be suspended to prepare the ground for a political understanding. The new move by the Government of India, the correspondent adds, followed recent reports of a new approach to the demand for autonomy by these tribal people.

It is good news to learn that the Central Government has at last come to a realization of the futility of an application of force in the solution of a problem complicated by a multiplicity of factors—political, economic, cultural and no less strategic. Sober public opinion in India never quite agreed with the violent measures which the Government had adopted from time to time to meet the unrest in the Naga region. Now that the Government seeks to implement political solution—even going to the extent of amending the Constitution (Sixth Schedule which deals with provisions regarding administration of tribal areas in Assam)—it will undoubtedly have the best wishes of the

A solution of the protracted Naga problem however cannot be expected to be achieved without the Naga leaders, who, one cannot help saying, had not always shown the tact and sense of responsibility expected from leaders of people. The criminal outrages on the civilians in the region can hardly be justified. It is to be hoped that they would be coming forward to meet all the reasonable proposals of the Government of India in a reasonable manner. They should seriously reconsider their slogan for an independent Nagaland—a slogan, if made a reality, cannot offer the Nagas a better prospect than they can certainly get under a properly guaranteed system of tribal autonomy, remaining an integral part of the Union of India. It does not require much effort to see the ineffectiveness of an "independent" Nagaland. A ready parallel is offered by Pakistan. The Muslim League leaders in undivided India had preached that all ills of the Muslims would disappear once they could get their Pakistan. But a Pakistan has conclusively proved that fundamental problems of social improvement cannot be solved by narrow-minded and selfish slogans alone.

Crisis of Bengalee Middle Classes

It is now commonly acknowledged that the Bengalee middle classes are now facing the worst crisis in their life. There has, however, not been many discussions of the sociological factors involved in the crisis.

Shri Benoy Ghose, the well-known Bengalee sociologist, examines some aspects of the present crisis of the Bengalee middle classes in an illuminating article in the recently published Special Number of the Bombay *Economic Weekly*, which, in addition, contains a number of other valuable contributions on the current state of Indian economy. Tracing the evolution of the Bengalee middle classes Shri Ghose shows that they are historically the product of the British rule in India. The Bengalee genteel families were distinguished from the aristocracy by the fact that their prestige did not derive so much from birth as from education, achievement and wealth. While the middle classes continued to gain numerically for well over a century until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the speed of vertical mobility—*i.e.*, from lower strata of the society to the status

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of the middle class had not been generally so pronounced as it became during the Second World War and the years following, due, no doubt, largely to the disturbances in the social equilibrium generated by the disintegrating forces of war.

The war, famine and the partition of Bengal leading to a heavy influx of refugees from East Bengal, combined with the presence of an economically dominant and numerically heavy population of non-Bengalees, have created a situation in which the Bengalee middle classes were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their *status quo*, not to speak of improving their position in the social ladder.

"The economic competition is becoming harder day by day for Bengalees in Bengal," Shri Ghose points out, "and at the hub of it, in the city of Calcutta, the Bengalee middle-classes are pushed through the borderline of gentility towards the working classes."

This economic crisis was again interacting with an emotional disequilibrium so that the crisis of Bengalee gentility "is . . . not only economic; it is a social and psychological crisis also, with all its ramifying consequences."

War has meant a greater polarisation of Indian society including Bengali society. The elevation of a section of the middle classes in the social ladder has in its turn engendered a bitter struggle for those who were constantly being pulled down. This desperate effort to catch up has resulted in the middle class families getting into heavy debts.

"It is evident," Shri Ghose adds, "that the struggle of the middle classes was keenest in Calcutta and the Bengalee middle classes, in particular, were seriously affected by it. This is also one of the most important reasons why 'trade unionism' developed among middle-class employees all over India in wartime and the post-war years and why Calcutta became one of its storm centres. Possibly the Bengalee middle classes took the most active part in the movement and, as the finding of the Government Enquiry Committees (into their income structures) showed, they had ample reason for doing so."

The great economic distress including widespread unemployment has engendered an economic struggle in which the members of the middle classes were being elbowed out of ... independent fields of economic activity, so th... the Bengalees were coming more and more ... depend upon salaried services—a field, as S... Ghose points out, already overcrowded ... where, as the official unemployment sur... showed, they (the Bengalees) were not fa... represented in Calcutta. It was not unnatura... that the Bengalee middle classes were moving ... the political left to seek a remedy for their ... tress and frustration.

Britisd Affrontery Alleged

We do not know how far the news-ite... appearing in the Communist Party week... *New Age*, is in accordance with facts. If ... should be true, however, it is a grave matt... which should receive immediate attention of th... Government of West Bengal. If it should b... found out to be groundless that should also b... made clear.

The report reads:

On July 4, a woman worker of the Gaya... kata tea garden in Dhupguri police station ... Jalpaiguri district (West Bengal) was breast... feeding her little child when the British manag... of the garden happened to come that way. H... at once flew into a rage and began to abuse th... woman in filthy language for 'wasting' time... When she protested against his rude behaviour ... the manager kicked her.

As soon as the news of this assault spre... in the garden, the workers collected there a... demanded an explanation from the boss. Fe... with this situation, the manager discreetly g... assurance of good behaviour in future.

On the very next day, the police sudde... fell upon the workers when they were re... or going toward their homes during the ... time. A number of workers, including wo... were taken into custody.

Recreation Habits in Calcutta

A socio-economic survey of the social h... of the citizens of Calcutta conducted by ... University of Calcutta at the instance of ... Planning Commission, showed that cinemas ... the greatest attraction for people of all sec... the city. The survey was designed to mea... the extent of urbanization of the people. A... from cinema-going, other factors of urban...

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tion were taking part in sport and games, reading newspapers and journals and visiting the houses of relations.

The report, as summarised by the *Statesman*, reads:

"A lamentable lack of enthusiasm for games and sport irrespective of age is noticed. Over 65 per cent of the adult population do not read newspapers. Regarding visits to relations' houses citizens seem to be getting urbanized very quickly as nearly half of them have discarded the habit which is regarded as rural.

"Forty-three per cent of adult people in the city visit cinemas more or less regularly and the number of cinema-goers among men is larger. With advancing age the percentage of men and women among cinema-goers appreciably drops with one exception. Forty per cent of the women between 50 and 54 visit cinemas against 15 per cent between 45 and 49 and 25 per cent between 40 and 44.

"The survey helps to end some popular misconceptions regarding the nature of the cinema-goers. The poor section of the city's population is not among regular cinema-goers. In fact, the more one earns the more he visits cinemas. Those who earn below Rs. 100 a month contain 34 per cent of the cinema-goers and those between Rs. 350 and Rs. 750, 62 per cent. Seventy-five per cent of the illiterates do not go to see films, while 75 per cent of graduates are cinema-goers.

"Only 8 per cent of adult people play games. The most popular are indoor games like chess, cards and carrom. Among outdoor games football has the first preference. There is an affinity for soft games with advancing age. After football come badminton and volley ball. The percentage of adult women participating in games is microscopic."

Professor J. B. S. Haldane

Professor J. B. S. Haldane, one of the leading scientists of Great Britain, has left his home country with a view to settling down in India. His wife, Dr. Helen Spurway, who has been a lecturer on genetics and animal behaviour at the University College, London, is accompanying him.

Giving the reasons for leaving his homeland for ever Professor Haldane said: "I want to live in a free country where there are no foreign troops based all over the places; yes, I do mean the Americans."

Professor Haldane, world-renowned geneticist, is now about 64 years of age. He had long been active in the British Communist Party but his disagreements from the theories of the Soviet geneticist, Trofim D. Lysenko, led to a cooling down of his relationship with the Communist Party. A man with a great humanitarian outlook Professor Haldane has been a staunch critic of the foreign policies of the British Government. He took the decision to settle in India after the British attack on Suez.

While India had obviously nothing to do with the British scientist's decision Indians would gladly welcome the Haldanes amongst their midst.

Whither India's Foreign Policy

The mercurial form of India's foreign policy sometimes becomes much too fluid to be of solid assessment. During Pandit Nehru's recent tour in European countries he was reported to have condemned the Russian armed interference in Hungary. Immediately before that the U.N. report on Hungary was published stating that the uprising in that country was a national movement to overthrow the authority of the Soviet Union. Then in a Press Conference Pandit Nehru also declared that he had no doubt that the uprising in Hungary was a national liberation movement and he unequivocally condemned the Russian aggression in that country. Of course that utterance by Pandit Nehru was quite in the fitness of things in keeping with India's foreign policy of extending support to a country's struggle for freedom. But the same general policy cannot be applicable to all countries, unless they are similarly situated, nor the utterance of truth does always bring a good result.

Chanakya has rightly said: "Tell the truth, when it is pleasant; never tell the truth when it is unpleasant." When telling the truth will create an international embitterment, discretion is the better part of straightforwardness. India's neutrality in power-politics in the present-day world alignment is a geat source of weakness to India, notwithstanding the lip praise for India's neutrality in world affairs by many countries of the world. With the Kashmir and Goa issues looming large in the political horizon of India, India is almost

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living in a glass house and she should exercise much more judiciousness and reticence while uttering opinion on world affairs. What we want to say is that in the Kashmir and Goa dispute India practically has no other friend among the countries of the world, save the Soviet Union. Memory is still afresh in the minds of the people that during the last Security Council session the Anglo-American block wanted to thrust upon India an international army force under the aegis of the U.N. Alternatively, they tried to force an arbiter over the Kashmir dispute. India has practically no friend to take up her cause and in the last moment it was Soviet Union that saved India by exercising her right of veto. Had not the Soviet Union exercised its veto power, India today would have been in a mess over the Kashmir dispute. So India should remember, that the Soviet Union is a friend indeed in India's need. The other two so-called friends of India, the USA and the U.K. tried to lay down India in a helpless position over the issue.

While the disturbance was going on in Hungary, India at that time condemned Russia for her act of aggression in that country. What India has gained by condemning again the Russian action in Hungary? Is it just to please the Anglo-American opinion? Every one knows what is going on in the present-day world. But no leader of any other country perhaps chatters off and on like Pandit Nehru over the affairs of other nations. The result is that Pandit Nehru has to play the role of a see-saw in the movement of world opinion. While condemning once the Anglo-American action over some matter, he has to condemn the other camp so as to mention the balance of world opinion. In other words, in his attempt to please both the camps, he displeases them. In an attempt to maintain the balance, he upsets it. Uttering condemnation on Soviet Union for the second time has served no useful purpose to India. India today finds herself isolated and friendless in the vortex of world politics. In his emotional outburst, Pandit Nehru seems to be carried away between swings of world opinion from one end to the other, and he pleases none. So the less said over world affairs, the better for both India and Pandit Nehru. The utterance of truth by itself means nothing and so the other leaders of world opinion have kept silence over U.N. report on Hungary. The current trend of world events is slowly but perceptibly pushing India more and more away from the Anglo-American block.

But Pandit Nehru's defence of Communist China in grabbing Tibet is something amusing, particularly as it comes from the champion of dependent countries. Pandit Nehru has said as he said many times ealier, that Tibet was under the suzerainty of China and so China has the right to control Tibet and her affairs. But what is the meaning of suzerainty? The word suzerainty is essentially linked with the colonial pattern of domination and it is a pity that Pandit Nehru has succumbed to an imperialist obsession. Ever since 1912 Tibet was almost an independent nation, China's suzerainty over that territory was almost ended. It was the Communist China that again came forward in 1951 to subjugate that small nationality of Tibetan people and although India protested at that time, her protest was ineffective. During the Tibetan aggression by China, Pandit Nehru was snubbed by Chou-en-lai and Pandit Nehru took that without any qualms. It is a self-deception on the part of Pandit Nehru in supporting China's colonialist occupation of Tibet by force. It is the creation of a colony and it cannot be otherwise only because it has been taken over and subjugated by a country that professes to be socialist.

The doctrine of suzerainty is a dangerous one and it simply means that once a country happens to be under the suzerainty of another country it has no right ever to be independent. Tibet was once under the suzerainty of China, but the conception of suzerainty itself is based on the conception of imperialist domination and it is a wonder how Pandit Nehru could glibly support the so-called Chnese suzerainty over Tibet. In plain language, Tibet is now a colony or dominion of the so-called socialist State, China. Imperialism is always imperialism, whether it be by a capitalist country or a socialist one. Imperialism does not cease to be imperialism only because it is by a socialist country. In modern world, the conception of suzerainty is outmoded and contradictory to the conception of equality and independence of States. If you once admit the doctrine of suzerainty, then you admit that no country has any right to be independent, once it is under the suzerainty of another country. Then why do you agitate over Algeria and Tunisia? Then you

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should admit that Malaya and Singapore have no right to be independent because they are under the sovereignty and suzerainty of Britain. By invoking the doctrine of suzerainty, Britain can again subjugate India, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan. Why not? Chinese suzerainty was inoperative over Tibet since 1912, but still it was made effective in 1951 by force. The same doctrine and logic can also be used by Britain in extending her suzerainty again over her former colonies. So the doctrine of suzerainty is an essential incident of colonialism and we wonder how Pandit Nehru does support that in case of China's suzerainty over Tibet and her forceful occupation of that peaceful country thereby endangering the 2000 miles of northern border of India. China is a friend of ours, of two thousand years standing and we regret to have to say this.

Background to Disarmament

Disarmament eluded the statesmen of the world between the two World Wars. It has eluded them again since the Second World War. Yet as the thousands of thousands of words could not bring the problem near to any solution before the Second World War, the hundreds of thousands of words since have also been fully ineffective.

The only noticeable change has been the *reduction in the number* of powers involved in the problem. Disarmament in the present world now depends upon three powers—the USA, USSR and the UK—whereas until the Second World War the agreement of at least seven powers—the USA, USSR, UK, France, Germany, Japan and Italy—was needed. Of course to-day China, a *new power*, count—but none of these powers is sufficiently important *at the present* moment to materially affect any solution agreed upon by the three (two?) great powers. But sufficiently a smaller number has, if anything, only helped a greater sharpening of the problem.

Let it be made clear that none of the proposals as yet made by any of the Powers of the world can, even if sincerely implemented, lead to a genuine solution.

Even after reduction of troop strength and temporary suspension the Big Powers would remain incalculably more powerful than the other powers—so that while, by such a process, the Big Powers may relax themselves to a certain extent, the insecurity of the small powers, who constitute by far the largest number, would not diminish to any great extent. (Guatemala, British Guiana, Suez, Korea, Kashmir and Hungary provide eloquent testimony how far the "Small" powers are helpless before the intrigues of the so-called Big powers even when the atom bombs are not used).

This is not to suggest the impossibility of disarmament in the present, but only to underline the deficiencies of the present approach. Any effective system of disarmament can be based only upon a commonly defined principle. Unless the nations of the world come forward to abide by the principle, so defined, pursuit of disarmament is bound to assume the character of running after a mirage. Disarmament can be effective and lasting only when there is mutual faith in the international arena. Such a faith can come only when the Powers concerned would come out with *acts* and words showing that they sincerely want to be mutually helpful. Such a result is unlikely to be achieved on the international discussion table where showmanship and mutual recrimination invariably get hold of the situation—as has been the case so long.

The present position of the world as regards the military strength of the different countries has been neatly summarised by Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin regarding the disarmament proposals because all proposals had their roots in opportunism and not in any genuine conviction of the inescapable need to disarm. The proponent of every proposal tries to divert attention from the inadequacies of his stand by pointing to the defects, real or imaginary, in that of the others. It is no wonder then that the powers have so far failed to agree; on the contrary, given their power-political attitude it would have been a real wonder if they had agreed.

Then why do the powers at all speak of disarmament? The reason is not very far to seek; it lies in their power-political interests. In the current East-West competition to gain the confidence of the Asian-African States, which none of them is able to control militarily, the Big Powers cannot afford to ignore the great sentiment against war that exists among the

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people of the region—so that the powers have an interest in making themselves appear as great champions of peace. Moreover, a great segment of the population of the so-called Powers has also shown weariness at the idea of the war. Pressed thus, as they are, from both in and out, the Powers naturally are interested in any effort of seeming disarmament.

A gesture towards disarmament by the reduction of a few thousand *regular* troops (when in any general mobilisation practically the whole of the adult population can be geared to the war effort almost overnight) and the *suspension* of the production of nuclear weapons for only a temporary period (all the time being engaged in mutual espionage) can hardly create an atmosphere conducive to disarmament.

Mr. Baldwin writes: "The arms race today is costing the world an annual bill which may be numbered in twelve figures, or about $100,000,000,000. This money is being spent for men and for weapons. The men are the 18,000,000 to 20,000,000 in the armed forces of the world's nations. The arms include the tremendously expansive instruments of the new warfare—nuclear weapons and the missiles to carry them.

"The bulk of the world's military power is divided between the nations of the Communist bloc and those of the free world. There are about 8,700,000 men serving in the armed forces of the Communist powers, supported by approximately 40,000 to 50,000 planes and thousands of naval vessels, most of them small. The free world grouping mobilizes about 7,500,000 to 7,800,000 men in its armed forces, with more than 53,000 planes and preponderant naval strength. The so-called neutralist nations and the smaller powers of the world maintain collectively much smaller forces, but large enough in certain troubled areas to play a balance-of-power role.

"There are, in the fullest sense of the term, only two military 'super-States' or global military powers capable of every type of military activity—the United States and the U.S.S.R. There are only three nuclear powers—the United States, the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom. The United States has by far the largest, most powerful and most varied nuclear armoury and has a superior and more flexible and varied delivery system. The numbers of nuclear bombs and devices detonated by each nation represent an approximate yardstick of the progress of the nuclear arms race:

U.S.—80 to 85.
U.S.S.R.—30 to 40.
U.K.—12.

"The United States, Russia and Great Britain are the only powers that have major [illegible] and long-range bomber capabilities, and Britain's power is far inferior to the two leaders.

Economically, the United States provides for over 43 per cent of world's total annual expenditure on arms, followed by the Soviet Union which accounted for something between 25 and 40 per cent. Great Britain made up about four per cent, China for 2.3 per cent, France 3.7 per cent and Western Germany about 2.1 per cent.

Soviet Leadership Reshuffle

On July 23, Moscow announced the most significant reshuffle of Party leadership since the death of Stalin in which three of the most famous leaders—Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov—lost their positions in the Communist Party and the Government. The three Soviet leaders were dismissed from their leadership for their alleged anti-party activities.

The new shift in the Soviet Communist Party leadership was hailed by the leading statesmen of the world—including Pandit Nehru, Mr. Dulles and Mr. Churchill—an indication of the trend away from the regimentation and tyranny of the Stalin age.

While the statesmen might be true in their analysis of the trend in the Soviet Union, the manner in which the Party leaders were disgraced could not by any means be regarded as democratic. True, they were not physically liquidated in the Stalinist method; there might as well have taken place a discussion in the Central Committee; but the world outside was kept completely uninformed about the proceedings view of the defeated leaders. Such a thing could not happen in any democratic society. In India, for example, when the former Finance Minister, Shri Chintaman Deshmukh, resigned from his post in the Government he had no difficulty in having his points before the people despite the fact that he was arrayed against

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less a personality than Pandit Nehru himself. Molotov had served the Revolution and the Soviet Government for over fifty years; yet he could not get even the smallest opportunity to explain his position before the people of Soviet Union, while Khruschev and party were denouncing him as a black sheep. A man whose contribution to the growth of the Soviet State to its present height is so great certainly deserved a better treatment. This criticism should not be construed to be a defence of the ousted leaders who might really be at fault. There was again no guarantee that had they come to be victorious they would have adopted any more democratic methods than did Khruschev.

The Soviet Communist leadership ascribed the crimes of the Stalin era to the personality of Stalin. They had no hesitation in denouncing Palmiro Zogliatti, the Italian Communist leader, when he had ventured publicly to dissociate from such a personal interpretation of the misdeeds perpetrated on so large a scale. (By the way, Khruschev in the meanwhile has completely disowned the report on which Togliatti and the other foreign Communist parties had based their resolution though in the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Resolution of June 30, 1956, criticising Togliatti nothing had been said about the veracity or otherwise of Togaliatti's data—which were no other than those contained in the so-called "secret" report released by the State Department of the U.S.A.). Yet it could not be obvious to all right-thinking persons that the Soviet system had provided an ideal background for the fullest development of the black deeds of Stalin, who, it should be noted, possessed a number of very admirable qualities as well. In other words there were no institutional checks against the excesses committed in the name of the Party and government. In a system where the Party (rather whoever happened to occupy the leading position in the Party in a given time) must be regarded as omniscient and beyond all mistakes, mistakes and other deeds were bound to occur as they had occurred on so large a scale in the U.S.S.R. While the new Soviet leadership had made commendable efforts in remedying some of the specific evils of the Stalin era they did nothing to attack the fountain source of the misdeeds of the past——the all-pervading authority of the Party even in fields of literature, art, music and science and sociology requiring constant subservience to the current party line with its characteristic zigzags and occasional somersaults. To the extent the new Soviet leadership also stuck to this philosophy of the role of the party in practice there was nothing in current Soviet developments to provide any hope for the future, whatever the immediate steps might be.

The *Reuter* report on the changes in the leadership is appended below:

London, July 4.—The Soviet Communist Party last night announced the dismissal, for "anti-party activity," of four of its top leaders—Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and Shepilov—and the creation of a new 15-member hierarchy party.

The Central Committee of the party dismissed the four from the party Presidium, the body which rules Russia. Shepilov, the only one not closely associated with Stalin, was only a non-voting member of the Presidium. The others were full members.

Among the new members of the Presidium is Marshal Zhukov, famous World War II Commander, who was banished by Stalin after the war because Stalin feared his popularity.

The new Presidium, broadcast in alphabetical order, is as follows:

A. B. Aristov, N. I. Belyayev, L. I. Brezhnev, N. Bulganin, T. Furtseva, N. G. Ignativ, A. I. Kirichenkov, N. Khrushchev, F. R. Kozlov, Q. Kuusinen, A. Mikoyan, N. N. Shvernik, M. A. Suslov, K. Voroshilov and G. Zhukov.

Mr. Kuusinen was elected Secretary of the Central Committee.

Alternate members of the Presidium elected were: N. A. Mukhitdinov, P. N. Pospelov, D. S. Korotchenko, Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, K. Mazurov, N. P. Mzhavandadza and M. Pervukhin.

Another alternate member was also elected but his name was not heard clearly in the first broadcast.

The announcement means that the number of full members of the Presidium has been raised from 11 to 15.

The Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal

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Zhukov, has been raised from an alternate or candidate member to full membership.

As an alternate member he attended Presidium meetings, but had no voting rights.

Mr. M. G. Pervukhin, a first Deputy Premier, has been demoted from a full member to an alternate member.

Mrs. Tekaterina Furtseva, the only woman member of the top Soviet leadership, is promoted from an alternate to a full member, together with Mr. L. L. Brezhnev, a Secretary of the Central Committee.

The "hard core" of the party Presidium—which is the present name for the old Politburo of Stalin's days—has remained almost unchanged since Stalin died.

The one major change occurred with the execution of former secret police chief, Beria, in December 1953. He had been arrested and charged with treason the previous summer.

Molotov and Kaganovich were even older Politburo members than was Beria.

Soviet affairs observers said that—pending further information from Moscow—it was impossible to forecast what changes, if any, there may be in Soviet policy as a result of the top-level changes.

Changes of key personnel at the top have normally been accompanied by policy switches.

There will be immediate speculation as to whether the changes are in any way due to the publication, on June 20, of the text of the speech by Mr. Mao Tse-tung, the Supreme Leader of Communist China.

This was the speech in which Mr. Mao pronounced the slogan: "Let 100 flowers blossom; let 100 schools of thought contend."

The speech implying a greater degree of freedom for intellectual and others to air their criticisms has already had a considerable impact inside the Communist countries of Eastern Europe as well as China itself.

A communique from the party announcing the changes, decided on at a Central Committee meeting last Saturday, said the dismissed group had "hindered the Soviet Government's policy of peace among peoples" and singled out Molotov especially for hampering measures "intended to ease international tension and promote international peace."

It blamed him for his policy towards Yugoslavia and said he had raised obstacles to the conclusion of an Austrian peace treaty and was also against normalization of relations with Japan.

Vyacheslav Molotov, 67, was Stalin's most trusted negotiator in the foreign field. He held power at the top for longer than any of the present leaders.

Georgi Malenkov, 55, was Prime Minister from the time of the death of Stalin in March 1953, until February 8, 1955, when he was replaced by Marshal Bulganin.

Lazar Kaganovich, 64, Stalin's brother-in-law was the only Jew among the Russian leaders.

Dimitri Shepilov, 52, a former Editor of *Pravda*, became Foreign Minister from June, last year, in succession to Molotov. But he was himself replaced last February by Mr. Gromyko.

The indictment accused the four of "drifting so far away from reality" as to fail to see the possibility of easing up on the demands of collective farmers.

They demonstrated an "overbearing attitude" and lack of faith in the people who were now increasing food output.

Mr. Molotov was blamed for opposing the "virgin lands" scheme of Mr. Khrushchev; and Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich for opposing destalinization and the moves to provide more freedom for the individual.

Throughout the Central Committee communique, Molotov was singled out as the arch offender for his opposition to the peaceful co-existence policies of Mr. Khrushchev.

Key paragraph in the Central Committee communique was this:

"What underlies the attitude of Comrades Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov, which is at variance with the party line, is the certain fact that they were, and still are shackled by old notions and methods, that they have drifted away from the life of the party and country, failed to see the new conditions, the new situation and that they take a conservative attitude, stubbornly clinging to obsolete forms and methods of work that are no longer in keeping with the interests of the advance towards communism, rejecting what is born of reality itself and is suggested by the interests of the progress of Soviet society and by the interests of the Sociailist camp."

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The party communique ended with the warning that condemnation of the fractionary activities of the dismissed leaders should serve to close the ranks of the party and promote the general line of the party.

The changes were adopted unanimously, with one abstention—Molotov.

Aggression in Oman

A renewed aggression took place in the explosive situation in the Middle East when British bombers went in action to quell a rebellion by Imam (religious head) of Oman against the Sultan of Muscat and Oman.

The Sultanate of Muscat and Oman was a small State in the South-eastern corner of the Arabian peninsula. Muscat and Oman had a population estimated between 550,000 to 830,000 and had a coastline of over 1,000 miles on the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea. The Sultan was bound by a treaty with Britain and the Sultan's 1,500 soldiers were being commanded by ten British officers.

The present rebellion was being led by Talib ben Ali, the former Imam of Oman and his brother Talib. About nineteen months ago in December, 1955, the Sultan, Said bin Taimur, had deposed the Imam with the help of the British troops. Talib then had led a revolt against the Sultan but meeting with failure had fled to Cairo.

The British intervention in a purely internal affair in the Sultanate raised protests from many quarters. It also involved the British Government in a clash with the United States. The British press openly charged that the U.S. Government were behind the rebels. Sir Bernard Burrows, British Political Resident for the Persian Gulf, clearly hinted to America when he said in Bahrein on July 23 that the use by the rebels of automatic weapons "which have never been seen before the area" made it sufficiently clear some one on the outside is helping."

On the other hand, the U.S. State Department in a statement from Washington described the charges against the U.S.A. made in the British press as "absolutely baseless." Mr. Lincoln White, the State Department spokesman said: "The charge that the basis of this conflict (in Oman) is rivalry between United States and British oil interests is hogwash."

A striking feature of the recent British action in the Middle Eastern arena was the meticulous care with which the British Government had kept the U.S.A. informed of all actions the former had been taking in Oman—a procedure the British had not cared to take in December, 1955, when they had suppressed a similar revolt in Oman. This was an indication of the loss of self-confidence on the part of Britain.

Substantial oil interests—both of the U.S.A. and Great Britain—were involved in the region. Two American companies—Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum between them had 23.75 per cent share in the Iraq Petroleum Company which had been drilling for oil in Oman. Other shareholders of the Iraq Petroleum Company were the British Petroleum Company, Royal Dutch Shell, the French Petroleum Company with 23.75 per cent shares each and the C. S. Gulbenkian Foundation holding the remaining 5 per cent of the shares.

Whatever might be the interests of the foreign powers the action of the British Government in deciding upon an intervention in the internal affairs of Oman clearly fell in the category of aggression and could hardly be said to have any justification.

Guatemala President Assassinated

The stormy republic of Guatemala has again had another political upset. The *New York Times* of July 28 gives the news below:

"In the ornate marble Presidential palace in Guatemala City last Friday evening, President Carlos Castillo Armas escorted his wife, Odilia Palomo, to dinner after a palace reception. As the pair approached the dining room a palace guard presented arms, raised his rifle and fired four shots. The President toppled. He died instantly.

"The full motivation for the shooting was not immediately known but an official communique indicated that the assassin had Communist affiliations. Whatever the basis of the incident the assassination was a sign of the instability that has been a constant factor in Guatemalan affairs for mnny years.

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"In 1950, the Guatemalan reformer Jacobo Arbenz Guzman came to power in Guatemala. He awakened the social consciousness of Guatemala's three million people, more than half of them illiterates. President Guzman introduced widespread social reform. He concentrated on agrarian problems. At that time a powerful landed gentry, which represented about two per cent of the country's population, owned three-fourths of the land. The Guzman regime expropriated lands not under cultivation. Land was given to the peasant on lease—the State retained rights of ownership. Under his rule, the Communists rose to positions of power, taking over key Government offices and assuming control of all labor and peasant organizations.

"Against this background bands of anti-Communist Guatemalan exiles were forming in neighboring Honduras under the leadership of the soft-spoken, wiry Colonel Castillo Armas. The U.S. afforded the Castillo forces moral support and—unofficially—material support. On June 18, 1954, Castillo led his men into Guatemala to 'liberate' their homeland from 'Guzman's Communist rule.' The ensuing, 12-day civil war was a cold war miniature with the Castillo forces backed by the U. S. and Moscow propagandizing for Guzman. Colonel Castillo won the day and Guzman fled into exile (he is now in Uruguay).

"The problems faced by the newly-installed Castillo were formidable. There was widespread economic dislocation and unemployment; there was tension in the armed forces; a rising clamour from the Right for the restoration of expropriated property; and demands by the non-Communist Left—mainly students—for a restoration of civil liberties.

President Castillo Armas received outside financial aid totaling upward of $100,000,000, chiefly from the U.S. He passed a land reform law which gave peasants land in perpetuity; promulgated minimum-wage legislation; and sought to retain many of the social reforms introduced by the Guzman regime.

"Nevertheless, Castillo Armas' critics described his administration as a 'benevolent dictatorship.' They accused the Castillo regime of disenfranchising illiterates; banning opposition political parties; and bridling the press. President Armas contended that these steps were necessary to maintain stability. *On the left,* he pointed to Communist efforts to infiltrate his administration and stage a comeback; *on the right,* he pointed to growing restlessness among landowners who strongly opposed his policies of increased property taxes and the introduction of income taxes. Clearly, President Castillo Armas was seeking to steer a delicate course between extreme rightwing and leftwing pressure groups. 'The pendulum must be kept in the center with justice to all,' he was fond of saying.

"The shooting incident last Friday night stunned Guatemala. The assassin, later identified as Romeo Vasquez Sanchez, turned the rifle on himself immediately after killing the President. That night the cabinet held an emergency session and proclaimed a state of siege (modified martial law). Yesterday, at 5 A.M., Luis Arturo Gonzalez the 'first designate' or Vice-President, assumed the Presidency.

Tunisia Goes Republican

The same issue of the *New York Times* gives the following news:

"Bey Bows Out: The hereditary Beys of Tunis are members of a Turkish Husseinite dynasty that won sovereignty over the pirate state in 1705. In the nineteenth century Tunis became the object of British, French and Italian colonial interests, with France winning control in 1881, compelling Mohammed IV, the reigning Bey, to accept the status of a French protectorate. Two years ago France and Tunisia signed an agreement ending the protectorate and giving the country local autonomy, which its energetic Premier Habib Bourguiba has steadily expanded to full independence. Last week the Bourguiba Government took the inevitable next step. The National Constituent Assembly deposed the Bey—now Sidi Mohammed el-Amin, 76, proclaimed the Republic of Tunisia and chose Bourguiba as its first President, thus making him head of State and Government. The Bey, lacking political or military support, made no opposition to the move."

And the commentary on the event was published, as given below, in the same paper in its July 29 issue. It is from the pen of C. L. Sulzberger:

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"Paris, July 28.—Establishment of a Tunisian Republic was a predictable step in the immutable process of North Africa's political evolution. The future of the Bey of Tunis was just as evidently doomed as that of the late, outmoded Glaoui of Moroccan Marrakesh.

"It is undoubtedly unpleasant for our ally, France, to contemplate diminishment of its imperial influence. This development focuses eventually upon the bitter, unending struggle in Algeria which Paris continues to insist is part, not of its overseas domain, but of the metropolitan itself.

"That is a legalism. What is called the 'presence' of France in Algeria is emphasized here as essential. Perhaps, one might conjecture, such an approach is based upon an old French proverb: 'The absent one is always wrong.' Contrast this with the English axiom: 'Absence makes the heart grow fonder.' The English may not be realists in the Gallic sense. But their maxim has proved valid in relinquished India.

"No single man in France today can predict with any accuracy just who will administer Algeria five years hence. Neither the nationalist rebels nor the French Government seem to have weighed all possible consequences of present policy in terms of a valid settlement. Paris continues to talk vaguely of negotiation as if negotiation by itself were a solution. It is not. One must know what kind of formula one seeks before the act of parleying assumes true worth.

"The Arabs—by which vague phrase is meant the motley population between the Atlantic and the Arabian Sea—conceive of *Maghreb*, a vaguely federated system including Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria.

"But, to begin with, it is difficult to envision comfortable relationships binding the new Tunisian Republic and staunchly royalist Morocco. Does President Bourguiba in Tunis aspire to upset the Sultan in Rabat?

"Far more important in terms of present tendencies, what is the future of Algeria to be? It is easy for Arab nationalists and foreign sympathizers vaguely to speak of an independent State. But how could such a State survive without the abilities of its 15 per cent European minority, the administrative, commercial and intellectual elite?

"This is a practical question. Lack of any satisfactory answer does not inhibit the emotional aspirations of Algerians. But it does, and in a dangerous way, limit their future viability should such freedom be obtained by force. Bourguiba, who has so far proved himself a wise and moderate man, is fully aware of all these implications.

"In terms of the logic so appealing to French minds, a middle course between the extremes of premature independence and uncomfortable imperial tenure must be found. This avenue is being explored in Paris. But the exploration is slow, hesitant and subject to the vagaries of fanatical pressures.

"The trouble is that not only Algeria's future but that of France itself is politically at stake unless the cancer is treated by proper surgery. Should a flood of angry and dispossessed French colonists return to the motherland accompanied by an infuriated army, victor in many battles but loser of another war, the result might be an overturning of the French regime itself.

"Neither France nor NATO can afford the luxury of such a drastic and dramatic denouement. Our own system of military alliances is founded upon an arch containing a French keystone. This applies above all to the North Atlantic Pact.

"One may, therefore, hope that Bourges-Maunoury, the somewhat bewildered young man who heads the present Paris Cabinet, will continue secret diplomatic search for peace. Surely Tunisia's first President, Bourguiba, is interested in helping.

"Bourguiba wants to join NATO. So does the Sultan of Morocco. But neither dares, despite the evident geographical connections of their countries to the North Atlantic world. They cannot press the issue until the explosive Algerian problem has been settled—at least by acceptable *modus vivendi*.

"Unquestionably it would benefit everyone concerned, Arab, Berber and Frenchman, to terminate the present hideous bloodshed in Algeria. Prevailing chaos serves only to inspire blood hatreds and abet a xenophobia encouraged both by Moscow and by Nasser's anti-Western drive. And it is draining France's economy."

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The Anglo-American Alliance

Sulzberger gives another highly interesting commentary, on the Anglo-American bloc, in the *New York Times* of July 31st. We give it *in extenso* below:

"Paris, July 30.—The Anglo-American alliance seems to be proving as indestructible as Foster Dulles and as resilient as Selwyn Lloyd. Neither the durability of our most vital international compact nor of its current diplomatic agents could have been foreseen eight months ago.

"It was high time, in fact, for the astonishing Secretary of State to make one of his whirlwind descents on London. All-important disarmament discussions there are at a critical point. They need some energetic decision concerning their future course. And two unrelated Middle Eastern matters have reached a stage where they require agreement on bilateral policy. These are Cyprus, where solution at last seems less impossible, and the Persian Gulf, dramatized by the Muscat fracas.

"The question of disarmament or, as we prefer it, war-prevention, seems to have reached impasse among the London negotiators. Washington is above all anxious to secure agreement with Moscow on beginning an inspection system to reduce possibilities of surprise attack. We appear ready to meet the Russian demand for suspension of atomic tests if present fissionable stockpiles are frozen and other countries are excluded from manufacture of nuclear weapons.

"From a purely Allied viewpoint these matters are difficult to resolve. Some of our NATO partners are unhappy about the European area we wish opened to Soviet eyes in exchange for similar access in the U.S.S.R. And Britain, which doesn't yet have an adequate supply of atom bombs or an economically perfected manufacturing process, dislikes freezing the nuclear club at its present limits.

"Dulles will have to explain more fully to our allies just what we desire and how much additional defense support we are prepared to give in return for any sacrifices we may ask of them. What assurances does Dulles feel able to offer on access by our NATO partners to American atomic arms?

"The fifteen allies have gone much further than might have been foreseen to resolve their different national approaches to disarmament. Therefore, if no indication of positive Soviet intentions can be detected, the Dulles talks in London may hinge upon ways of suspending current pourparlers without loss of propaganda initiative.

"Apart from this topic, which transcends all others in importance, the Secretary of State must inevitably discuss the nervous Middle East with Lloyd and Harold Macmillan. The spat that flared up in Muscat, although not in itself worrisome, emphasizes need to do some forward thinking concerning the Persian Gulf. We would like to see Britain advance from the outdated hodgepodge of protected sheikhdoms.

"London is leery of any sudden change. It depends heavily on oil from Kuwait and Qatar. And it wants our support in the form of an American consular representative in Muscat. Dulles could usefully suggest a survey of the borders between our new friend, Saudi Arabia, and the British-dominated sheikhdoms, terminating quarrels in that insufficiently charted area.

"There is also bothersome Cyprus. That turbulent island has calmed down since the last top-level talks between British and American statesmen. London now seems more willing to cut its losses and relinquish control—except for an air base and small administrative area. With large force reductions under way, Whitehall wishes to end the burdensome E.O.K.A. brush war.

"Greece has also become less intransigent in its attitude. Athens shows hints of boredom with the uncompromising Archbishop Makarios. Many Greek leaders also fear eventual political ambitions on the mainland of Colonel Grivas, leader of the E.D.K.A. rebellion and an ambitious man of the Right.

"The big remaining hurdle is Turkey. The Turks want Cyprus partitioned and their minority moved into the northern half. But such a formula threatens only to produce on a smaller scale the kind of bloodshed that broke out ten years ago when India was divided.

"Whether Dulles has any ideas on how to help London, now hoist with its own unnecessary Cypriote petard, is something we are unable to know for weeks. No open attempt to settle Cyprus can be ventured until after Turkish national elections in September. The subject is a hot electoral issue."

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THE FALLIBLE MAHATMA

By R. W. SORENSEN, M.P.,
House of Commons, London

If the human race escapes the threat of nuclear annihilation the name of Gandhi will be revered a thousand and more years hence. Meanwhile, in East and West alike he is honoured as one who pre-eminently personified the Indian aspiration for national freedom, independence and dignity and the impregnation of an arduous political struggle with noble moral and spiritual values.

In many respects he was unique in this combination of religious idealism and social realism, for although others also sought and seek this he was an outstanding example, within the Indian context, of devotion, courage, integrity, sagacity and faith. This was focussed, if not confined, by his identification with the toiling peasants as he strove for his country's liberation. His political adoption of "Satyagraha" was not simply a shrewd expedient, even though this itself was powerfully effective in the prevailing circumstances of India, but was for him a consistent projection of religious conviction. This is equally true of other practices he himself pursued and which he constantly commended both to his immediate Congress associates and to the Indian multitude.

The influence he wielded, while immense in his own country, was by no means restricted thereto; and as an Englishman, I and countless others, will cherish him always not only as Bapu, the Father of Indian freedom, nor as Mahatma, a rare great soul, from whom is born abounding inspiration, but also as one of the shining true leaders of our common humanity.

Every word I have written in that eulogy is sincere, and I count it a wondrous privilege to have known and met Gandhiji personally, to have conversed with him and to have borne witness repeatedly to the superlative qualities of his character, his world significance and his challenging philosophy.

It was in keeping with those qualities that he often warned his followers against any tendency to involve him in human idolatry. He proclaimed the august obligation of a constant quest for Truth and according to his inner light so he announced his discoveries in the quest. Even so, he recognised, at least theoretically, that each one must make his own quest and live in correspondence with his individual discovery. Truth is approached along many pathways, and even their convergence leads to many doors of its temple.

Of course, he was not infallible, and suggestions or assumptions to the contrary would have received either emphatic repudiation or a characteristic smiling chuckle of scorn. Nevertheless, it is hardly surprising that the inclination not to question his teaching but to accept it as virtually infallible has existed in certain quarters. I have met both Indian and British disciples who appear to consider it almost blasphemous, and in any case shocking bad taste, to voice dissent or to be critical of the validity, philosophical or practical, of any aspect of Gandhi's many recorded opinions. Others are critical, but hush their dubiety, as if otherwise they might merit shameful reproach. And others, again, attempt a casuistical reinterpretation of the Mahatma's teaching, with the implication or the assertion that he has been misunderstood, that one text must be counterbalanced by another in his writings or speeches or not wrenched from its context, or even that had Gandhi lived today he would have endorsed the alleged more opposite interpretation. Finally, there are those who insist on the comprehensive accuracy of his teachings, and either valiantly pursue their cogent implementation or confess that departure from this must be recognised only as a testimony to our human weakness.

Personally I believe the example and merit

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of Gandhiji suffers no injury if we state quite frankly that in certain respects his judgement was wrong. He was, as we all are to a greater or less degree, a fallible human being, and we render him a fatal disservice in glossing over this fact. Of course, on those decisions he reached for purely personal observance none of us would venture any question, for they issued from his own intimate experience and belonged to him and him alone. Each of us is the sole judge ultimately on his or her own spiritual necessities. It is only when these purely personal necessities are expanded into a general course for others to follow, or when there appears to be advocacy of social policies based on individual preference, that we are not only entitled to scrutinise the advocacy but, indeed, are compelled to do so by the same moral criterion that Gandhi himself upheld.

I cannot agree that his philosophy is ideal but that—

"'Tis ye, 'tis your estranged faces,
That miss the many-splendoured thing"

or, in other words, that it is our moral inadequacy which impedes the immediate application of his principles. I would not even assent altogether to the assertion of Dr. Atindranath Bose in his arresting contribution in the January edition of *The Modern Review* that, "Gandhi, the philosopher of the spirit, was a misfit in the age which is groping within a maze of violence and greed," if by that is meant that Gandhi's "advance message of the future" is an intimation of all that should be in a world still remote from our own. On the contrary, I submit, in some respects his contemporary analysis and his proposed remedies were erroneous, basically and intrinsically. In other respects, certainly, as with supreme values affirmed by many saints and seers, it is the moral imperfection of the race that frustrates their social establishment.

Gandhi's philosophy was comprehensive, but not always intellectually coherent. This is no reflection on him, for intellectual presentations are frequently not fully coherent. Yet this does involve some uncertainty about Gandhian economics, particularly on the extent to which limitations should be imposed on modern technology. The elevation of the *charkha*, not simply as a symbol of national insurgence but a supreme if not the sole means of economic salvation encouraged perilous over-simplification. I confess that I discovered no guidance from expositors of the Gandhian economy on whether electric illumination and power was to be considered a curse because it required generation stations or a blessing because it brought light and could ease heavy burdens. Nor did I discover the inherently superior spiritual significance of an ox-wagon over a factory-made motor-car with its internal combustion engine, or how 50,000,000 men, women and children in Britain would become morally superior by living primitively in hundreds of thousands of scattered rural hamlets in their relatively small island.

This is not to deny for one moment that the development of village handicrafts has had no advantages whatever. I am quite sure that it is most advantageous in India and elsewhere, and I warmly appreciate how much in this direction has been done in India during the last 10 years. Moreover, one fully recognises the dangers both of excessive centralisation and tyrannical mechanisation and of the need of averting these dangers. Conversely, are there not dangers at the other extreme in sociological stagnation or in the circumscribed lives of masses labouring with simple implements to secure bare physical livelihood?

The emphasis on simplicity, self-help and wholesome priorities was and is most salutary, and so is the warning against the provocative as well as dehumanising effect of capitalist methods. On the other hand, notwithstanding improvements in local rural water supplies and other forms of agrarian progress, surely I am not deceptively exhilarated at the sight of the massive venture of the Bhakra Nangal Dam which could only have been undertaken through national resources being made available on a vast scale.

Much of this, it could be argued, is inimical to the Gandhian philosophy. Nevertheless, although I may be wrong, I have the impression that the weight given to the *charkha* economy was far greater than to any national project aimed at substantially increased per capita productivity. The very absence of positive appreciation of national economic plans, I venture to suggest, was

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serious blemish in the economic policy of Gandhi.

I would dissent from the assumption that the modern state must inevitably be a soulless, amoral if not immoral, oppressive, aggressive despotism. It may, but need not, be this, just as the village panchayat could be the registration of stubborn, unimaginative ignorance or the repository of genuine fellowship and co-operation. The state may seem remote and impersonal, but so can raw nature with its visitation of earthquake, storm, flood, dearth and pestilence whatever the pleas and prayers of hapless victims through the centuries. So can an autocratic prince, with his resolute detachment from the common man, even when he condescends to bestow paternal benevolence. It can indeed, can be even national postal or railway services, with their elaborate organisation and their armies of servants who enable human beings to escape isolation.

Large and small-scale organisation alike can be suffered with arrogance or with goodwill; and in an enlightened democratic State, it is possible for the latter to be mediated through a responsible hierarchy of representative stewards. Whether the possibility becomes actuality depends as much on the social integration of moral consciousness as does any idealised blissful anarchic community. Millions of people are still millions, whether their communal needs accept a central co-ordinating agency or repudiate this and rely, instead, on a basic aggregation of innumerable local groups; and the task of permeating those millions with qualities of tolerance, confidence, co-operation and personal responsibility is the same in either case. At least on balance, I believe the transmission of sublime truths through the population of a nation like India is more possible when there are efficient swift means of communication than when travel, correspondence and the circulation of ideas takes years instead of the days—or even hours—of the present time.

No doubt there are moral and spiritual absolutes, but in the approach thereto through the centuries of human history many geographical, biological and economic factors condition human life. In the process, there are relative truths, and here again I submit, Gandhi gave these insufficient appreciation. Truth is not static but fluid, and although the stream flows purposively towards a consummation yet in its tortuous course there arise divergent concepts of goodness that have a transitory validity in the absence of fuller, future knowledge. The discovery of tool and fire-making, of well-sinking instead of reliance on pools and rivers, of the capacity to inscribe languages, of the building of ships that sail to distant parts, of magnetic and electrical devices, of elaborate machine-making, of facts about astronomy, geology and anthropology, of anaesthetics and medicines that relieve pain, suffering and the waste of human life—these have had their profound influence on human life, and although capable of abuse and evil can, instead, be wondrous boons to mankind. They are, therefore, good.

Gandhi was not ignorant of this, and in his wisdom gave qualified testimony to their moral worth. For all that, not alone among religious minds, he did not invariably discriminate between the virtue of the service given to man in and through industrial technology and the vice of greed and irresponsibility associated with it through human blindness and folly. Even an axe can be used to fell trees or to kill men, but one does not therefore abjure the axe because it can be put to lethal use. May it not be that the maker of the axe or the hoe has done as much good as the priest with his prayers or the preacher with his exhortations? An *avatar* may be a good carpenter, farmer or engineer and not exclusively a good teacher or a mystic in an *ashram*.

My assessment of Mahatma Gandhi in respect of his evaluation of objective sociological facts may do him less than justice. If so, I am contrite because of my deceptive impression. Is this also relevant to my belief that he was woefully misleading in regard to sex?

In his personal life he was stringently ascetic, and through the greater part of his married life he was celibate. For this spiritual discipline he felt called to exercise there can only be the deepest respect, such as is given to all those who for the highest motives obey an inner call to renunciation of domestic fulfilment or of worldly wealth or of academic achievement. Sacrifice can take many forms according to the

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specific disposition or function of respective souls, whether this be the climbing of Mount Everest, a prolonged sojourn like Dr. Schweitzer's in the African jungle, the mission of Gautama or the high enterprise of Gandhi. The decision rests on the authority of the individual conscience.

Precisely because the choice of such personal discipline and sacrifice is enwrapped within the spiritual experience of each solitary soul it cannot consistently become an imperious directive to any other soul. Unfortunately this is not always fully appreciated, and thus we find those possessed of one type of saintliness authoritatively promulgating for others what may be entirely inappropriate, even with the best intentions. Here two familiar British proverbs should be learnt by heart by every great soul. They are, "One man's meat is another man's poison" and "The path to hell is paved with good intentions." In application this means that it may be imperative for one man to climb Mount Everest but wrong or foolish for another to attempt this, or necessary for one woman to renounce maternity and give life-long service as a hospital matron to the sick but quite the reverse for other women. This may appear platitudinous, but even the obvious can be ignored by the zealous.

Gandhi undoubtedly exerted most beneficial influence in the raising of the status of woman, for which both men and women bear him gratitude. Nevertheless, his advocacy of sexual repression in marriage save for intentional procreation of children, and then, apparently, only with an attempted eradication of sensuous pleasure was to my mind quite definitely not merely an impracticable counsel of perfection but intrinsically wrong. Within this commendation of severe marital restraint lies the assumption that sex is a sensuous snare and delusion, and that the finest spiritual values require the stern repudiation of earthly attractions. Even where a saint escapes the frequent error of prescribing his own discipline for general adoption he often does so in a melancholy conviction that there must be concessions to weaker brethren or those still enmeshed in the thickets of a lowly stage of spiritual evolution.

This, I contend, is as false as the assumption that the absorption of food is spiritually a lamentable mortal necessity and that emaciation is akin to divinity, or that the sensuous beauty of flowers distracts the soul from mystical sublimity. Presumably it is this assumption that requires Buddhist Bhikkus to avoid even taking the outstretched hand of a little girl or austere Christian monks to refrain from kissing their mothers. That, indeed, may be their own necessary inhibition, but it is grievously false to assume spiritual inferiority among those who do not exercise a similar drastic discipline.

There are certainly serious evils in gluttony and gross sexual indulgence, but recognition of these does not thereby endorse the flagellation of the body or the scorn for all sensuous delight. Intemperance desecrates human life, but there can be an inverted intemperance by which human life in all its true richness becomes poisoned or lacerated by psychic enmity to its vitality. Without subscribing to the extravagances of the more intemperate psychoanalysts one can none-the-less appreciate their wisdom in exposing the liability of nervous and mental disease issuing from inappropriate suppression of organic impulses. Some "sublimation" there must be, but this is not synonymous with "extinction."

Gandhi did not recognise this. There are few, if any, signs that he was acquainted with responsible writers in this field of human psychology, and this is most unfortunate. With respect, one can allege he therefore promulgated advice on personal relationship in ignorance of with undue personal bias. Thus it was that he gathered within the sweep of his censureship not only greed, malice and uncharitableness the drinking of alcohol and the eating of meat and in the term of sex-indulgence any copulation other than as an infrequent and possible dispassionate technique for procreation. He was not alone in this, but that too many sensitive souls do not minimise their sense of revulsion at the mechanistic degradation of what should be a joyous human relationship.

In criticizing what I consider to be the erroneous guidance of Gandhi and other great souls when they step beyond the realm of their own discipline I am aware that implicitly I am penetrating challengingly into a world of mean-

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physical values wherein many others besides Gandhiji offer resistance to my claim. It could be said that in my strictures I myself display lack of real understanding of the ultimate truth for human life. To deal with that would take me beyond the scope of the present article, and I must confine myself to the purpose of indicating why and how I consider the Gandhi to whom I give the highest homage was nevertheless fallibly misleading in subordinate respects. I repeat, this does not dim my admiration and reverence for him, nor obscure the radiance of his personality.

He deserves the title of "Mahatma", although his unadorned simple nomination of "Gandhi" will possess for all time its own lustre. Of this I am sure, that he would not have had any who are grateful beyond words for the service he rendered to India and to the free world to become sychophantic in adulation. Rather would he have praised the honesty he himself so nobly practised when it issued in generous dissent from any aspect of his own teaching. His own humility was often registered in his confession of failure and misjudgement and in so doing he emphasised his fallibility. To recognise this simply underlines his and our moral obligation in the scrupulous quest for Truth.

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AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN INDIA

By BANDHUDAS SEN, M.A.

Two recent documents, one published in 1951 and the other in 1954, illustrate the fundamental disequilibrium in the functional pattern of the agrarian society of India. The first document, the Report of the Census of India, 1951, reveals that for every 1,000 agricultural land-holders there are 402 landless agricultural labourers in India. In other words, nearly one-half of the agricultural population till the land they do not own. The other classes constituting the agrarian society, are owner-cultivators, tenants, rent-receivers and non-cultivating land-owners. The report estimates the numbers of self-supporting owner-cultivators and tenants (including the earning and the non-earning dependents) at 458 million, and 88 million respectively; the corresponding number of non-cultivating owners of land and agricultural rent-receivers, according to the census report, is 16 million. These are hard facts indeed. But these should be taken as mere approximations indicating the broad trends, rather than as the accurate picture of the class-composition of Indian agriculture. There are reasons to doubt the validity of the census figures in so far as they refer to the absolute proportion of the different classes. The statement that the characteristic feature of Indian agriculture is the predominance of the class of owner-cultivators, too, is challengeable and the general consensus of expert opinion is that the method of classifying various occupational groups and enumerating the number of persons following or depending on a particular occupation as adopted by the census authorities, renders the calculations defective.[1] Certain types of tenants with permanent occupancy-rights and also agricultural labourers with some land of their own have been included, for example, in the category of owner-cultivatos during the last census.[2]

The other document more reliable and useful than the census report is the report of the enquiry conducted by the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, into the working and living conditions of agricultural labourers. This report reveals that the percentage of agricultural land-owners' families to the total agricultural

1. S. Thirumalai: *Post-War Agricultural Problems and Policies in India* (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1954), p. 132.

2. See *Agricultural Wages in India*, Ministry of Labour, Government of India, Vol. I, p. 28.

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population is only 26.5; that agricultural labour families represent 30 per cent of the total rural families and that this proportion is the largest (50 per cent) in South India and the lowest (10 per cent) in North India. In other words, out of the 80 million rural families, 17.6 million families depend on agricultural labour for their livelihood. An agricultural labourer had been defined for the purposes of this enquiry as any person who worked as an agricultural labourer for more than one-half of the total number of days on which he actually performed work during the year.

The growth of the class of agricultural labourer is a recent phenomenon in Indian agriculture. There was no room for this class of agriculturists in the pre-nineteenth century agrarian set-up of India. True, it did not develop in a day or in a year. It lay dormant for quite some time and the broad features of this new phenomenon emerged only in the early days of the 19th century. One of the direct results of the impact of the Western economy on the economy of India was the gradual but steady disintegration of the self-sufficient, self-perpetuating village communities. On the ashes of the traditional land system arose the new class-ridden agrarian system of the present day. The emergence of the class of agricultural labourer is the manifestation of the disintegration of the traditional form of agrarian society.[3] There was no reference to the classes of agricultural labourers in the economic history of India till 1850.[4] By 1882, however, the agricultural labourers had made their presence felt. Approximately, 7.5 million agriculturists were declared as agrcultural labourers that year.[5] Subsequent censuses recorded the increase in their ranks from 7.5 million to 18.71 million in 1891 and 33 million in 1931. This increase in the number of agricultural labourers may perhaps partly be explained away as the result of the excessive pressure on agricultural occupations exerted by a rapidly growing population. "Partly," because this explains the "absolute increase" in number. A satisfactory explanation must account for the variations in the relative proportions of the classes in agriculture. An increase in population should have affected all the classes identically. But in reality some of the classes have registered a decline or a slight increase while others have increased tremendously. This is due to the fact that every year a large area of land passes out of the hands of the actual cultivators into the hands of non-agriculturist landowners and rent-receivers. Thus an erstwhile owner-cultivator tills the land today either as a tenant or as a labourer. Most of the time the movement in the social ladder of rural India is downward, *i.e.*, very few persons come to possess land or move upward the ladder from the bottom. It is a one-way traffic. Since 1933, in the State of Orissa, nearly 3.9 per cent of the total cultivated area or 487,500 acres of land passed from the hands of actual cultivators into those of non-agriculturists.[6] In Bihar, another adjoining State, it has been estimated that about 200,000 acres of land pass out of the hands of actual cultivators every year.[7] Between 1921 and 1931, the number of rent-receivers in Bengal increased by 61 per cent, and the number of agricultural labourers by 49 per cent while the number of occupancy-cultivators decreased from 20 to 50 per cent. In the princely State of Hyderabad between 1911 and 1928 there was an increase of 4 per cent in the number of rent-receivers, while there was a decline of 11 per cent in the number of cultivators.[8] It is, therefore, clear that the increase in population has not affected all the classes identically. The fact that the relative proportions of the classes have changed, shows that there has been an "intra-group shift" as well.[9] Apart from the concentration of land ownership, the factors responsible for the increased supply of agricultural labourers, are the loss of common rights in the rural economy, the disuse of collective enterprise, the subdivision of holdings, re-mortgaging and transfer of land

3. For a detailed study of the problems arising out of the impact of the Western Economy on the traditional forms of rural society, readers are referred to Dr. Erich H. Jacoby's book *Agrarian Unrest in South-East Asia.*

4. Sir George Campbell: *Modern India* (London, 1852), p. 65; also, J. C. Jack: *The Economic Life of a Bengal District* (Oxford, 1916), p. 84.

5. Report of the Census of 1882.

6. Report of the Orissa Land Revenue and Land Tenure Committee.

7. P. N. Driver: *Problems of Zamindari and Land Tenure Reconstruction.*

8. Report of the Agrarian Reforms Committee, Hyderabad.

9. Dr. Surendra J. Patel: *Agricultural Labour in Modern India and Pakistan* (1952), p. 18.

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decline of cottage industries—in short, "every circumstance which has weakened the economic position of the small holder."[10]

The proportion of the agricultural labourers to the total agricultural working force, is not, however, uniform all over this country. It is the highest in South India (nearly 50 per cent) and the lowest in the North-West and the Northern India (nearly 10 per cent).[11] Although a substantial portion of the landless agricultural labourers belong to the depressed or socially backward classes or tribes,[12] the regional variation in the proportions of agricultural labourers to the total agricultural working population cannot be explained by the preponderance of these classes in a particular region and scarcity in another. The explanation should be sought in the economic conditions existing in an area, the alternative employment opportunities, etc., rather than in the ethnic composition of a region.

The basis of classification of agricultural labourers in India have been either the extent of the "landlessness" of the labourers or their period of employment. Following the first basis, some economists have classified agricultural labourers into four groups, namely, full-time wage labourers, underemployed landless labourers, dwarf-holding labourers and bonded or semi-free landless labourers.[13] The second basis, however, seems to be more useful and widely accepted. Agricultural labourers have been divided, according to this principle, into two groups, namely, casual or seasonal, and attached or long-term. Recent enquiries have revealed the preponderance of the casual type of agricultural labourers, who constitute about 85 per cent of the total agricultural labour force.[14]

The sex-composition of the total agricultural labour force is roughly as follows: men 55 per cent and women 40 per cent. Children below the age of 15 account for 4.6 per cent. Most of the women labourers are casual workers, employed generally in such semi-skilled work as weeding, husking, reaping, transplanting and harvesting. The number of child workers, most of whom are casual, has been estimated at 1.6 million. They have to work hard "from 6 in the morning till late in the evening, and in moon-lit nights, work is resumed after dinner and continues till midnight. Besides excessively long hours of work, the conditions of work have been most unhygienic."[15] Child workers are usually employed for harvesting, weeding and transplanting operations, and for spreading manure.[16]

The seasonal character of agricultural employment should be borne in mind while understanding the economic and the living conditions of the Indian agricultural labourers. On the whole, an agricultural labourer is employed for only 189 days in the year. This fact explains the reason for the low level of wages. As the number of workers is quite out of proportion to the volume of work available, the wages offered by the employer and accepted by the worker have no relation to the cost of living.[17] The desperate need of the labourer for work renders him powerless in the bargain with the employer for better wages. Under the circumstances he is prepared to accept any terms dictated by the employer. It is true, however, that the level of agricultural wages has registered a rise since the war-days. From the pre-war rate of annas three per day, the daily average rate of wages per adult male agricultural labourer has risen to 17.5 annas. At this rate the annual income of an agricultural labourer works out to Rs. 104 only. The attached workers, however, are paid less than the casual workers. This is so perhaps due to the fact that the attached workers enjoy some degree of security and continuity of employment, which the others do not. The attached workers seem to barter away their freedom, to use the term rather loosely, for the sake of security. For, they accept conditions

10. Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee: *Land Problems of India.*
11. Dr. B. Ramamurti: *Agricultural Labour: How They Work and Live* (Government of India, Ministry of Labour, 1954). The book incorporates the findings of the All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry, conducted by the Ministry of Labour.
12. Prof. M. L. Dantwalla: *Indian Agriculture.* With the spread of civilization there is an influx of aboriginals or tribal people to the plains. They leave their hills to start life as agricultural labourers.
13. See for example, Patel, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
14. *Agricultural Labour, op. cit.*
15. Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee.
16. *Agricultural Labour, op. cit.*, p. 26.
17. Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee, *op. cit.*

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which make them hopelessly dependent on their employers. In times of stress and strain, the average labourer becomes compelled to "mortgage his personal liberty."[18] Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee holds that the status of agricultural labourers "verges most nearly on slavery" precisely in those areas where the lower and depressed classes are numerous. "The ethnic composition of the village, which governs the social stratification, is thus responsible for the survival of slavish conditions."[19] Another expert Dr. Lorenzo observes that "wherever the status of the peasant proprietor has been encroached upon by high-caste money-lenders and absentee landlords, who have broken through the local systems of tenancy and usurped the land of poorer classes, the farm-hand verges on slavery."[20] But it would be rash to conclude that conditions of agrestic serfdom exists in India. Dr. Lorenzo himself observes, the servitude is not 'personal,' but 'usufruct'.[21] Usually the labourer agrees to serve the money-lender in return for a small sum of money which he borrows at the moment. The origin of the conditions resembling slavery lies therefore, in the borrowing of money.[22] Money is generally advanced for the marriages of these workers and in return they have to serve their employers, who happen to be moneylenders as well, for a stipulated monthly or yearly wages till the loan is repaid. During the service period they, and sometimes their wives, are maintained and clothed by their employers. They can, therefore, be better described as bonded labourers rather than as serfs.

Nor can the ethnic composition of a village be held responsible for the existence of these deplorable conditions or the system of bonded labourers. The determining factors seem to be insufficient income, lack of alternative employment opportunities and the need for money to maintain the family. The system, it may be noted, has no legal sanction.

Two widely recognised means for improving the condition of the agricultural labourers are collective bargaining and social legislation.

The scope of collective bargaining in this respect is indeed unlimited.[23] The agricultural workers in Italy, Austria, Poland and the Netherlands have considerably improved their lot by means of collective bargaining.[24] But the Indian agricultural worker in this respect has yet to emulate his European counterpart. Except in the plantation districts, collective bargaining in agriculture has not made so far any headway in this country. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The forces of illiteracy, ignorance and superstition, local customs and traditions, the vastness of the country—all these come in the way of the effective functioning of collective bargaining in rural areas. According to a recent survey, there are 62 registered trade union organisations of agricultural workers in this country, most of which are associated in one way or another with the political parties.[25] These trade unions have no achievements to their credit. The solitary exception, which is very significant in the history of the Indian agricultural workers, has so far been provided by the agricultural workers of Bardoli, a district in the State of Bombay. They made use of the principle of collective bargaining and arrived at an "agrarian settlement" with their employers in 1948.[26]

Nor has social legislation succeeded in improving the conditions of the agricultural labourers. The progress of social legislation has been tardy, while the content of legislation has been inadequate. A number of legislative measures taken by the Government to restrict the operations of the moneylenders have

18. Wadia and Merchant: *Our Economic Problem*. See also Patel, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

19. *Land Problems in India, op. cit.*

20. Dr. A. M. Lorenzo: *Agricultural Labour Conditions in Northern India.*

21. *Ibid.* Dr. Patel in his book *Agricultural Labourers in Modern India and Pakistan* differentiates rightly between the type of agrestic serfdom existing in India and serfdom proper, as we understand it from our study of the mediaeval ages.

22. See, for example, Dr. M. G. Bhagat: *The Farmer, His Welfare and Wealth* (Bombay, 1943), p. 211.

23. "Whereas until an improved social legislation for agricultural workers can be enacted, collective bargaining may be employed as a preparatory measure for regulating labour conditions in a manner conforming to modern principles of the social protection of workers."

24. *Collective Agreements in Agriculture*—I.L.O., Geneva, 1933.

25. *Agricultural Wages in India*, Vol. I, page p. 12.

26. *Times of India*, 8.6.48.

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pletely failed."[27] The Minimum Wages Act, passed in 1948, has brought little relief till now to the agricultural labourers. Moreover, agricultural workers have been left out of the schemes of land reform. The recent land reform legislation offers some tenants an opportunity to purchase the plot of land they have tilled over a specified number of years. But it does not offer a similar opportunity to the agricultural labourers.

The Planning Commission itself admits the inadequacy of the land reform legislation in this respect. "Schemes of land distribution are likely to confer somewhat restricted benefits on agricultural workers other than tenants. This is because in any scheme of distribution or resettlement, the first claim will be that of tenants already working on lands which may be taken over from the large owners."[28] Lastly, it is difficult to ascertain how far the State Governments have acted upon the recommendation of the Planning Commission to settle groups of landless workers on newly reclaimed as well as culturable waste land.

The problem of agricultural labourers at its bottom is a problem of evolving a suitable pattern of agrarian society. The old traditional one of agrarian society has been destroyed but has not yet been replaced by a new one. Land redistribution alone is unlikely to solve the problem. It may at best offer a temporary palliation, but in the long run, as it happened in Eastern Europe it is bound to fail unless it is backed up by other reforms in the agrarian structure. In India, no accord has yet been reached as to the future pattern of the Indian rural society. The official as well as the academic approach to the agrarian problem is based on the need for maximizing production. As such, it pays little attention to the sociological aspect of the question. In essence the problem of agricultural labourers is not merely economic in character; it is sociological as well. For a final solution therefore, we have to approach the problem in its entirety, in all its aspects. The inter-relationship between agricultural development, industrial progress and land-reform has been rightly pointed out in a paper published by the F.A.O.[29] The first step towards the solution of the problem will be to decide upon the future pattern of the agrarian society which must be integrated with the plan for the development of industry. Next, the intermediaries between the State and the farmers, the class of agricultural rent-receivers and non-cultivating owners of land should be abolished and their land should be redistributed among the landless agricultural labourers. Avenues of alternative or additional income and employment should be opened up before the rural population. At the same time, various structural reforms will have to be made in the agricultural framework, so as to increase agricultural production. Until these have been accomplished, the problem of the agricultural workers will continue to remain a headache for the policy-makers in this country.

27. *Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee*, p. 96.
28. *First Five-Year Plan, Planning Commission*, Government of India.
29. *Inter-relationship Between Agrarian Reform and Agricultural Development*, prepared by Dr. Erich H. Jacoby, F.A.O., 1953.

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THE MEN WHO RULED INDIA, 1899-1901

A Sketch by Lord Curzon

By SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYA, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.),
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Lord Curzon came to India as Viceroy and Governor-General in December, 1898 at the early age of thirty-nine. Though young in age, he soon established a firm grip over the administration and began to dominate the whole show in a manner unprecedented in the past. A man of indomitable energy but sensitive in nature, Curzon was quick in his judgment of men with whom he came in contact in the course of the duties of his exalted office. In his weekly private correspondence with Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, he freely gave expression to his views, some of which were very strong and might be resented by those who were the subject of the Viceregal comment or by their friends and relatives even at this distance of time. Incidentally, they also reveal the character and nature of Lord Curzan himself, who stood at the apex of the system.

Within six months of his assumption of office, Curzon wrote a confidential letter to Hamilton upon the inner life of a reforming Viceroy in India.[1] The methods of government here were characterised by him as cumbrous, dilatory and verbose. The want of proper supervision in many departments was shocking and the detachment and independence of local Governors and Governments a serious challenge to the Viceroy's authority and control. The Viceroy was intent on remedying these imperfections.

> "But," to quote his own words, "the old horse kicks a little under the bit or the spur —for it is now the one and now the other— and chafes at a restraint or an incentive which it has never before known."

The Viceroy in the past, Curzon complained, had apparently rarely looked into any department except his own, and as for his Lieutenant-Governors, etc., he had left them to pursue their own sweet wills. The mechanism of Government which was conducted in India by means of correspodence had been "kept carefully oiled by long-worded periphrasis" and "mutual compliment"; and so the wheels have gone round and round "until one day some undetected flaw has resulted in an explosion or a disaster which the very processes that called it into existence have again been utilised to hush up and condone."

In the opinion of Curzon, the military department and the army headquarters had been the chief sinners. Their loquacity on paper, headed and stimulated by the Military Member,[2] was appalling.

> "There is a slight, perhaps an inevitable friction between the two departments and whilst they will conspire to gloss over an irregularity in which both have for years indulged, they will, if a difference arises between them, wrangle over it for a decade."

Curzon's comments upon all these proceedings were frank and, in his opinion, never discourteous, though they somewhat ruffled the Sir Edwin Collen[3] and his men. Curzon described Collen as "a dear old boy of courtmanners and a perfect gentleman." But he was an incarnation of the system in which he lived his sedentary and virtuous departmental life for a quarter of a century. But the young Viceroy feared that his methods distressed Edwin Collen immensely. Collen implored the Viceroy not to be disrespectful to his methods and his men, and, when he detected an irregularity, to send for him or them ("as though the Viceroy had time for this!") and to give them an opportunity of personal explanation anything rather than pass a comment on

1. Letter, dated 28 June, 1899.

2. Sir Edwin Collen.
3. The Military Member of the Governor-General's Council.

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which might fall under the eyes of others. Curzon had information that Collen moaned in half-suppressed accents to his bosom friends about "new brooms and a parliamentary training" and wondered why what was good enough for Lord Dufferin (who, according to Lord Curzon's information, never did a stroke of work that he could avoid and had nearly all his papers initialled by his Private Secretary) was not good enough for the new Viceroy.

Collen, in the opinion of Curzon, was scurtly but querulous and was "rather in a cross bench frame of mind". He slumbered away the greater part of his time in a country retreat about nine miles from Simla and arrived once a week on a 'staid pony' for meetings of the Council. It was a "striking illustration of an intelligence and a character flattened at and attenuated by a quarter of a century of Anglicism." The consequence was that, in the department, matters moved at a snail's pace and it was very difficult to accelerate the rate of speed.[4]

Curzon speaks of General Sir William Lockhart, the Commander-in-Chief, as an old friend, who would sooner in any matter take the Viceroy's side than go against him. But he hated being bothered or questioned or fussed, disliked administrative business of any kind and was miserable at meetings of Council where he rarely uttered a word. His opinion was in the custody of his Adjutant-General, Nicholson,[5] who was said to write his minutes and despatches. The Commander-in-Chief was shy and unassuming and extraordinarily sensitive, though large-minded in every other respect. Curzon, while hoping that he would keep in successfully with Lockhart, considered that after skilful steering would sometimes be required since there were "voices at his elbow" constantly murmuring opposite things.

Sir Clinton Dawkins, the Finance Member, who at Curzon's request had come to India for a period of one year only to help the Viceroy to inaugurate a "sound currency policy involving large departures from previous practice" and was supposed to be strong at the Viceroy's side but was "invaluable both from his experience and common sense." But his predecessor, Sir James Westland, was not in the good books of the Viceroy. Curzon speaks of him as "urbane and agreeable in intercourse." But his notes and minutes were "almost ferocious in their truculence" and he had a "helter skelter" way "opposing everything that involved the spending of a few rupees."[6] Westland was dubbed by Curzon as a "glorified accountant." He was most truculent on paper and "snapped your nose off before you had looked at him." The range of his experience was wide, but his outlook was, in the opinion of Curzon, narrow rather than statesmanlike, and where imperial considerations did not apply, "his point of view was that of a cashier and not that of a statesman."[7]

Sir E. F. Law, who succeeded Sir Clinton Dawkins as Finance Member, was previously known to Curzon under whom he served in the Foreign Office in London. Though Curzon had formed a high opinion of his financial abilities, he was described by the Viceroy as "an abrupt untaking and imperious sort of man; not beloved by his surroundings; and better when working in subordination, or with a board of equals than in a situation where he would be the head of a department and could play the petty tyrant." His wife, a Greek lady, was, according to the Viceroy's information, "the terror of the European embassies" in London.[8] But Curzon was rather intent on having him as Finance Member in preference to other persons whose names were suggested in connection with this appointment. His independent and rather aggressive manner, the stubborn and almost adamantine personality—both traits of his character previously known to and hated by Curzon, the Viceroy said, he had learned to tolerate. The one criterion to which Curzon attached great value was loyalty. Though not an attractive and agreeable personality,

> "I think," wrote Curzon, "Law is already, and, if he came here, would all the more be, bound to me by sufficient ties of loyalty," to render any other feature of minor importance.

Another important consideration in connection with this post was the knowledge and

4. Letter, dated 30 August, 1899.
5. William Gustavus Nicholson, C.B., Brigadier-General, R.E.
6. Letter, 23 February, 1899.
7. Idem.
8. Idem.

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experience of finance of as high a standard as could be procured.[9]

Certain other names suggested in this connection were rejected by Curzon outright. James Finlay of the Indian Civil Service, who was the Secretary of the Finance Department at the time was not considered to have the requisite authority and prestige. Nor did he impress the Viceroy as having the quality of mind that would be of great service to the Government. The names of persons without training in financial administration were not seriously regarded by him, for not being a financier himself, the first desideratum with him was that he should have as Finance Member somebody who was.

Curzon's comment on Sir James Mackay (later the first Earl of Inchcape), whose name was suggested for the appointment as Finance Member may be of some interest. "As regards Mackay," he wrote, "I like what I know of him myself." He had always struck the Viceroy as both capable and agreeable, and Curzon had little doubt that Sir James Mackay would be a pleasanter colleague than Law. But the Viceroy doubted whether his business career in India would be considered as giving him the requisite financial weight and authority, while the retiring Finance Member, Sir Clinton Dawkins, held that his very extensive share in the B.I.S.N. Company, which had a great deal to do with the Government, constituted a fundamental disqualification against his appointment to the post.[10] In this connection Curzon consulted confidentially a gentleman in Calcutta,[11] who was "unquestionably the leading commercial authority there and the more trustworthy exponent of the views of that class." The opinion of this gentleman who was a personal friend of Mackay, having known the latter for more than twenty years, was quoted verbatim by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State:

> "Sir James is an able man. But I do not think that he has personal knowledge of any subject except steamers. Upon the currency question his knowledge is superficial, and is regarded as such by the mercantile people in India. He is also supposed to work very much in his own hand in various matters. I have no hesitation in saying that his appointment to the position of Finance Minister would not command the confidence of the mercantile community in Calcutta and in India generally; and, in fact, I think, it would be received with ridicule."

Curzon considered the above opinion on Mackay to be 'representative and honest and unbiassed', for it tallied with what the Viceroy had heard from other quarters in India. He feared that Sir James Mackay would not receive the confidence and backing of the commercial community, without which no Finance Member could get on in India.

Sir Thomas Raleigh, the Legal Member, seemed to show no aptitude for affairs outside his own department and could hardly be regarded as a factor on one side or the other. Lieut.-Col. Gardiner, then a temporary Member, was too new and would be too short-lived in Council to exercise much influence. Charles Montgomery Rivaz, therefore, rather held the scales with perhaps a slight inclination towards the Governor-General. Though deficient in initiative, Rivaz, according to Curzon, seemed to take a level-headed and unprejudiced view of most questions.

Lawrence,[12] the private secretary to the Viceroy, who knew all the "old Indians" personally and was equally acquainted with their merits and foibles, was very useful in keeping them in a good temper and "pouring in the opportune drop of oil." Curzon, in this letter referred to what he considered to be the personal idiosyncrasies of the members of the Council. But he assured the Secretary of State that he had experienced little or no difficulty in carrying his policy through Council, which after all, was in the long run more important.

Curzon's opinion of the Secretaries was, on the whole, good. He thought that he had 'flustered' the Military Secretary[13] somewhat by the constant discovery of irregularities for which he, or rather, the system was partly responsible. But he appeared to be a sensible man and the Viceroy got on with him very well. S. Barnes, the Acting Foreign Secretary, was

9. Letter, 19 July, 1899.
10. Letter, dated 19 July, 1899.
11. Name not mentioned.
12. Walter Roper Lawrence, C.I.E., I.C.S.
13. General Maitland.

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exceedingly hard and showed both judgment and capacity. He was a hard worker and a man of quick intelligence. He interpreted the Viceroy's ideas with a good deal of felicity and was, probably to a man like Curzon, a rather more helpful co-adjutor than Cunningham,[14] although he had not got "either the departmental experience, the social charm or the great personal popularity of the latter."

The real fault of the system here, wrote Curzon, was the want of continuity in the personnel of the department. A young man, brought in from outside, was at once put into charge of a section of the office and was expected forthwith in his notes to suggest a policy to the Government of India. The consequence was that, for a couple of years, he experimented at the expense of his superiors and wrote, in all probability, "the most inconceivable trash." Curzon referred to a young man who, on his appointment to a vacant place, began firing off at once about Persia and Tibet. The Viceroy stopped his premature activity and urged him "to learn before he began to teach."[15]

The Secretaries, in general, formed a loyal body of men and were enthusiastically on the Viceroy's side in his campaign against departmental noting. Their loyalty was perhaps partly due to the fact that "their future to a large extent was dependent on the Viceroy." But Curzon, on the whole, "derived from them very practical and willing assistance."

Curzon had formed his own opinion of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors. The course that resulted, in one case, from the presence of a "weak but amicable Governor" at Bombay[16] was accentuated in Madras by a Governor who ruled a Crown colony where he was a petty king and who "transplanted to Indian soil theories of his former station."[17] Among the Lieutenant-Governors, Sir John Woodburn, was a high-minded and conscientious man, without strength of character and will and was somewhat "discomposed with the fall of the Municipal Bill[18] to which he had pledged himself with wholly superfluous emphasis." Both Sir John Woodburn in Bengal and Sir William Mackworth, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, appeared to "squirm a little at the apparition of a youthful Viceroy who asks questions, hazards doubts and is not content to leave them alone." Sir Arthur Macdonnell, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Province and Oudh, ran his own show with great ability and kept the Viceroy carefully informed of what passed in his province. Sir F. W. R. Fryer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, was dismissed as "lazy and long past his prime."

Though in his letter dated 28 June, 1899, Curzon spoke about the "great ability" of Sir Arthur Macdonnell he was unsparing in his criticism of Sir Arthur, when his name was suggested for the Governorship of Bombay in succession to Lord Sandhurst.

> "As to his ability," wrote the Governor-General, "there is no question. But you can have no conception of the extent to which a man is disliked, as it appears to me, by the entire service. His manners are so bad, his rudeness so extreme, his conduct to his officers so inconsiderate—these adjectives are mine, those in vogue here are much stronger—that there would be wailing and gnashing of teeth at his elevation. It would be followed, I am told, by general resignation among those who would prefer to retire than serve under such conditions and with such a chief. There may be exaggeration in this. But I only tell you exactly what I hear: and it is a fact that in his own Government an excellent man has already left because of his refusal to remain under Sir A.M."[19]

Curzon was rather critical of the parsimonious habits of the members of his Council. In a letter, dated 26th July 1899, he wrote to Hamilton:

> "I regret to find that the old obligations of free expenditure in hospitality and entertainment are dying out: and that the modern Councillor is induced to wrap his salary in a napkin of another description like the man in the scriptural parable."

The Councillors would even go to the ex-

14. Sir William John Cunningham, K.C.S.I.
15. Letter, 31 May, 1899.
16. Lord Sandhurst.
17. Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock, formerly Governor of Trinidad-Natal.
18. Known as the Mackenzie Bill.
19. Letter, 24 March, 1899.

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tent of shirking the outlay on house rent, sending their wives away and living at the club or sharing a bachelor's establishment with other men. Mackenzie Chalmers, the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, had, Curzon reported, attracted a good deal of obloquy by living exclusively in the club both at Calcutta and Simla and taking everything of his salary away. Sir Edwin Collen, the Military Member, would not bring down his wife to Calcutta. He preferred to club with another man. Such was also the case with Charles Montgomery Rivaz, who did not bring his wife to Calcutta in the winter of 1898-99. Up in Simla, few of them entertained save in the most modest degree. The Collens were almost always away at Mashobra, nine miles distant from headquarters (which again was a fruitful cause of long delays attending any reference to the military department) and practically did no entertainment at all. It could hardly be said that any of the others fared better in this respect. Curzon frankly told Thomas Raleigh, who succeeded Chalmers as Law Member, that he must not imitate his predecessor and induced him to take a house at Simla. But Raleigh also was contemplating to live in the club in Calcutta, a proceeding from which Curzon was determined to take steps to wean him. Denzil Charles Ibbertson, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, who was appointed in the Viceroy's Council as a temporary Member on a salary of Rs. 80,000, as against Rs. 50,000 per annum which he was getting as Chief Commissioner, made enquiries if he would be permitted to live in the club. The Viceroy replied to these enquiries "with an emphatic no." Even the Commander-in-Chief, Sir W. S. A. Lockhart, and his wife seldom showed inclination for hospitality, and the doors of "Snowdon," their residence at Simla, long remained closed under the regime of these "quiet and saving" occupants. Curzon regretted that in spite of the handsome stipend (equivalent to that of the Secretary of State for India) which the members of his Executive Council were drawing the old traditions of hospitality were more honoured in the breach than in observance.

The Viceroy was prepared to go to the extreme in order to prevent such economy on the part of the members of the Council. His parting hours at Simla in 1899 were marked by what he described as a "rather amusing though regrettable exchange of shots" with Sir Arthur Charles Trevor, then a senior Member of the Council. Hearing that Trevor had left his daughter back in England and that he had come alone to economize, Curzon spoke to the Councillor through mutual friends about his strong views in the matter. But the old Councillor informed the Viceroy, through his private secretary, that he preferred to retain the matter within his own discretion and that the salary and pension of a Member being inadequate, he proposed to economize during the remainder of his stay in India. Curzon detested the idea of a "probable saving on the part of the old curmudgeon of some £6,000-£7,000" by this method. He informed Trevor that having enforced his views upon other Members of the Council it would be impossible for him to acquiesce in a single exception. To this the old Councillor answered obscurely hinting at resignation. Curzon "devoutly" wished that Trever should seriously contemplate this step rather than claim liberty of action.

> "Can you comprehend the stupidity and parsimony of a man," the Viceroy wrote in wonder, "who tells you plainly that as he is drawing near to the end of his career, he is going to stinge, and retire from India with his pocket as full as he can fill them?"

But the high-browed Viceroy could not congratulate himself upon his success in the attempt to regulate the social dispensation of his recalcitrant colleagues. In spite of Viceregal protests, Trevor took up his quarters in the Calcutta Club. Curzon considered this to be an act of defiance and was full of detestation for the Councillor who, in his opinion, was "a man of ability and of departmental nagger" and no longer had the freshness and the ideas of youth. In vain did the young and imperious Viceroy sigh for a strong and capable and vigorous man who would help him to carry a burden, the weight of which, even if it became easier, never became less."[20]

Curzon was much disgusted with the conduct of James Tisdall Woodroffe, the Advocate-General of Bengal, who on his appointment as the Legislative Council as an additional mem-

20. Letter, 28 December, 1899 and 30 August, 1900

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ber, claimed independence of judgment with regard to measures introduced by Government in the legislature. Curzon held strongly to the view that the Advocate-General was in exactly the same position in relation to the Government of India as that occupied by the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General in the British House of Commons. These eminent officers of the British Government are invariably consulted about legislation; and in debate in the House of Commons, the Government is always entitled to appeal to them for legal assistance and support and is, of course, sure of their vote. But to Curzon, Woodroffe appeared to have entered the Council with the idea of posing as a sort of a tribune of the people and he was inclined to claim the privilege of criticizing and attacking the measures introduced by the Government of India of which he was the principal legal adviser. The idea that the Advocate-General, who claimed specialised knowledge of many aspects of life in this country, could "fall upon a Government Bill and smite it hip and thigh before an astonished and admiring crowd,"[21] was intolerable to the Viceroy, who prevailed over Woodroffe to resign his position in the Legislative Council.[22]*

21. Letter, 1 March, 1900.
22. Letter, 22 March, 1900.
* Read at the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1955.

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THE CASE FOR TECHNICAL UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA

By Principal J. LAHIRI, M.A.B.T., Dip-Ed. (Lond.), W.B.S.E.S. (Retd.), Teachers' Cert. (Cantab)

The Challenge of Technology to Education

The rapid development of commerce and industry after freedom has led to a demand for an entirely new type of secondary and higher university education in India today. A virtual industrial revolution is taking place under the Second Five-Year Plan and the economy of the country is rapidly changing. This is but a part of a virtual economic revolution which is now sweeping across the world, creating a new climate of thought and feeling for new values among the peoples and nations and making newer demands on the educational system of the countries. Underdeveloped countries, like India, are also realising that the possibility of a fuller life of the people depends on a greater application of scientific knowledge to the more intelligent utilization of the material resources of the nation. They are also realizing today, as never before, that the nation's schools, colleges and Universities are the agencies through which the level of a nation's life is to be raised and ennobled if the nation is at all to reach new heights.

Education Must Be Community-structured

The lack of an adequate educational structure is the greatest obstacle to economic advancement in underdeveloped countries. It is futile to embark upon large-scale industrialization unless adequate provision is made to educate and train technicians who can operate and direct the newly established factories and unless arrangements are made for the training of technologists and industrial leaders and research workers. Failure on the part of the educational system to meet the challenge of a technological way of life by making education in a rapidly changing atomic age *community-structured* will be nothing short of a disaster. If a country's educational system remains static, tensions are bound to be created specially among those of the nation's children who have been prepared by their early training under the traditional set-up for a type of society which is fast passing away. There is then the need for establishing a proper balance between education and occupational opportunity available to the nation's youth, for never before is co-

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operation more needed between education and industry at all levels and grades of education than now,—never before has there been a greater need for establishing a dynamic equilibrium between educational provision and the technical needs of the nation than now.

Technical Universities in the West

At the highest level of University education the latest phase in all Western countries has been the development of a newer type of what may be called "Technical Universities" co-ordinating the curricula of large technical colleges, and institutions of University standing almost entirely devoted to technical studies. Mention may be made of such specialized institutions like the M.I.T., the Federal Technical University in Switzerland, the Institute of Technology at Zurich, the Imperial College of Technology at South Kensington, London, and such other institutions of University standing in U.S.S.R., etc. The aim of these institutions is to produce at the highest level of attainment not only the skilled industrial research worker but the manager and the top-level industrial executive whose contribution is so essential to the imaginative and informed planning of large-scale industrial developments.

These Technical Universities not only instruct men about technical matters. Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Geography and all the ancillary scientific subjects are taught in them as well as History, Economics, languages and the relevant Arts subjects. Students of exactly the same calibre and training as those joining the older Universities enter these institutions straight from school. The professional chairs are just as distinguished and just as much sought after as those in older Universities. Their degrees are regarded with just as much respect and prestige.

At the Zurich Institute of Technology there are 90 Professors, 85 Asstt. Professors and Lecturers and 150 Assistants and the teacher-pupil ratio works out at 1 to 8 students. A considerable proportion of the staff have spent a number of years in business. As many as four languages are taught. There is a large department which deals with humanistic subjects, such as, Economics, Languages, Philosophy and History and every student is required to attend courses in Arts subjects.

Need for More Technical Universities in India

During the Second Five-Year Plan period the pace of industrialization of the country will have to be accelerated and vast projects will have to be initiated by Government. It is important that the process of technological advance be not blocked by shortage of technically-trained personnel, technologists, researchers and potential leaders in industries. New Universities in nearly all the big States will have to be set up. It is, therefore, time we started thinking in terms of Technical Universities in India at important and well-developed centres of industry where there are already Technical institutions at the collegiate level and Engineering colleges.

A study of the statistics of the incidence of the educated unemployed made recently by Universities shows that 50 per cent to 65 per cent of arts and commerce graduates turned out by them have been unsuccessfully looking for employment during the last 2 or 3 years. In 1954, returns of the State Employment Exchanges show that out of 92,000 registrations only about 6,000 placements are on record. Thus the position is that far too many students receive instructions at the University level in the older Universities for the present level of national economy and that unless a planned attempt is made to divert these frustrated students at the secondary level to a technical career and to useful channels of employment by reorganising secondary education, the problem of educated unemployed cannot be solved satisfactorily.

No Conflict with Existing Universities

For our new industries we will need men familiar with the basic principles of Physics and Chemistry able to use their mathematical tools with ease and precision and conversant with economic needs and limitations, for only such men can improve old processes or invent new ideas or even to recognise which processes are the best among a number of choices. It is useless to think men can acquire this sort of knowledge in an ordinary University. No ordinary-sized University can be expected to cope in addition with such a gigantic field of knowledge as Engineering. Higher technological

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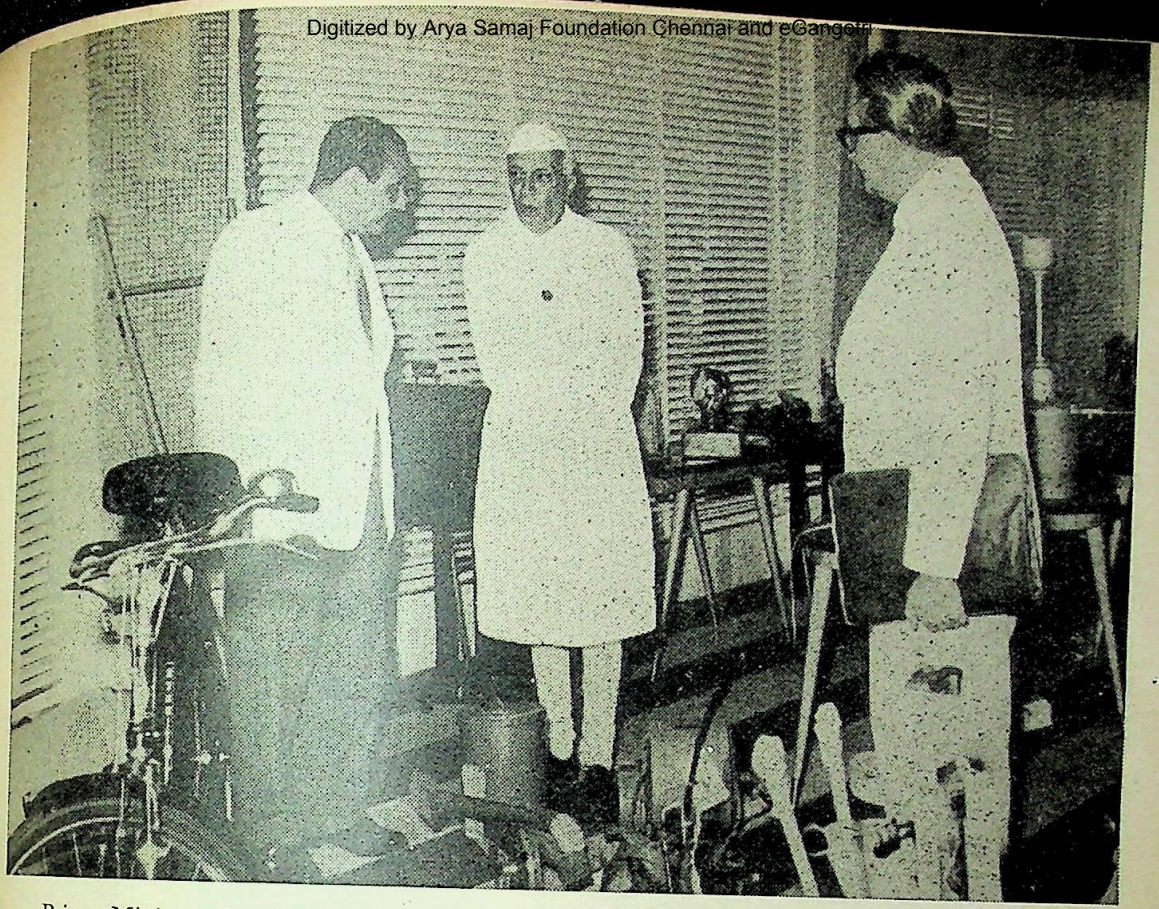
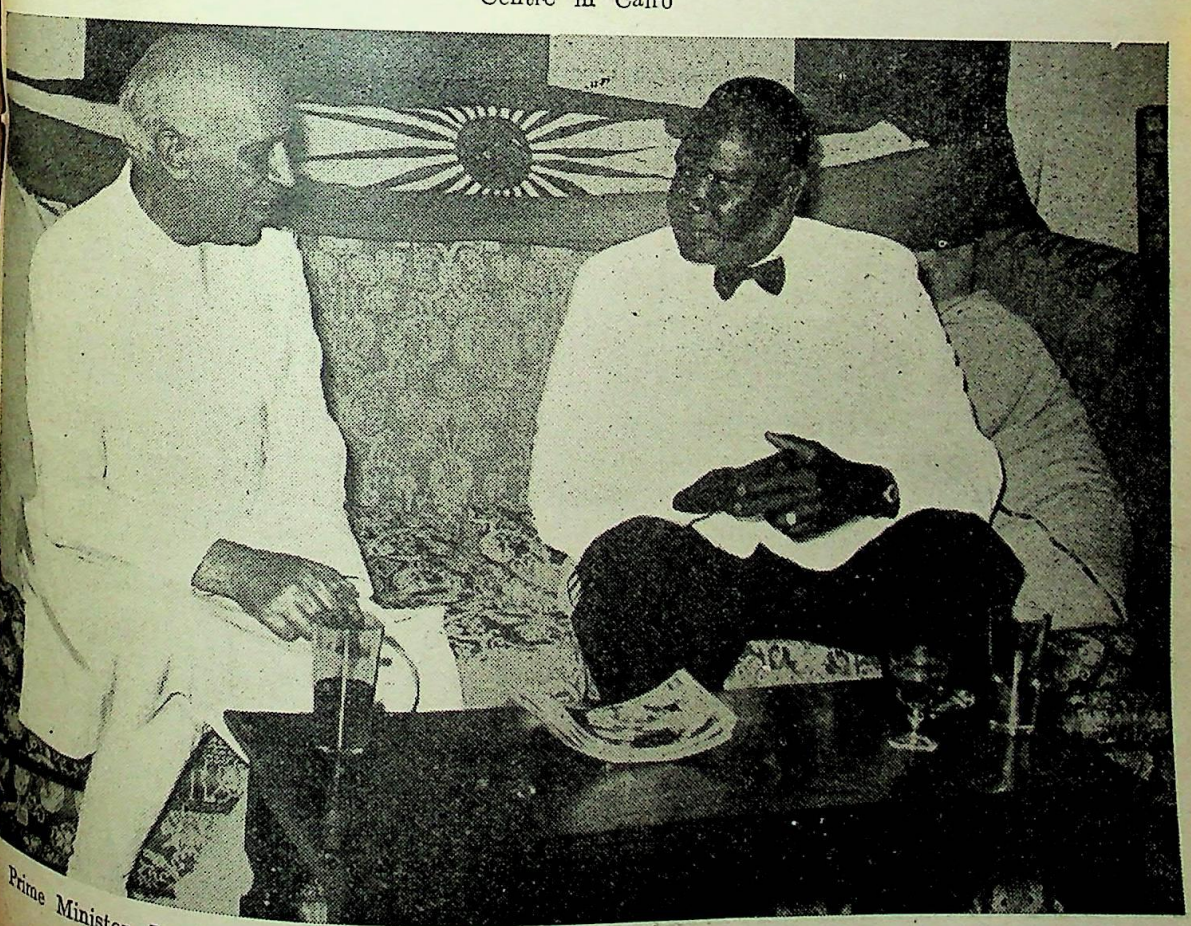


Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru inspecting some exhibits at the newly opened India Trade Centre in Cairo



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru talking to H. E. Siricio Irro, President of the Supreme Commission, at the Republican Palace of Sudan

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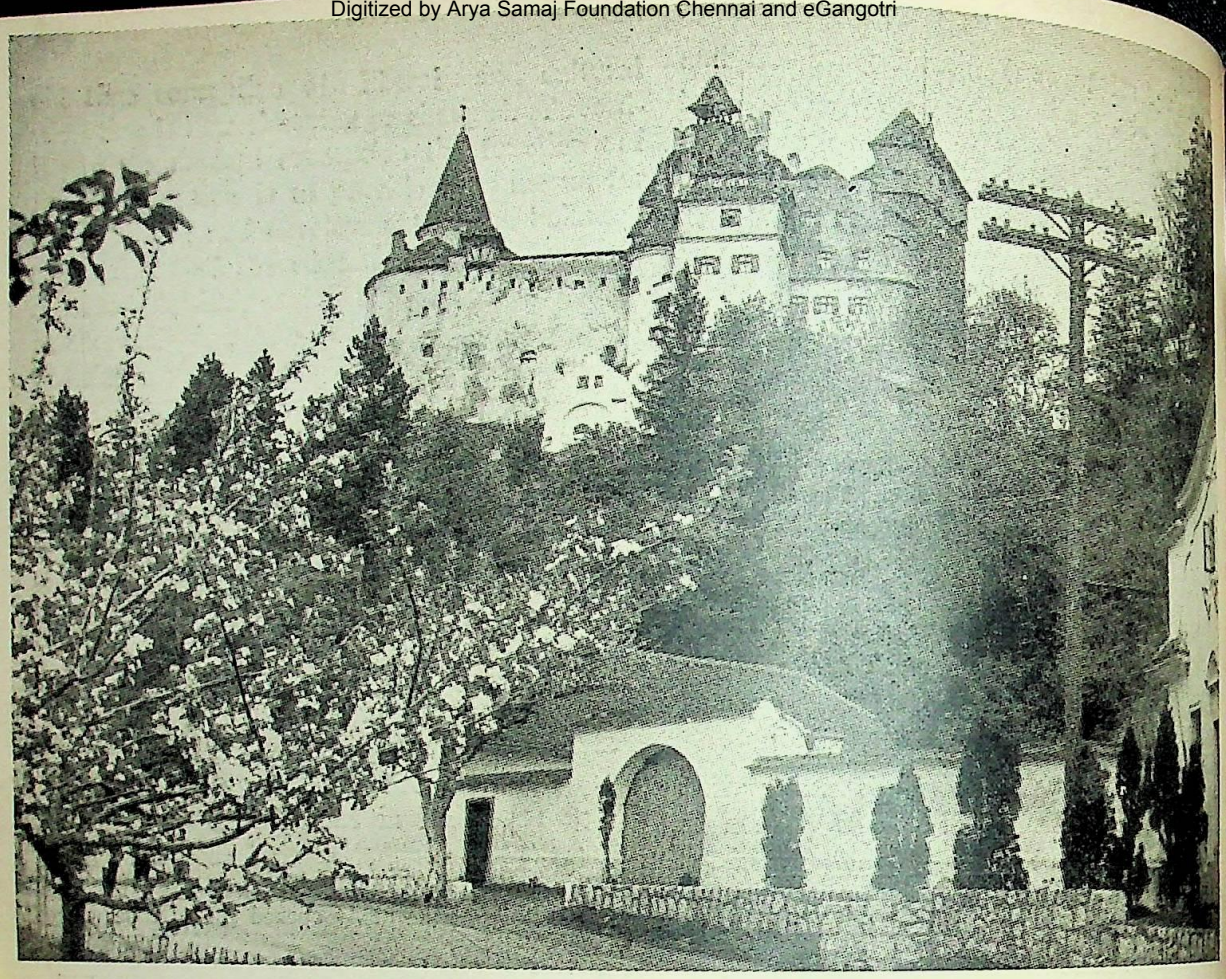
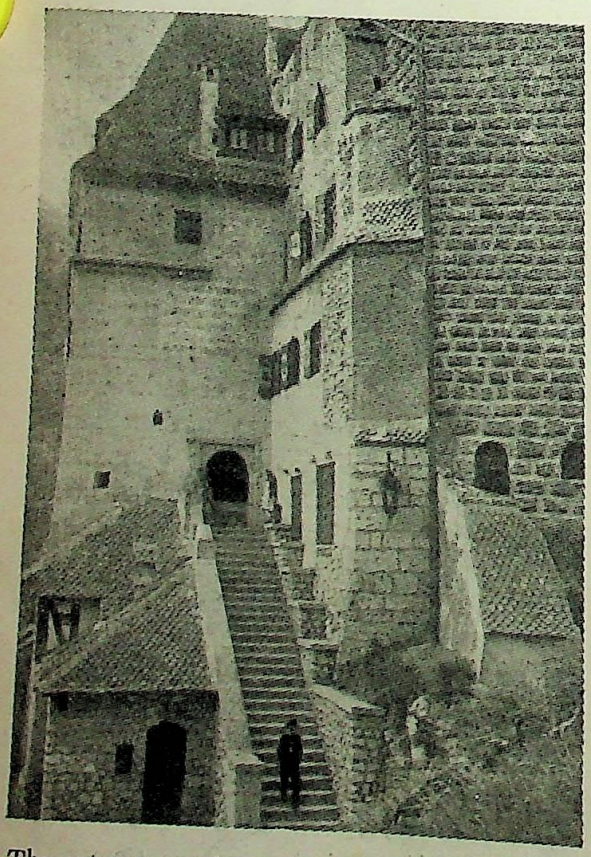
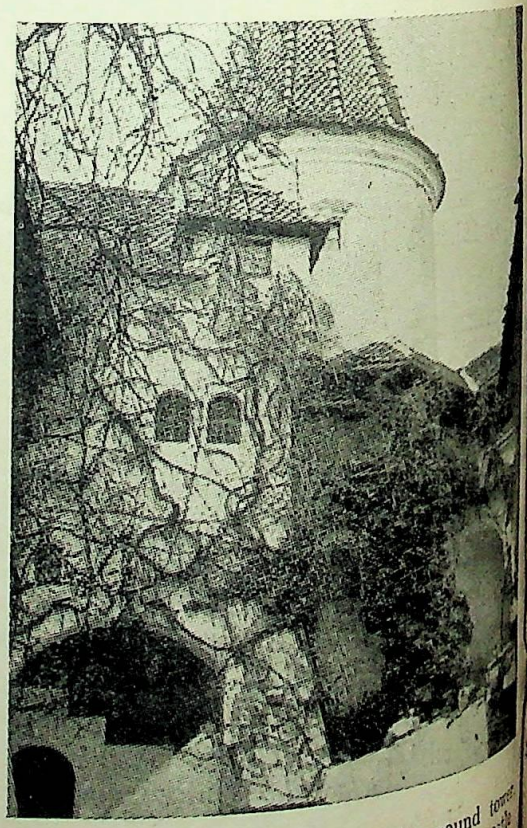


The Bran Castle seen from the road



The entrance to the castle with its rectangularly shaped tower



Aspect of the inner yard with the round tower which formerly was the powder-mill of the castle

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education should be carried on in Technical Universities to which the industries should look for their supply of highly-trained technologists, researchers and leaders. Teaching conditions in such Universities should be such as to attract men of the highest specialist qualifications and width of practical experience and encourage an atmosphere of intelligent enquiry through the granting of a degree of freedom to the staff not possible under present administrative regulations of older Universities. The financing of such developments is clearly a matter of national and not merely local concern. There is no reason why the new Technical Universities should conflict with the existing Universities. A step in the right direction has recently been taken in West Bengal by the establishment of Technical University at Jadabpur in Calcutta. It is time educational authorities, *i.e.*, the All-India Council for Technical Education in India thought of starting similar Universities in special centres in India.

Today the greatest problem our nascent industries have to tackle in the face of keen competition from products turned out in the factories of the more advanced countries, is that improvement of our production technique without which we cannot increase our output. The demand for increasing output cannot be met merely by working longer hours. The Germans, Americans and Russians have the advantage that men are available to industry with absolutely first-class training in all the fundamentals of the science of Engineering, for in modern industries the old-fashioned hit and miss methods and rule of thumb techniques are rapidly out of date. Such men with first-class qualifications cannot be turned out of our older Universities. To convince one of the truth of this fact one has only to examine the curricula of the M.I.T. or the Zurich Institute of Technology.

It is often objected that undergraduates in a Technical engineering University would lose a great deal by not rubbing shoulders with undergraduates reading for Arts degrees. But men reading for engineering degrees in the modern world have precious little time or occasion to rub shoulders with their arts colleagues. In this technological age an ever-increasing number of our young men with first-class brains turned out by our higher technical colleges and Technical Universities will be employed in technical activities connected with heavy industries to be started during our Second-Plan period. We cannot afford to maintain the enormous teaching apparatus required to fit these men for the technical professions and industries in every University. We must concentrate our resources on a few specialized technical institutions or Technical Universities instead of spreading them thinly over the whole country in every University of the traditional type. An establishment in which the usual humanistic subjects, such as, History, Economics, Mathematics, besides science and the vast variety of engineering subjects are taught has as good a right to be called a University, for only thus can technology acquire the necessary prestige on a par with humanism.

"Culture" *Vs.* "Utility"

It is difficult to see why a man should be said to have enjoyed a liberal education if he knows something about the Classics and very little about Science and Engineering whereas he is reviled as a mere technologist if he knows about Science and Engineering and very little about Classics. Merely because one branch of learning was the more important so long, this does not prove it to be superior to other branches which lie at the root of all industrial productions in the modern world. Unless this is done our industrial productivity will inevitably fall below that of other countries and in the long run our standards of living will not improve.

Present-day Conception of "Liberal" Education

The apparent anti-thesis or dualism between culture (so long the monopoly of so-called "liberal" education)—between knowledge and action, between pure and applied thought—is the legacy of the past tradition in education which makes us think that culture and utility are necessarily hostile and that a subject is liberal because it is useful and cultural because it is useless. This traditional opposition between culture and utility rests on the assumption that culture is derived from a higher source and possesses a higher spiritual worth. Never was a more grievous mistake made in the proper conception of "culture" and "utility." Fortunately for the present age this

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old time conception of liberal and cultural education is now changing or changed. According to the modern conception the function of liberal education is to provide the means for the unfolding and development of the balanced personality of the educated in his four-fold aspects—physical, social, moral, aesthetic and intellectual—*i.e.*, the development of the "whole" man. It is a pity that we of the older generation belonging as we do to the older Universities should be still hesitating to give the highest possible recognition to studies of a "practical" character in technical or engineering subjects on account of our contempt for the practical and respect for the traditional subjects of learning, *i.e.*, so-called "cultural" subjects.

Technical Education and Industrial Development in "Underdeveloped" Countries

Although a great advance has been made in industrial development in India during the First Five-Year Plan period, the backwardness and lopsidedness of Indian economy are still reflected in the unbalanced occupational structure, which will be clearly evident from the fact that as much as 68 per cent are dependent on agriculture, 14 per cent on industry, 8 per cent on trade and transport and the remaining 10 per cent in professions and services. In spite of agricultural production during the last 5 years self-sufficiency in food has not been attained nor in raw materials for industries; while unemployment and underemployment still continue on a very large scale and constitute the gravest economic and social menace today. Like all other Asiatic States India still continues to be an "underdeveloped country." Now what is an underdeveloped country? Not that such a country is backward in culture, humanity and civilisation but that its population has not yet learned to use fully the powers which science and technology have created and to acquire what may be called "the gadgets of a machine civilisation." It is only through education—through "technical" education placed on a par with the traditional and more fashionable so-called "liberal" education—that an Asiatic power like Japan could emerge in 25 years from medieval feudalism to a modern State, capable of decisively defeating China and humbling Russia (one of Europe's major powers) and presented the world with the reality of Asia's first technological State. The world has now realised that technical schools and colleges and technical Universities can make a great contribution to economic and social change and that State-directed economic revolutions need almost total planning of the entire educational systems. This has been amply demonstrated not only in the case of a Asiatic power like Japan and recently in U.S.S.R. and America—the Mecca of Engineers and Utopia of technologists, their fantastic output in industries is the outcome of a fortunate inter-action between two sets of factors, continents rich in raw materials with societies capable of exploiting them and putting them into use and the drive, energy and technical know-how of their scientists and technologists.

All underdeveloped countries have the following characteristics: (1) Their technical education is wholly inadequate to their future needs. (2) Their general education is lacking in the realistic contemporary knowledge necessary for life in a growing technical society, the curriculum inclining to be bookish know-about rather than a practical know-how. (3) The cultural content of their technical education is inadequate and the system of technical education is not only unrelated to the occupational structure but is also too narrow in a world of rapid technological changes. All these defects can only be removed by reorganising technological education through the establishment of Technical Universities at industrial centres throughout India.

Wanted an Alternative "Technical Ladder"

Again, if we accept the academic ladder, primary (Basic) school, secondary or high secondary school and University, then it is only logical that industry should recruit mainly from those who have climbed an alternative technical ladder, *viz.*, primary (Basic) school, Senior Basic School, Technical High School, Technical College and Technical University. The orthodox type of Universities and Technical Universities of the newer types would then be performing complementary functions as the "twin-legs" of our national system of education.

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PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PLANNING IN INDIA

By Prof. NARENDRA KUMAR PANDEY, M.A.

Planning for an under-developed economy means having a programme of industrialisation, and such a plan is faced with a number of obstacles in the beginning. Success of the plan depends to a great extent upon the merits of the plan itself and also upon the quality and efficiency of the governmental machinery and the amount of public co-operation that it receives.

"The problems of under-developed countries that may be related to public administration are primarily problems of transition: transition from semi-feudal and traditional to more responsible and rational forms of administration; from an agricultural and extractive economy to an economy of industry and trade; from a colonial regime conducted by foreigners to a national government."

Indian public administration is faced with second type of this transition, that is, the ntry is passing from an agricultural and tive economy to an economy of industry ade.

A universal charge levelled against public nistration in India is that it is corrupt and ficient. A faulty public administration is a t obstacle to industrialisation in an under-loped country. In India, industrialisation gramme is faced with a number of obstacles :

(1) Inadequacy of the economic environ-nt is itself a major obstacle. There is lack transport facilities, inadequacy of power, small e of the local market, absence of other tablishments to which by-products might be d, absence of training facilities, and lack of ancial institutions.

(2) There are also socio-demographic pro-ms, for instance, population growth is very id. In a rapidly growing population the de-nd pattern is heavily weighted towards food d this is likely to retard the progress of indus-lisation.

(3) Shortages in the factors of production also serious handicaps. In India, shortage capital is particularly due to the land-minded-ness, gold-mindedness, and cash-mindedness of the rural population.

(4) There is also the special problem of adapting production techniques that are usually evolved in more advanced countries to the pattern of resources and markets of India.

(5) International circumstances have also to be reckoned with. Dependence of under-developed countries not only for industrial machinery, etc., but also for technical knowhow and the fruits of industrial research retards rapid industrialisation. Foreign investment is also not on a very large scale largely due to international double taxation.

(6) And lastly, a faulty and corrupt public administration may handicap industrial development in a number of ways and we have to guard against that:

(a) If the administrators are incompetent, dishonest, and inefficient, then it would be very difficult to maintain law and order.

(b) Unless statistical information is adequate and reliable, success of a plan is bound to be uncertain. The officers concerned must have scientific training in the art of collecting statistical information. The Indian Institute of Statistics is doing useful work in this direction. But it is rather unfortunate that private initiative in this direction from the teachers of economics and industrialists is not sufficiently forthcoming.

(c) Sudden and frequent changes in tax rates or taxation policy, in foreign exchange rates, etc., are also likely to create a world of uncertainty before the would-be investors. The danger is greatest where power to initiate such changes has been delegated to bodies not accountable to the legislature. Hence we require planning our public administration to ensure the success of our Plan.

Our governmental machinery is said to be corrupt, inefficient, and outdated. These charges have to be examined very cautiously in order to understand them in their correct perspective.

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Indian public administration is faced with a complex type of transition at the present time; the economy is passing not only from an agricultural and extractive economy to an economy of industry and trade, but the social philosophy is also undergoing rapid changes. A change in social philosophy always leads to an extension of governmental functions into hitherto unknown channels; and so the old pattern of public administration fails to cope with the new problems and therefore has to be revised or replaced. But, constant changes in social philosophy from a "socialistic pattern of society" to a "socialist pattern of society" and then to a "full socialist order of society" have simply baffled our administrators. Unless this particular aspect of transition is borne in mind we shall fail to have a clear perspective of our public administration.

To ensure the success of our plans, public admininstration has to be reformed. It is with this end in view that the Planning Commission enlisted the services of A. D. Gorwala and Appleby to advise it in this matter. Gorwala in his *Report on Public Administration* has pointed out a number of defects in our administrative machinery and his solutions offered are really commendable. It will be useful to mention some of those defects that have been pointed out by Gorwala :

(i) The functions of each department must be clear so that one department may not encroach on the working of the other department. Sometimes, the Ministry interferes with the working of the head of the department working under it and the result is that the head of the department is deprived of all initiative. This results in waste of time, men and material ending in the failure of the policy. This should be avoided.

(ii) The relationship between the Administrative Machinery and the Finance Ministry has also led to a great organisational defect. Also, unnecessary interference by the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India has also delayed many of the developmental projects. It would be desirable to delegate certain financial powers to Administrative Ministries and heads of departments for contingent expenditure within the budget provision.

(iii) The basic feature of the system is 'the association together of an amateur, lay, political, non-permanent directing body and an expert, professional, non-political, permanent subordinate staff.' On a happy combination of the two depends the success of a government. It will be of great use if the superier officers learn to take advice from their subordinates.

(iv) The fundamental cause of delay in despatch of work lies in the very nature of public administration, *i.e.*, in its responsibility to Parliament.

The principle of Scientific Management in business administration must be applied in the field of public administration also. Sometime back the Bihar Government had sent one of its officers to U.K. to study the working of the British Secretariat and to report to the Bihar Government on the reorganisation of the Bihar Secretariat. But we do not know if his recommendations were given effect to. Recently the Government of India has also set up a Committee consisting of the various Secretaries of the Central Government for this purpose.

Recently Mr. Gorwala, while delivering lectures on "The Administrative Jungle" under the Institute of Public Administration, Panjab University, pointed out that one of the disconcerting features of the post-independence administrative set-up was that the independence of judgement and outlook of the administrator had dwindled. Unless the public servant inculcate independence of spirit and the courage to express it, it would be difficult to carve beautiful paths across the administrative jungle in India.

The higher-ups in the administrative hierarchy must shed their superiority complex and this must yield place to service instinct. In order to do away with the evils of "administrative bureaucracy," which Gorwala characterised as the fiercest animal of the administrative jungle, a Forum of Public Opinion has to be set up in the country.

There is one more point to be emphasised in this connection. As planning will progress the problems of public administration will become more and more complex. The industrialisation process will lead to a number of internal structural changes in the economy. One of the important manifestations will be an increase in the number of persons engaged in secondary industry. This will lead, probably, to a change in the country's occupational structure. National income will

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come more dependent upon a sound internal economic policy. The changing composition of the national product and the changing distribution of the national income would call for constant adjustment in economic policy. Moreover, with the increase in the area of the public sector the question of the efficient management of public enterprises has also assumed a pertinent form. Management of public corporations poses altogether different problems and they require also solutions of a different type. The kind of personnel that government will recruit to man these corporations must have sound knowledge of economics. Hence the suggestion for the creation of an Economic Civil Service. Although the government has decided to create an Industrial Management Pool, one fails to understand why the government is hesitant in creating a separate cadre of Economic Civil Service.

———:O:———

SECOND CHAMBER : AN EXPENSIVE FOLLY

By V. V. RAMANA MURTHI, M.A., M.Litt.,
Lecturer in Political Science, Gujarat University

Till very recently, our countrymen were made familiar with the inspiring but not so intelligible slogan, that "Good government is no substitute for self-government." Our rulers today were but staunch nationalists yesterday. It is very refreshing to note that at least, they too have begun to think in terms of good government, even after self-government was assured. It comes as a bold relief to know that the Andhra Pradesh is going to have a second chamber.

The two-chamber system is no novelty to democracy. It is now almost a dogma of political science, as Laski said, that "it ought to consist of two chambers." The Second Chamber may be elective as in America or nominated as in Canada or indirectly elected as in France. By far, the oldest and the most famous Second Chamber is the House of Lords, which is based on the principle of heredity.

But it should not be forgotten that the House of Lords is largely a "historical accident." The advantages that are often quoted in favour of a bicameral system, are dubious in practice. In an article entitled "Power of the Lords Needs to be Curbed," Prof. H. J. Laski observed in 1947:

> "There are over 850 members in it . . . It is seldom that more than 40 peers are present at a debate. There are less than a hundred peers who have made an average of one speech per annum since 1918. There are more than 350 peers who have never spoken at all and there are more than one hundred who, never having bothered to take the oath of allegiance, have never even taken their seats. It is, moreover, the fact that, with the single exception of the late Lord Rosebury, no Peer has ever made a representation in politics who had not previously won his spurs in the House of Commons . . . It is a useful debating society in normal times; it is simply a department of the Tory Party when the latter is out of office and seeks to delay or to destroy the policy of a progressive government."

The Second Chamber, if it is well-disciplined as in the Norwegian model, may give the benefit of mature deliberation and of checking and revising ill-conceived legislation of the popular house. But as it is situated in most democratic countries, it is either duplicating the work of the Lower House or proceeding to obstruct progressive legislation.

The argument for or against a Second Chamber may be entirely academic and result in no relevant decision as far as the historical context is concerned. No one disputes that the

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provision of a Second Chamber is meant to improve legislative process. What is the position of Legislatures today?

The notion of legislative supremacy has proved to be a myth. The decline of Legislatures in political life has resulted in leaving all initiative to the Executive. What we are now having is essentially an Executive Government in substance as well as in theory. The executive, be it Cabinet or Presidency, is the unchallenged sovereign today. We are sometimes spoken of "an executive dictatorship tempered by the fear of Parliamentary revolt." The political experience of our day is not far from proving it. Even the parliamentary revolts are too infrequent to constitute a threat and too feeble to check the excess of government.

The decline of Legislature is strangely coincident with increase in the volume of its work. Obviously it is an overworked body. The case for delegated legislation is overwhelming. On one side, it is face to face with growing tasks that call for competence and knowledge and experience. On the other, it is steadily successful in containing members whose meagre equipment is their only qualification.

In India, the Legislatures have not shown that amount of initiative and independence which warrants a fresh lease of their existence in another form. The test of a Legislature's influence is the record of the private member's bills in its session. Our Legislatures have hitherto followed a dittoist policy. It cannot be said that they have been successful in becoming the mirrors of national life. It is not the will of majority, thanks to the ghost of Rousseau, that is counting, it is the articulate decision of the party caucus of the self-conscious political elite, that is confronting us. The volume of the private member's bills is insignificant; in this field also the predominance of the party in power is making itself felt. It is not clear whether the opposition parties in Legislatures have lost their initiative to the party in power.

In olden days one of the well-chosen functions of Legislature was to control the executive. An ever-asserting executive made that duty now obsolete. Day by day, the executive authority is finding more and more avenues of its jurisdiction. The Legislature is just to make decisions of the Executive palatable to the people.

In this context, the destiny of a Second Chamber is linked up with the fate of Legislature as a whole in political life. In a situation with advancing Executives and receding Legislatures, the institution of a Second Chamber will only mean an expensive folly.

The provision of a Second Chamber by itself does not guarantee good government at once. The process of creating conditions for a good government must begin from the bottom and not at the top. The electoral law of universal adult suffrage that is operating in India now is not the last word on democratic process. It is worthwhile to reconsider its desirability as a measure of returning good and intelligent governors.

In the first General Elections that were held, many intellectuals and noted public men were defeated at the hands of comparatively insignificant and ill-equipped candidates. Persons like the late Acharya Narendra Deva and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar could not be successful. One would have expected leaders like Acharya Kripalani, Ashoka Mehta, Kamala Devi and Dange, who were noted for their record of public service and the gifts of parliamentary debate, to find a place in our Legislature. But the electoral system showed a consistent disregard in selecting good and capable Legislature. It looks as though the mistake is very likely to be repeated now. If the country is serious about making an experiment in good government, it is far more reasonable to think of a reform of the electoral law, than to provide for a meaningless Second Chamber.

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TAGORE, THE POET OF HUMAN VALUE

By JOGES C. BOSE

I

Light and Shade

Rabindranath Tagore was born in 1861. The first giddy days of the impact of civilizations of the East and the West in Bengal, over the ribald excesses of beef and beer and an obstreperous contempt of what is India's own, had yielded to an awakened consciousness of her heritage. Thanks to the initiative of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the largest single influence, the respective values coalesced on lines of responsive susceptivity. Slowly but none-the-less surely, they wove out a pattern of composite culture to help build India anew on the balance of spiritual and material strength.

The British Parliament had just taken up the administration of India from the hands of the East India Company and inaugurated its reign by a Proclamation[1] in the name of Queen Victoria. A small history of telling significance attaches to the great divide. The draft was put up for the Queen's approval. She did not like it because, she said, it was not couched in language sufficiently enough touching such as a female sovereign could address millions of distant people. In fact, she had it rewritten by Lord Derby giving pledges she and her successors were to redeem. It instantly enthroned Victoria on the heart of India and created a reservoir of good will for England. In quick succession, the India Council's Act empowered the Governor-General to nominate Indian members to assist him in the Legislature. It galvanised the imaginativeness of our people and gave colour to an impression, assiduously fostered, that the ruled were being invited to share the making of their laws. This created a belief in the trustful Indian mind that under the auspices of the British Crown not only was a Rule of Law established but the ruled were being fashioned as a part and parcel of the ruler. The English people have, besides, fashioned a way of life so as to make their individual noble needs yield them maximum returns nationally. No sooner barred, they now sent in suckers of loyal admiration into the gristles of our new growth. The Railway, whose economic value cannot ever be denied, was but a guaranteed profit to the investment of wealth, which by sudden influx poured into Britain since the Plassey to the grab and graft of Lord Dalhousie. It was, however, pressed to publicity with an adroitness that it passed muster as a token of British altruism.

With regard to the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Reginald Coupland echoes the general sense of England that 'Burke's indictment was pitifully overstrained.' Hastings, says Lord Roseberry, was 'waylaid by the sleepless humanity' of Burke. It is, however, history that no humanity of any quarter could pave the way for it but the political consideration, which swayed the Prime Minister William Pitt to initiate the process to lull India to the silver illusion that British rule, as he said in the House of Commons, was a 'blessing' to her. He made no secret that thus he would 'confirm and enlarge the benefits derived by this country (England) from its connection with India.' India, all the same, galloped over the trail of blessing; Burke's moral indignation was the criterion of England's deal to her. England gave asylum to political refugees like Garibaldi, Cavour, Cussoth and others; she spent twenty million sterling to emancipate the slaves, India swore by her as the champion of the liberty of all peoples of the world.

One repercussion of the Sepoy Mutiny was the imposition of a rigorous system of check and balance on India as a principle of rule but with a subtlety of which the English people are consummate masters. The vision of Macaulay's 'the proudest day in English history'[2] was poohpoohed as a neurotic hyperbole and tucked away in cold storage. India, none-the-less, hugged it to her bosom as England's mission. A revealing aspect of that rule on the moral plane is that the text-books of Indian lads were replete with stories of British prowess the world over. They had to recite 'Rule Britannia' with

1. Lord Ripon called it 'a Declaration of the principles of Government.' Lord Curzon whittled it down by emphasis on clauses like 'if' and 'in-so-far', etc.

2. Macaulay said in the House of Commons on the Charter Act, 1833: "Having become instructed in European knowledge, they (Indians) may demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. . . . Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history."

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as much gusto. They had before them the English lad Casabianca on the burning deck, as the symbol of the sense of dutifulness in the teeth of leaping dangers; while in the next page his Indian counterpart Abdullah needed being kicked to his daily round of works. What is it but the master race ideology of the much reviled Herrenvolk? There was not a ripple of protest in the doped mind of India.

What, however, for a culturally go-ahead family and a father of taut national dignity—he returned unopened the letter of a relation because it was written in English—Rabindranath was, even when fairly young, alert to the intellectual penetration of so powerful a race. At Hindu Mela—it was an annual congregation in Calcutta patronised by the Tagores deliberating hard on national lines even resolving to boycott foreign goods—Rabindranath, at the age of thirteen, read his poem, the central idea of which was conveyed by the two lines:

> How it behoves thee, oh Ind, to smile,
> In dire misery of chains as thou art![3]

Again, at sixteen, he wrote a trenchant poem on Lord Lytton's Delhi Durbar in the context of devastating famines in Madras and Northern India. This note of patriotic sullenness was laid to rest, as his father took him up the hills of Dalhousie and then sent him over to England for education. From Europe he wrote letters, which marked him out for his insight, chaste humour and a sweet flexibility of language and, at the top of all, the flavour of a personality. On return, he wrote his musical play *Valmiki-Prativa* (The Genius of Valmiki). He again left for England and this time for Law but did not proceed beyond Madras. Back to Calcutta, he wrote, now at the age of twenty, his poem *Nirjharer Swapna Bhanga* (The Fountain from Dream Wakes Up). It is the first solid, substantial promise of his kaleidoscopic creativeness, he kept intact right up to the age of eighty-one.[4]

3. All translations save otherwise acknowledged are mine.

4. Plato died pen in hand at eighty; Sophocles wrote one of his best plays on the verge of ninety; Goethe his *Faust* at eighty; Tennyson his *Crossing the Bar* at eighty-three; Bernard Shaw felt confident to say at ninety-three that he had enoughkick to make fresh outburst possible.

The Start

The Fountain is asleep in the tangles of mountain-walls, shut out from God's light and air. One morning, the sun sends his rays through an unsuspected cleavage and she wakes up. In the stir of a new birth, she would not cannot hold herself in check. Inebriated with life's first morning light, she flows down breathing the hurdles of ice, accumulated for ages. And as she harkens to the rumbling peals of the sea afar, she speaks in joy abounding of what has so mightily animated her and what obviously, the journey is for. In fact, her desire that recks no limits is to sweep past the vast space of eternity and inundate the lands she visits, with the illumination which is hers in that hour of awakening. Is it suggestive of what was agitating the juvenile mind of the poet?

The days pass, the flickering ambition crystallises into a looming passion:

> I wish, I may not have to part with the world so beautiful and may go on to live intensely with the kindly race of man.

This desire to live by the shadow of the grim certainty, haunting us since birth, recalls in the kinship of juxtaposition Tennyson's Tithonus, a white-haired shadow roaming like a dream, consumed by the hunger to

"Pass beyond the goal of ordinance
Where all should pause, as is most meet for all."

Tithonus besought Aurora for immunity from death and this she readily granted. But the loopholes were there and Nature levied her toll with an unrelenting precision. Youth to old age, his life, as it wore out to the inevitable shift of infirmity, became one living death. What infinite grace is, however, imparted to the fact of living were it not to live to obey the behests of flesh and blood, but to live, as Rabindranath suggests, for the joy of life, consecrated by the hope,

> To build up a tower of songs eternal
> With mankind's weal and woe.

The greatest mind, says Emerson, is the most indebted mind. Rabindranath has assimilated drawn his inspiration from various sources, not unlike a living organism drawing sustenance in easy naturalness from all the elements. The was for him the massive background of his

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hood home, which was the centre of attraction for scholars and musicians. Bengal lyrics of extraordinary depth and vitality and her scintillating folk-songs, mostly bucolic or otherworldly in texture, had also their due share to mould him. He pored over his inspiring forbears, Jaydev of the twelfth century, Vidyapati and Chandidas of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Not the least unmindful was he of the indigenous touch of Bengal's Chaucer Mukundaram Chakravarty of the 16th century, the metrical wealth of Bharatchandra Roy and the devotional intenseness of Ramprasad Sen, either of the 18th century. Rabindranath owes his debts in very handsome terms to the nineteenth century stalwarts, Vidyasagar and Bankimchandra Chatterjee. In return, he has given us in bewildering profusion songs, poems, plays, short stories, novels, essays, journals, letters, diaries and discourses and, yet we cannot help add to this prodigious list, one omnibus item 'sundry other things' in order to make a more or less complete, satisfying picture. It builds a legend that by any standard may cannot be brushed aside as drab or commonplace. Almost the whole of it bear some way or other the hallmark of a great artist. As a matter of fact, there is hardly a demur to what the Oxford University says that 'he has barely left any field of literature untouched and has touched nothing he has not adorned.'

To respect thematic integrity, I would pick out some representative pieces, which are overwhelmingly laden with their appeal of human grace. In the poem *Ebar Phirao Mor-e,* I make my choice, is vouchsafed a glimpse of the poet's impressive. Stripped of embellishments, it is akin to Cardinal Newman's shibboleth 'Man, thou art not born for thyself but thy kind.' We may accept it as a preface to the poems of the aforesaid category. It is in essence a turn-back from a life of ease and affluence, remniscent of Gray's *Elegy,* to energise attention in the 'short and simple annals of the poor.' 'Simple,' however, is no word to describe the conditions of the poor in this country, as they grope in stark, agonic privations. Rabindranath gives a protective touch to the pith and marrow of their sufferings, which are aggravated by

Bedonare karitechhe parihash
Swarthodhhata abichar.

Injustice, pampered with selfishness,
delighting to mock at the pains of the
poor.

The Elegy coruscates with the pathos of their life. Gray waits for the curfew to toll the knell of parting day and be left to himself and darkness to contemplate their sad lot. Rabindranath crowds action into the span of his thought. He would make their silent, benumbed tongues vocal and stir up hopes in their tired, broken hearts.

Truly speaking, what are they save some moving skeletons, euphemistically called human beings, in their festering slums made of odds and ends? By and large, they do not live but pitifully drag on with the load of poverty and ignorance bending them incredibly low. And yet,

> They blame not their fate; cast not to Heaven the imprecations of misery and anguish; hold no other responsible; nor sulk in sullenness. They are quite content with life, if it just yields them scope to gather what uncertain morsels of food they can.

The young poet sets to revalue the concept of life. It is a challenge big enough to appall the most enthusiastic. He, therefore, prayerfully seeks to tone up his own morale:

> Thou poet, bring down from heaven high the picture of hope and faith in this squalor blank.

I am, however, loath to call this attitude a crusade. Rather essentially a poet, with whom instinct claims the whole being, he blazes up at the sight of misery wrought by a culpable maladjustment of wealth and the constitutional indifference of the privileged few. But he cannot keep up the tempo. To skip over a long stretch of years, he gives vent to an expression of pathetic regret how he has failed to live up to the promise and drifted afield. In the poem *Aikyatan,* (The Great Symphony), Rabindranath says:

> "Not everywhere I have won access, my ways of life have intervened and kept me outside. The tiller at the plough, the weaver at the loom, the fisherman plying his net—these and the rest toil and sustain the world with their varied labours. I have known them from a corner, banished to a high pedestal of society, reared by renown. Only

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the outer fringe I have approached, not being able to enter the intimate precincts."—(The translation is his own).

The labour problem in India in the last nineties had not developed the various complications, incidental to Western industrialisation. A feeling of compassion, spun out to a sense of wrong done to a class of people we call labour is the nucleus of forces attacking inequitable adjustment of the sources of enterprise conditioned by birth. The two types of the wronged Rabindranath presents us, are, in the setting of a colourful human drama, a household menial and a small man behind the plough. To the first category belongs the irrepressible Kesto and to the second Upendra, pitted against a feudal lord.

(To be continued)

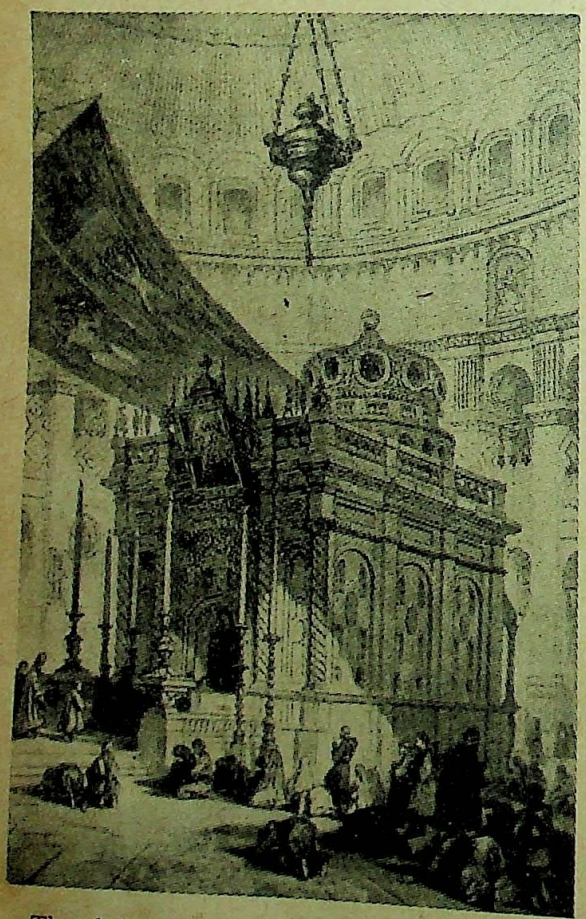
———:O:———

JORDAN

A Modern State in an Antique Land

By Z. H. KAZMI

The recent spectacular political developments in Jordan have brought this little Arab kingdom in the lime-light.



The shrine in the Church of Holy Sepulchre that enclosed the site where the crucified body of Jesus Christ is believed to have been laid. Jerusalem

Set up by the British Government with the Palestine Mandate in 1922, Jordan was declared an independent country on May 25, 1946, with King Abdullah, son of Sherif of Mecca (the late King Husain of Arabia), as its first ruler. On the assassination of King Abdullah—the diplomatic wizard of modern Arabia—in July, 1951, his son Prince Talal was proclaimed King. Finding himself too weak to shoulder the onerous responsibilities of his kingdom, the ailing King Talal abdicated in favour of his young son Prince Husain who ascended the thorny throne at the Hashimite kingdom of Jordan in May, 1953, at the tender age of eighteen. King Husain who is a cousin of the young King Faisal II of Iraq, claims his descent from the house of the Prophet of Islam.

Jordan is a constitutional monarchy. The King governs through a Council of Ministers appointed on the advice of his Prime Minister who enjoys the confidence of the Parliament. The Parliament consists of a Senate of 30 members nominated by the King and a House of Representatives of 40 members elected by the people.

Predominantly a pastoral and agricultural country Jordan has only a few light industries and is backward economically. Until replaced early this year by the financial assistance promised to be paid jointly by the neighbouring Arab States of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria, the country was in receipt of an annual

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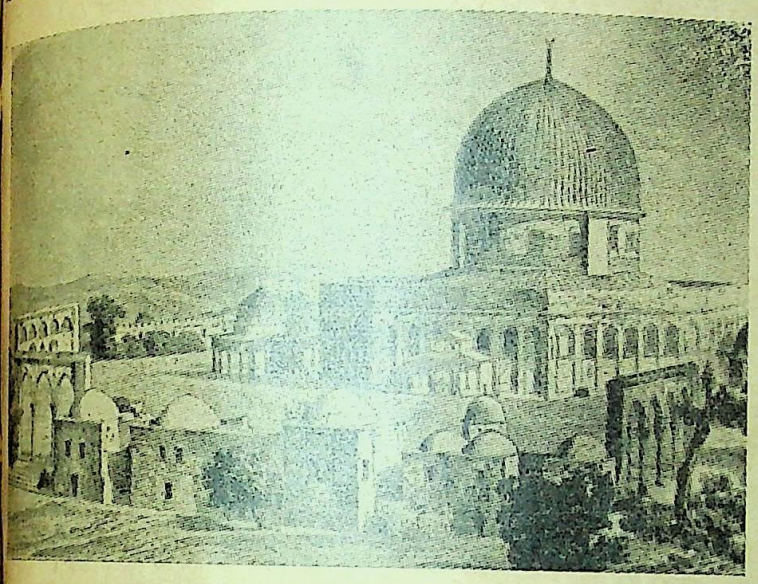
...dy of 6½ million sterling from the Government of the United Kingdom to stabilize its economy. But in view of Jordan's acceptance of the controversial Eisenhower Doctrine for American aid to the Middle Eastern countries, this offer is not likely to materialize now.



At the site of the Great Temple of Solomon stands the Mosque of Caliph Omar, Jerusalem

This small country with ... area of 34,740 square ... and a population of ...,000 wields much impor... in the strategic Middle... mainly due to the cen... position it holds in ... Arab world and its ...y trained and colour... Arab Legion (the only ... army which had come ... with flying colours in the ...eli-Arab war of 1948 ... which was organised by ... deposed Lt.-General John ...ot Glubb, popularly known ... Glubb Pasha).

Though a new country in ... political sense, the ...sent boundaries of the ...shimite kingdom of Jordan ...mpass some of the world's most ancient ... greatest cities.

Most prominent in the galaxy of the relics ... the country's glorious past are Jericho, Jeru... ...em, Bethlehem, Petra and Amman, famous ... world over for their archaeological, histori... cal, religious or commercial interest. They have, through the ages, been drawing innumerable visitors from far and near.

A monument of mankind's earliest community efforts, Jericho is the oldest known walled city on earth whose foundation was laid by the stalwarts of the Neolithic age (*i.e.*, new stone age) sometimes early in the fifth millennium B.C. when the great human race stood at the threshold of its long and arduous march towards civilization. Jericho has recently given out its archaeological treasures stored underground as the city rose and fell—about thirty times—during the course of its 7,000-year-old history. The destruction of the city by a violent earthquake about the eighth century A.D. relegated it into a small insignificant village—even that owed its existence to the historical Aen-as-Sultan or Prophet Elisha's

A view of Amman, the capital of Jordan

fountain which has been providing it with drinking water from time immemorial. Thanks to the Herculean efforts of the resolute and indomitable Syed Musa Allami and some other hardy Arab refugees from Israel, this virtually dead city once again throbs with a new life

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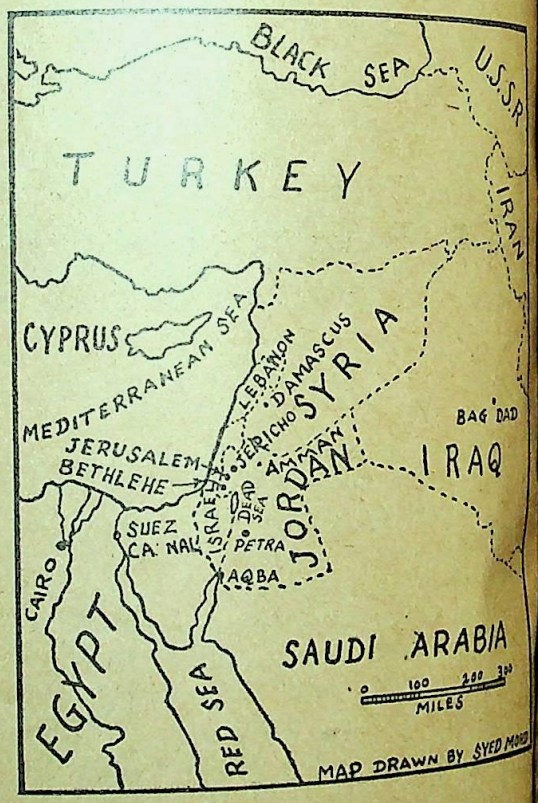
and its inhospitable and arid suburbs bloom with green fields and fruit-trees.

Jericho's topography also gives it a unique position for it lies 840 feet below the sea-level and is the lowest lying town on the surface of the earth. The excavations undertaken recently by the inquisitive archaeologists at the site of this relic of the hoary past have brought to light many a hidden jewel of ancient and medieval art and architecture. The remains of the earliest and later walls built to protect the city from the invaders; a Neolithic temple with the skeletons of two infants supposed to have been

A Nabatean Temple carved out of the rocks Petra

sacrified at its altar seven thousand years back; plastered and beautifully moulded skulls —inset with cowries representing the eyes— portraying the faces as well as the skill of the city's first settlers; tools and utensils used in Early Bronze Age (about 3100 B.C.); the earthen jars full of calcined grain stored by the men of the Middle Bronze Age (1900-1560 B.C.); handsomely carved wooden bowls containing dried meat and other edibles and materials found buried with the people who used them; the flower-pots of the sunken garden and the ruins of the civic centre constructed about 200 B.C. after the Roman style by the famous Jewish King Herod, the greatest builder in the history of Israel; wine jars and other pottery reminiscent of the days of the Roman rule over the Holy Land; the remains of the palatial palace with its magnificent mosaic floors, exquisitely carved and plastered walls and windows; artistically made luxurious hot and cold baths and splendid sculptures—built by Emperor Hisham (724-743 A.D.) of the Omyyad



Dynasty of Syria, are among the jewels of a quity that have hitherto been unearthed w many other marvels of human feats buried b are yet to see the light of the day.

Now known in the West as the Pompeii the East, Jericho is fast developing into great tourist centre.

Religious sanctity, antiquity and splend combine to give Jerusalem a place of p among the great cities of the world.

Sacrosanct to three great faiths—Judais Christianity and Islam—Jerusalem or Ba Mugdis (meaning the 'Sacred House') st on a broad summit of a mountain ridge. It

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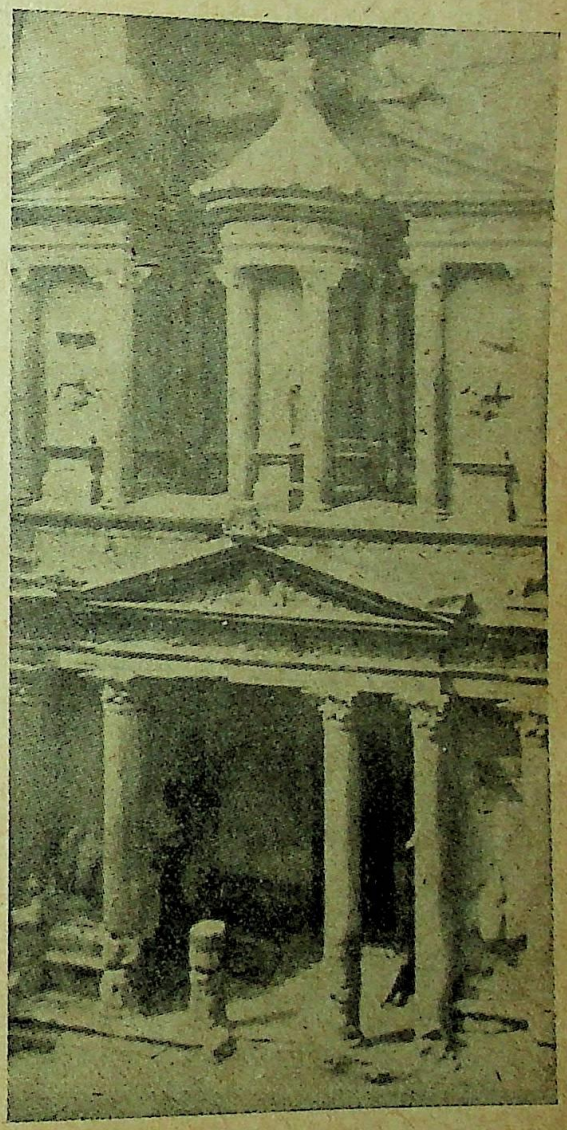
Around it cluster the holy tombs and shrines of the prophets and patriarchs, Jewish Synagogues, Christian Churches and Muslim Mosques, and a host of historical and sacred sites and spots recalling to memory the stirring events which had greatly influenced the course of the history of mankind. In fact, the history of the venerable city is interwoven with the history of more than half of the people spread all over the globe.

Built four thousand years ago by the Jebusites and made capital of the Kindom of Judea by David, the powerful potentate of the Israelis around 1000 B.C., Jerusalem shot into prominence with the construction of the Great Temple for the worship of One True God during the glorious reign of the celebrated King Solomon the Wise (son of King David). Despite repeated defeats and surrenders, wanton destructions and shameful blood-baths, dispersals and deportations of its inhabitants, the holy city has survived to this day and is still incomparable in more than one respect. The mighty armies from the neighbouring empires of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Macedonia and Rome have in turn ravaged and ransacked it but the "eternal city," 'as bequeathed by God,' rose in triumph from its ruins every time it was laid to dust.

Twice destroyed earlier, the Great Temple of Solomon was rebuilt in 25 B.C. as a result of King Herod's passion for fine buildings. But only a century later it was again razed to the ground by the Romans while they were suppressing a desperate Jewish uprising that flared up for the emancipation of the Holy Land from the Roman domination. Though the remains of the massive walls encircling the Temple area known as Hazam where Jewis, Christians and Muslims worship almost side by side) are still there yet the temple was never built since then. The mosque—called the Mosque of Caliph Omar with its splendid dome and exquisite inner decorations occupies, since 691 A.D., the actual site of Solomon's Temple in the direction of which the Muslims used to turn their faces while praying, before they were enjoined to bow in prayer towards Kaaba at Mecca.

When the Romans were converted to Christianity, magnificent mausolia and imposing edifices arose over the historical and religious sites. With the decay of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Arab Muslims led by the powerful Caliph Omar hoisted their flag on Jerusalem in 638 A.D. Since the Muslim too held the monuments of the prophets and patriarchs of the Jews and the Christians in great reverence, they were not only protected but also adorned and beautified with excellent designs. Besides, a number of other splendid structures were erected during their rule.



Tomb of a Nabatean King hewn out of Petra's rose-red rocks

Near the foot of the Old Temple wall lies the Jews' wailing place—the Wailing Wall—where for centuries together, they have been congregating on every Saturday to wail over the fallen Temple, whose very dust is dear to them, and to chant in chorus the following pathetic verses:

(1) "For the Palace that lies desolate;
For the walls that are overthrown;

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For our majesty that is departed;
For our great men who lie buried;
For the precious stones that are burnt,
We sit in solitude and mourn."

(2) "We pray, Thee, have mercy on Zion
Gather the children of of Jerusalem;
Haste, haste, Redeemer of Zion;
Speak to the heart of Jerusalem;
May beauty and majesty surround
Zion.

Ah! turn Thyself mercifully to
Jerusalem;
May the kingdom soon return to Zion,
Comfort those who mourn over
Jerusalem."

A peasant woman of Jordan in her full national dress

After centuries of wailings and prayers, they have succeeded in carving out the State of Israel but have failed to establish their sovereignty over the holy city (Old Jerusalem) within whose walls lie most of their sacred places.

By and large, the chief attraction of Jerusalem is the Church of Holy Sepulchre. One of the holiest spots in the whole of Christiandom, the Church of Holy Sepulchre was built in 335 A.D. by Emperor Constantine, the first Christian Roman ruler. Here, after his curcifixation, the body of Jesus Christ is believed to have been laid and raised subsequently to heaven. Besides the edifice includes a vast congeries of chapels and shrines containing sacred relics which have for the last nineteen and a half centuries been enshrined in the hearts of all Christians. The Christian pilgrims burst into tears the moment their eyes catch the first glimpse of the historic Church. The religious fervour and excitement is heightened as the pilgrims enter its richly decorated and profusely ornamented interior and their life's greatest ambition is accomplished as they kneel to kiss the marble slab below which had rested the body of the 'Saviour.'

Tombs of the Prophets: Absalom's Pillar, Fountain and Tomb of St. Mary (mother of Jesus Christ), Tombs of the kings, Pool of Siloam and Mosque-al-Aqsa are among the numerous historical and sacred spots of Jerusalem that require volumes of description.

Birthplace of Jesus Christ and Home of King David the Great, the antique city of Bethlehem—meaning 'the House of Bread' in Hebrew and 'the House of Flesh' in Arabic—sprawls over two mountain-ridges, five miles south-west of the Holy City. Like Jerusalem, Bethlehem too is rich in Biblical history. Here, in a remote past were heard the sweet sermons and illumined discourses of the great prophets and patriarchs like Ruth and Rachael, Abraham and Moses, Isaac and Ishmael. Here in this city a shepherd boy (David) rose to venerable kingship of Judea; and with the birth of Lord Christ in an obscure corner of this very city began the chequered history of the universal religion of Christianity.

A specimen of early Christian architecture the fortress-like Church of Nativity with its painted mosaic walls displaying various incidents of his life, stands over the actual spot where was born the Apostle of Peace. Countless Christian pilgrims from the world over congregate on the Christmas Eve in this Church to pay homage to one who dedicated his life to the cause of humanity.

In the vicinity of the Church of Nativity is the Milk Guotto, another goal of Christian

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pilgrimage. Here, according to tradition, fell a few drops of St. Mary's sacred milk while she was feeding baby Christ.

A mosque in the nearby Mount Hebron encloses the tombs of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

Second only to Jerusalem in sanctity, Bethlehem and its suburbs are strewn with the monuments that recall to mind millennia-old legends woven around them.

Surrounded by the colourful mountain walls, the fabled city of Petra is situated in the wilderness of Southern Jordan through which passed the ancient caravans touching Arabia Felix (Yemen), Palestine, Egypt and Phoenicia (Lebanon). The Beduins of the region amassed a staggering fortune in their mountain fastnesses by pillaging and plundering these caravans.

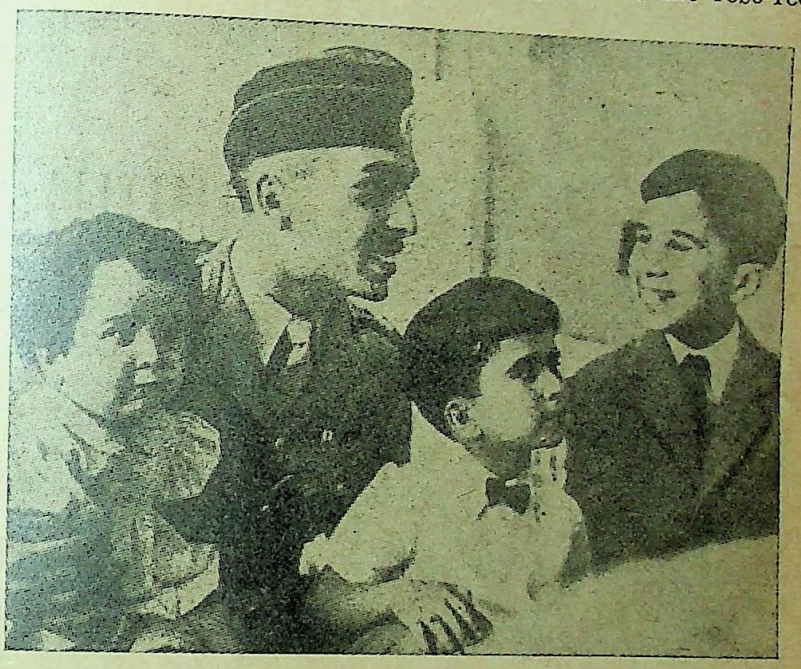
The huge wealth accumulated through the generations and occasional contacts with the civilized people had a softening effect on the marauders. Gradually, they settled in the valley of Petra to lead a peaceful life and turned into rulers and protectors of the caravans they have looted in the past. Thereafter, Petra grew into a flourishing kingdom and had a dynasty of rulers known in history as the 'Nabatean Dynasty' (100 B.C.—106 A.D.).

The unique and astonishing multi-coloured entrance to the 'Caravan city' is through a long Siq or a deep narrow gorge—one of the wonders that are Petra's proud possessions. A legend has it that the famous Siq carved up as Prophet Moses struck his rod against the rock when he led his persecuted people (Bani Israel or Early Jews) from the captivity of Pharaoh to this naturally fortified valley en route to the 'Promised Land' (Palestine).

Believed to be yet another miracle of Prophet Moses is the Aen-e-Musa or the Spring of Moses just outside the famous Siq. Its sweet and silvery water was carried into the city by the Nabateans through the conduits cut into the solid rocks alongside the Siq.

The Tomb of Aaron, the brother and successor of Prophet Moses, crowns one of Petra's cliffs—called Mount Hor—and is a goal of pilgrimage for the Jews, Christians and Muslims alike.

For their burial and worship, the Nabatean kings got many colossal and charming tombs and temples hewn wholly out of the rose-red-



H. M. the King Hussain of Jordan with his brothers and sister

rocks. The best preserved and most magnificent of these marvels of architecture is the tomb of a Nabatean king, erroneously known in Arabic as the Khazinatul-Firaun meaning 'Treasury of Pharaoh.' Its beautifully chiselled columns, rich outer and inner carvings and the towering facade throw light on the art and skill developed by the 'Beduin civilization.'

Centuries of neglect as well as the wear and tear have played havoc with these structures of superb beauty yet some of them still stand to proclaim to the world the prowess of their builders.

The rising tide of the Roman conquests swept away the flourishing Nabatean Kingdom in 107 A.D. The Romans also carved out temples and theatres, and built caravanserais and arcades in and around this caravan stronghold, but with the fall of the Nabateans, Petra's prosperity gradually crumbled and stag-

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nated. Two centuries later it lay desolate and forgotten.

There is something at once grand and simple, magnificent and pathetic about this silent deserted city.

Thanks to the inquisitiveness of the European archaeologists the wonder city was rediscovered late in the nineteenth century and has been attracting tourists ever since.

Petra's ageless rocks must have witnessed the pomp and pageantry of the caravan led by Queen of Sheba (Yemen) to Jerusalem as well as the pathetic plight of the most handsome boy of his time (Prophet Joseph) when he was sold by his treacherous brothers to the slave traders going to Egypt through this route.

The journey from Amman to Petra is tiresome yet a visit to this 'wonder of the rocks,' is worth the trouble.

Amman, the commercial centre and fastly expanding capital of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan is situated in a valley and stretches up the side valleys.

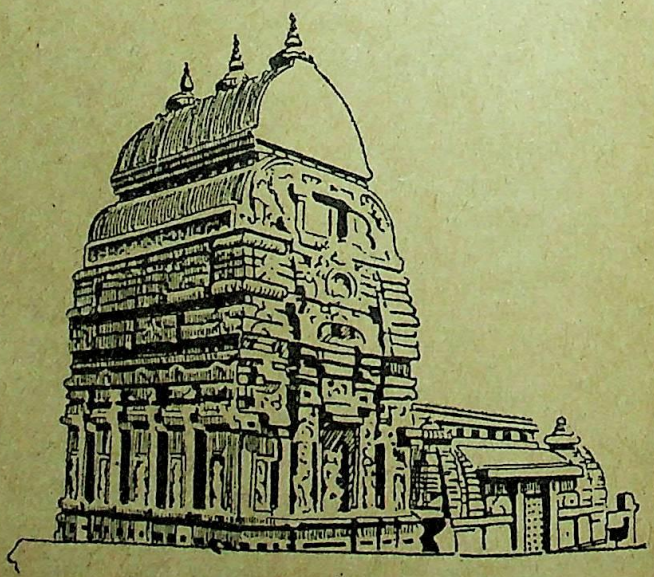
The origin of the city dates back to a distant past. The traces of the Ammonite fortress built about 4,500 years ago when it was known as Rabbah or Rabbath Amman bears testimony to its antiquity. Below the historic walls of this ruined fortress was laid the plot of the popular Biblical story of 'David and Bathsheba'.

With the advent of the Romans in West Asia (107 A.D.), Amman was named Philadelphia and gained the status of a provincial city. The handsomely constructed 4000-seater amphitheatre still stands (though in a dilapidated condition) as a reminder to their rule.

On the acropolis facing modern Amman are the ruins of El-Qasr, a Muslim palace dating from the eighth century A.D.

Less than sixty years back, the boomming metropolis of Jordan was a village of 2,000 Circassians—refugees from Czarist Russia. Today it boasts of about half a million population including a large number of refugees from Israel. In the surprisingly short period of a decade palatial buildings and business mansions, beautiful homes and decorated shops with a variety of goods, comfortable hotels and excellent schools have replaced its mud-walled houses and Bedouin camps; and its age-old carts and camels, donkeys and mules have yielded place to cars and scooters, buses and bicycles.

Amman of today is no more a dirty, dusty and sleepy small town. Now it wears the up-to-date look of a modern city and rivals many of its size in the West.



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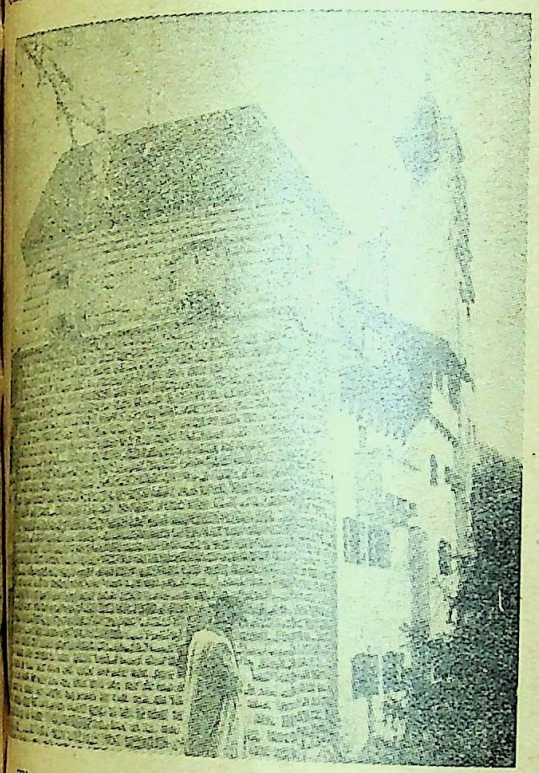
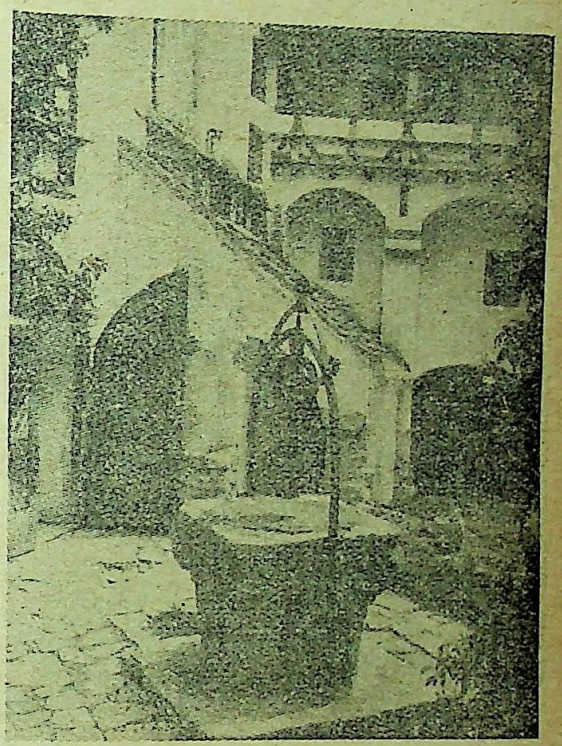
THE BRAN CASTLE

"AGERPRES", RUMANIA

RESEMBLING an imposing eagle's nest, this castle built some six centuries ago (1377) by the industrious Brasov people, above the Bran Pass, was meant to defend against the invasions



The high watch water of the Bran Castle



The inner yard facing north-east

The entrance to the hall of arms and dining hall

Secret store between the first and third floors

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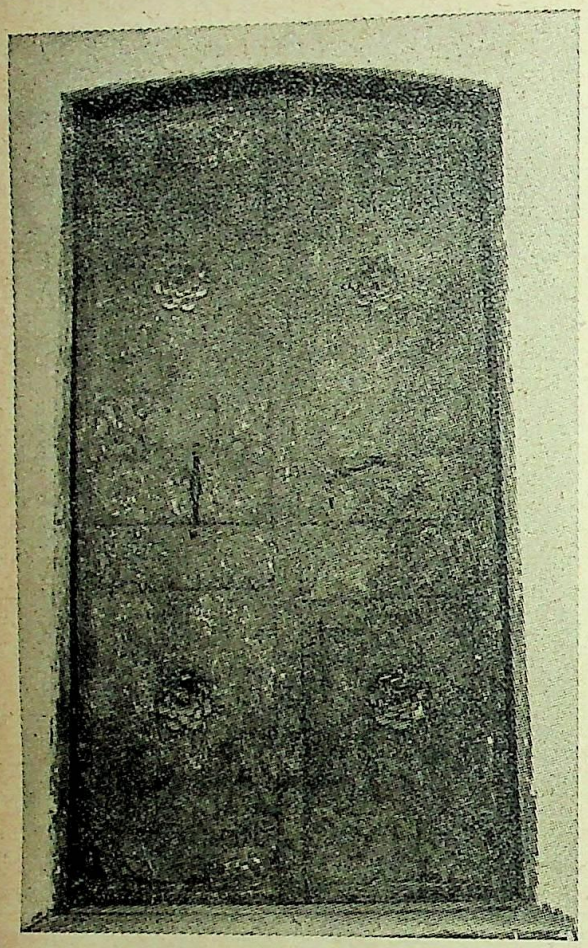
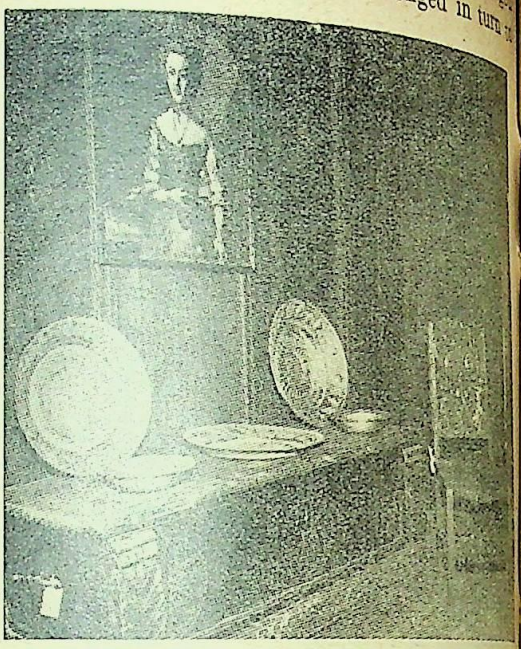
of the enemies, this important commercial road between Transylvania and Wallachia.



Original iron gate dating from 1693

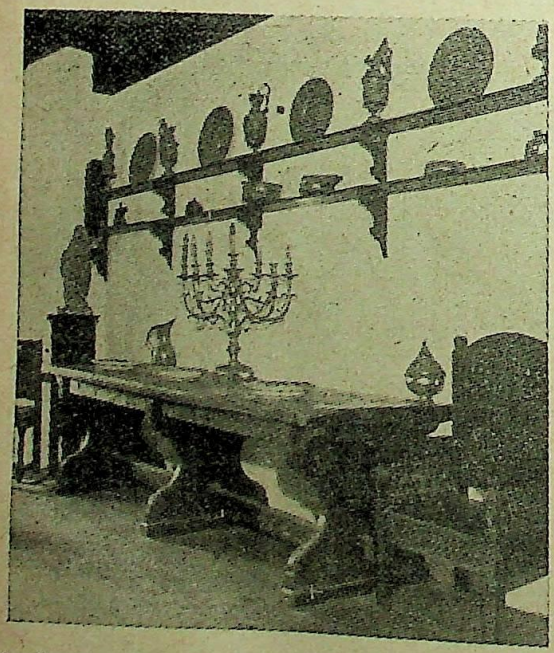
Along the centuries, the Bran castle changed many a time its owners; it belonged in turn to



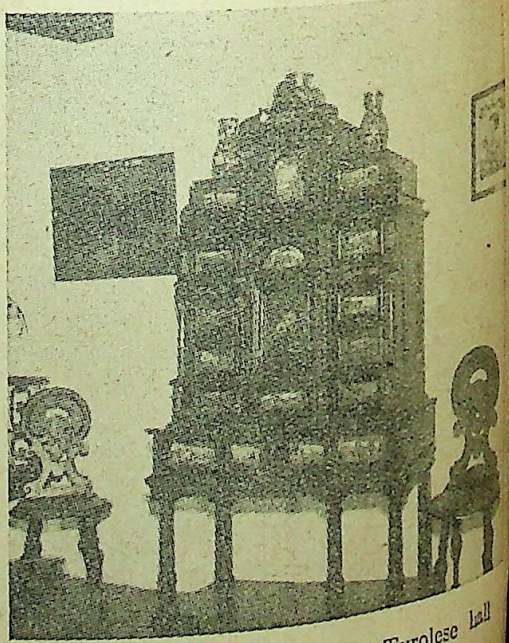
Furniture and engraved vases from the 16th century. The chairs date from 1607

the Kings of Hungary, to the Wallachian Princes, to the Brasov people, and from 1920 to the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns. Its last owner was Ileana of Hapsburg, born Hohenzollern.

At present, the castle belongs to the Rumanian people and has been changed into a parti-



A view of the castle's court, hall with furniture dating from the 16th century



Chest of drawers in the Tyrolese hall (18th century)

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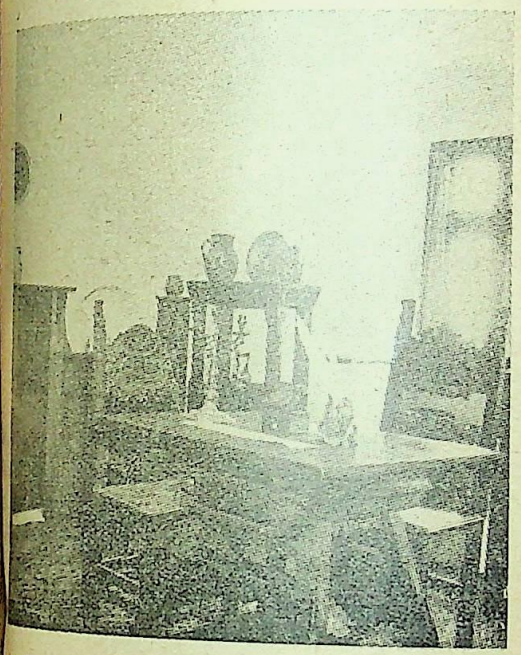
ularly interesting museum, displaying many original objects and furniture dating from the XVI, XVII and XVIII centuries.

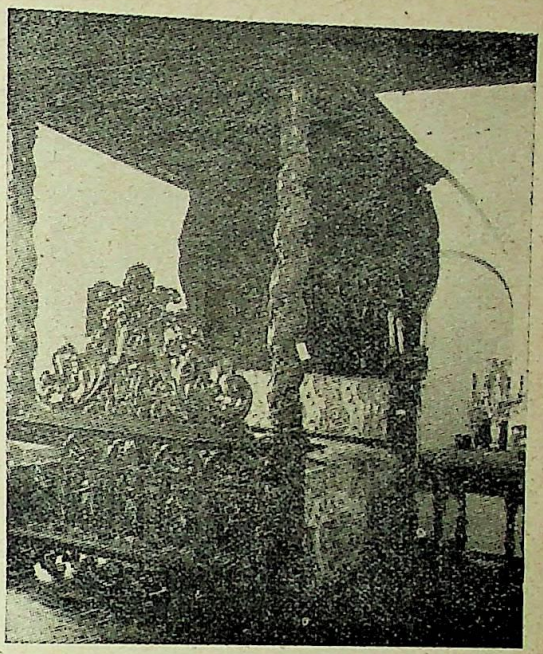
In the photos we find:

1. The Bran castle, seen from the road.
2. The entrance to the castle with its rectangularly shaped tower. During the battles boiling tar was poured on the besiegers from this tower. Worthy of note is the coat of arms ornating the window shutters.



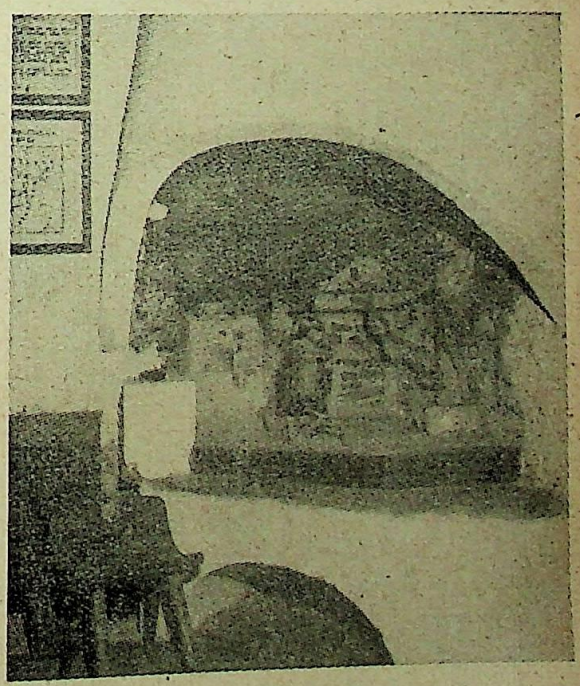
A view of the copyists' room. Even the quill-pens are at their places

3. A view of the inner yard with the round tower, which formerly was the powder-mill of the castle.
4. The high watch tower.
5. The inner yard facing north-east.
6. Original iron gate dating from 1693.
7. The entrance to the hall of arms and dining hall.
8. Secret stairs between the first and third floors. It was this way that the garrison used to withdraw when the besiegers penetrated into the castle. The low arch still preserves the traces of torch smoke.
9. A view of the castle's court hall with furniture dating from the XVI century.
10. Furniture and engraved vases from the XVII century. The chair dates from 1607.
11. Chest of drawers in the Tyrolese hall (XVIII century).
12. A view of copyists' room. Even the quill-pens are at their places. . . .



The sleeping room of the distinguished guests

13. The sleeping-room of the distinguished guests: voivodes, princes and kings. The bed with the richly carved wooden baldachin, is of a rare beauty (XVII century).



Medieval fire-place (early 17th century)

14. Medieval fire-place (early XVII century).

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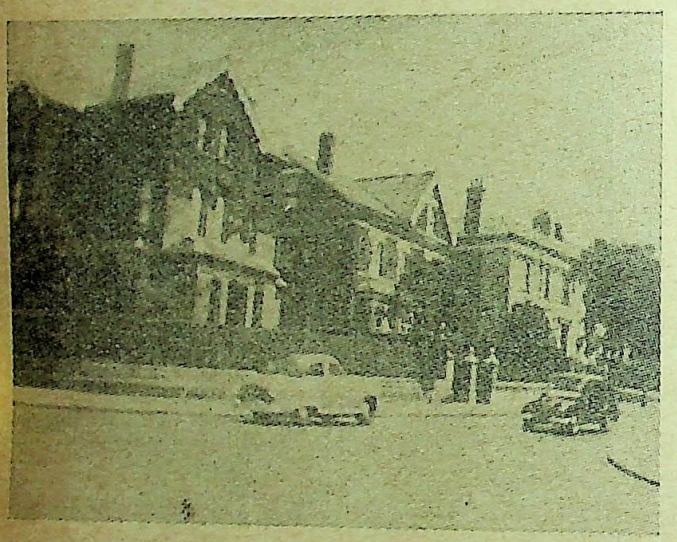
COUNTRYSIDE OF ENGLAND

By MADHUSUDAN CHATTERJEE

I got the train as soon as I reached the Paddington Station in London. The train started a few minutes after I took the seat. Though it was a third class compartment, the seats were quite good and well-cushioned, and I managed to sit by the side of a window. The handles for arm-rest were also comfortable. As only a few minutes ago I had taken my meals, and the train was running at a quite good speed, the eyes became heavy to respond to sleep. But why should I sleep? I should see everything with open



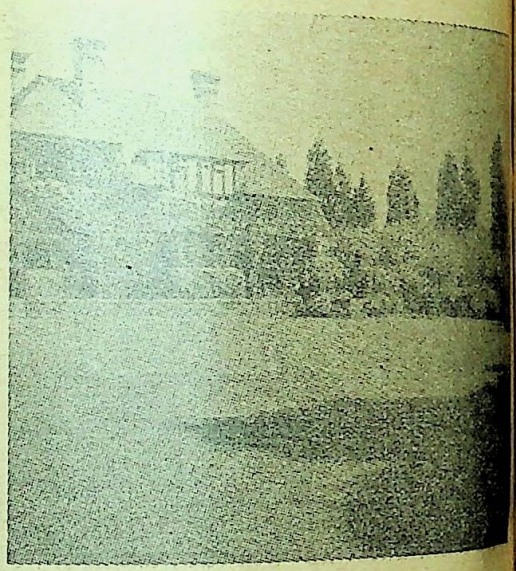
Countryside of England

eyes. But what did I see actually? The train was running with its characteristic sound leaving behind high-lands as well as plains and green grassy fields, beautiful cottages, many a factory, sometimes a river. Somewhere the people were, as it were, holding a ceremony of burning wild bushes along the railway yards. Here and there smoke was going up to mingle itself with the layers of a cloudy sky. Somewhere there were rows of oak trees as far as the vision permitted. Somewhere one could see portions of beautiful straight roads. Somewhere rows of hills or wild forests situated a long way off could be seen. They were just like what you saw in the British films. Somewhere flocks of sheep were grazing in the fields. And how beautiful were the cultivated lands! Some were fields of wheat, some of flowers, some being for leafy vegetables. But it appeared from a distance as if the Earth was taking rest spreading her garments all around. The farmers were working in the fields, they were being helped to the fullest extent by their women companions.

When I got down the train I could feel that I had come quite earlier than what was scheduled. I had no watch and that was the trouble.

I slowly came out of the Reading Station. I neither knew any place nor any person. Still I would have to go to the garden of Sutton and Sons.

There were many red-coloured buses wait-



Scene of a building in the countryside of England

ing outside the station. I would have been glad if I had got any one of those. But one Englishman told me, "You just walk a little and get Liverpool Road-Trolly bus. You'll be able to reach near about the garden." I did the same. The bus-conductor here was a real friend of the foreign passengers. He asked me to get down at the proper place and told me clearly which way and how far I was to go to reach the garden.

I went straight on without facing any other difficulties.

Up to that time I did not know what amount of difference really there existed between the countryside of England and a town. It was just like the towns. When I was coming in bus I saw a number of shops, restaurants and banks. Those were the same as I saw in London. But the cottages here were more lonely. The surroundings were more silent. Every cottage

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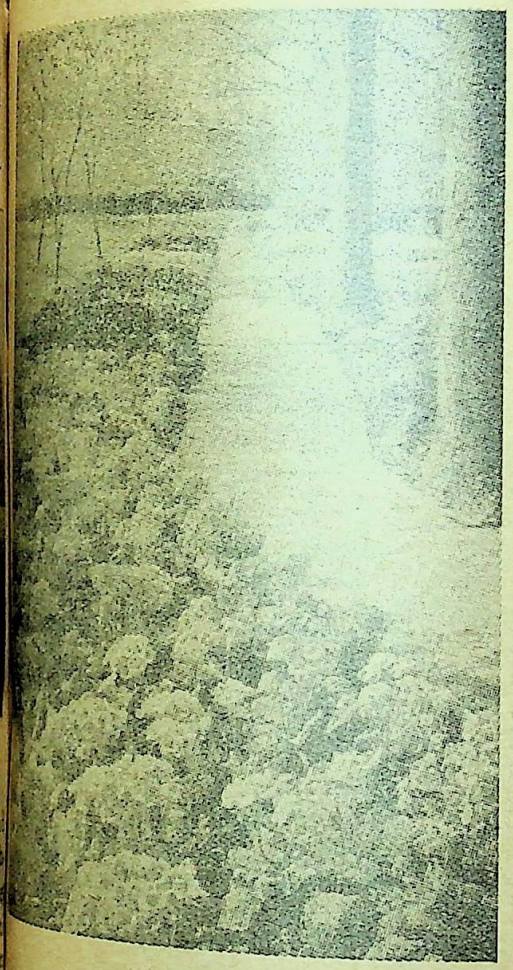
and a flower-garden either in front of it or behind. There were some lands for leafy vegetables too. I saw many small children crowding in front of the "Reading Corporation—Swimming Bath." There was a crowd but it was not undisciplined. They arranged themselves in a queue. They had towels in their hands. It seemed to me that they would get down the water for swimming.



A flower garden

The high peak of the church was as it were trying to meet the sky. There was a large compound of the old crematorium. The secretariat building of the Reading Corporation stood with its respectable look. In one house I saw a beautiful bird in a cage. To me it looked like a *Chandana*.

I entered into a park. It was big enough. There were railway-lines on the high land by the side of the park. A train appeared on the line. Some people were working on the other side. They were perhaps building some sort of embankments in the fields. I could not hear any squabble or quarrel during their work. None was interfering in their work.

After getting into the park I saw two boys sitting on a bench. I asked one of them, "Which park is this"?

The boy answered, "Palmer Park."

I saw a notice board which contained the following: "Cycling, Motor Cycling and Motoring prohibited."

At the same moment I saw a young boy passing by that way on a cycle. He passed like lightning.

Then I reached the garden of Sutton and Sons quite earlier than the scheduled time.

Gravel covered the whole way. I went a little way onwards and got to their office. One person was waiting there. As soon as he saw me he exclaimed with joy, "Good afternoon, Mr. Chatterjee"!

The gentleman could rightly understand that I was no other than Chatterjee and not Hambridge or anyone else. Introduction could be had from the colour of my skin. Probably the letter

View of a countryside road

which I sent to them was responsible for this.

The gentleman said, "I am very glad to see you."

"Thank you, so I am. I think I have come earlier than the scheduled time. I had no watch and that was the trouble."

"Never mind. I was expecting you."

He expressed a feeling as if I was known to him for a long time and said, "I will now take you to my representative. The office is nearby. He will show you everything. You better come to my car."

A motor car was waiting in front. I took a seat there.

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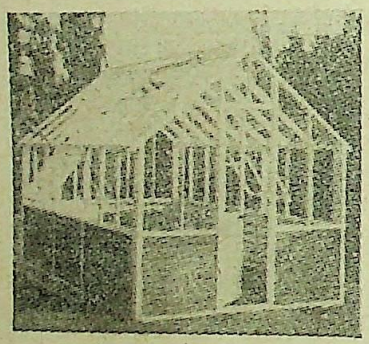
The gentleman who welcomed me took the gear. The distance was short and the car stopped after a little while.

Both of us got down. The gentleman then took me to his office room. A big table was surrounded by about three chairs. I sat down on one of the chairs and asked, "May I get a glass of water?"

"Why water? I think tea would serve the purpose better."

He went out. There were some catalogues on the table. I took one of them and began to turn over the pages. I saw some nice coloured pictures inside it. They were pictures of flowers. The costly art paper of the catalogue easily attracted the readers. It revealed the good taste of the Company.



A Green House

The gentleman returned with a cup of water and said, "Very sorry. I would have been glad to give you hot water but I did not find the arrangements ready just now. So please take this cup of cold water."

"That's right. I was looking for cold water."

I took the water. Another person came in. The previous gentleman introduced us. "He is Mr. Chatterjee and he is Mr. Drew.

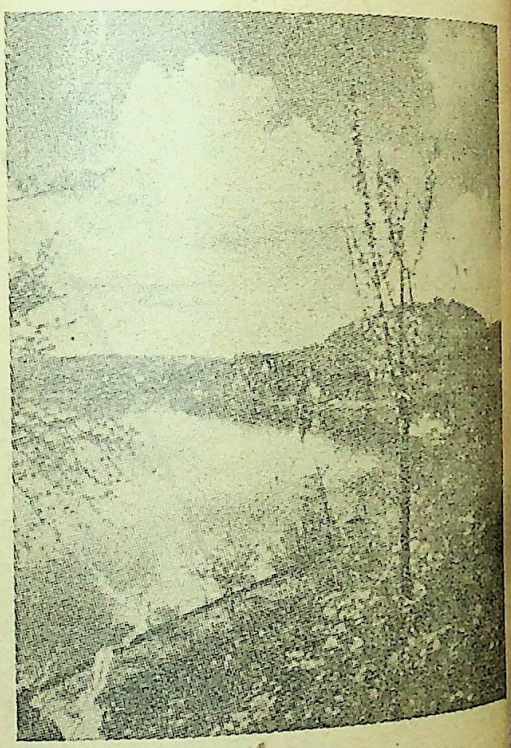
Mr. Drew was a good-looking young man with a tall well-formed body. He shook my hands and said, "Very glad to see you, Sir."

The prvious gentleman then went out.

I showed Mr. Drew my introduction letter which I got from the Indian Journalists' Association. He was very glad to read it.

Then we two went out to see the garden and the cultivation thereof.

If you entered any of the Green Houses you would have no intention to come out, the sight was so much pleasing. Different types of flower-plants were kept in separate glass-cases. Beautiful flowers blossomed in each plant. And what should I say about numerous unknown flowers and their exquisite beauties! Even the temperature of the Green House was suitable for those plants. The plants which grew in tropical countries were kept in glass-cases where it had been possible to maintain the temperature suitable for them by mechanical means. Some young women were deeply engaged in their duties and not only young but some elderly ladies were also engaged there in the same job.



View of a small river

I saw in a room many gunny bags and boiler. Of course the boiler was not work but the buckets on which plants were gr were scattered there in large numbers.

The workers were painting suitable col on different types of flowers. They said after such painting the flowers would be far more beautiful.

Inside the other room I saw some like things. I asked, "What will you do these?"

"We get seeds from these. And these are sent to the market for sale."

I walked with the gentleman and saw

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rent cultivated fields. Those were of ladies-finger and of cauliflower.

Here oxen were not used for the plough. The tractors had taken their place.

Then comes the question of rainfall. Our peasants are very much anxious about the rainfall. In this country those problems are unknown. On the two sides of a land there were two pipes and they were revolving with great speed. And the water was falling on the field like actual rainfall. It was with so much ease that the cultivation was going on. No such fear passed here when one got disappointed after sowing seeds.

I asked the gentleman, "What's about the snakes in your country?"

"Snakes?" the person turned to me and smiled. "Where are snakes? Of course there may be some, but they are very small and seen very rarely. And if they bite at all, they do not cause much harm."

I asked, "How many workers are on duty here?"

"Sixty. But including the staff it will be about 300. We are to work on 100 acres of land."

The gentleman very kindly took me to every corner and showed me many things. I got tired, he was not fatigued. Many persons like myself visit the nurseries daily and see their vast fields for sowing seeds and their art and skill of agriculture and they show them with pleasure. There is no question of getting fatigued. One can come into close contact with their spirit of work and the pleasing surroundings of untiring life in any village of England any day (excepting Saturdays and Sundays).*

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* English translation of a Bengali feature broadcast through *B.B.C.*, London, on 3rd September. 1955.

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SOME STRAGGLING TRIBES IN INDIA

By BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI

e tribes of India, according to 1951 Census, bered over twenty-five millions. These con-te Free India's composite anthropological s of different aborigines either settled like Naga, Garo, Kachari, Khasi in Assam; tal, Munda in Bihar and Orissa; Bhuiya, mij and Khond in Orissa; Gonds, Baigas, kus in M.P.; Bhils in Bombay and Greater asthan; Kurumber, Kanikar, Irular and adi in South India or they may be of noma-nature migrating from one tribal zone to ther in search of food and habitation.

Curiously enough, some stragglers of these tifarious tribes are noticed—far behind the e of the public—to inhabit across a close rain-belt of West Bengal—in the Jalpaiguri strict. They are not nomadic or predatory habit, but speak a dialect of their own and tribally distinct from the Tibeto-Burman shoots of any of the anthropological kinds erally found across the north-eastern fron-rs of India. Their descent is yet untraced, ough local traditions confirm that they have been, from time out of mind, living in the same village called Totapara, which lies on an upland called Totapahar in the Madarihat police-station of the Jalpaiguri District.

They are known as Totos and live huddled up in an area of about four square miles, encompassed by the most densely type of a peculiar thicket and bramble for which the Dooars is so well-known.

They are a meek people, rather friendly and reserved but quite intelligent. The 1901 Census recorded their number at 72 males and 99 females and mentioned them as Animists, while their number as per subsequent censuses were recorded as follows:

Census-year	*Male*	*Female*	*Remark*
1911	125	110	Hindu
1921 & 1931	No separate record: as they were recorded as Hindu in 1911.		
1941	Recorded as being 334 in number.		
1951	Recorded: there are 71 huts in Totapara with 314 inhabitants—all Totos.		

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The heart of their sylvan capital—Totapara—can be reached by elephants from the nearest civil station Ballaiguri. Straw-covered bamboo-buttressed huts cluster in the hamlet having been mounted on *dais* (*vulgo*: *machans*) of wooden props six to seven feet high. Tree-stubbles generally hollowed out in notches contrive to serve as so many flights of "foot-boards," as it were, to the inner chambers of their forest huts; while they can be easily thrown up or withdrawn, at night or on demand of extraordinary jungly situations, like gang-ways.

Every family-unit rears poultry, piggeries, as well as dairies on a miniature scale.

Their hamlets have rather weird settings—thick forest and swift, babbling rills nearby or sparkling streamlets in remote woods—constitute their only source of drinking water.

On the eastern flank, the hilly terrain shoots up into the Badoo peak where haunt the spirits of the sylvan deity called Ishpa, akin to Pan. Curiously the word Ishpa seems to be a variant of the Sanskrit term Ishwa, meaning the Supreme Being. The Totos are generally very stout, have broad and defined features, dark brown skin, small but slant eyes and wear scant cloths but gorgeous ornaments and body-decorators as becoming of the traditions of the aborigines. Male Totos delight in ornamental ostentations and wear necklaces made of stringed *cowries* or glass beads. Females wear simple skirts and scarves, pendulous ear-rings, armlets, bracelets, rings as well as necklaces. They are free from priestly hierarchy, but the Totos have unflinching faith in the Ishpa, which helps them to conquer any situation, however difficult or surmount any danger, however felt to be otherwise incurable like a fell disease or the terror of a wood-goblin.

Offerings of meat and oblations of liquor are made to appease the wrath of this benevolent deity in the traditional manner in which the entire Toto-folks join in merry-junkettings. They also deify a pagan goddess called Chima, akin to Hecate, which also seems to be a variant of Sanskrit word *Chinmoyee*, meaning the cosmic Spirit.

This deity is propitiated to bring on greater animal fertility or better harvest of bumper crops, a custom, which also obtains amongst other aborigines, whether in India, Africa or Australia, and is accompanied by offerings of cock, hen, hog, or black puppies. Goat offering such as it was a custom with the Greeks, to appease the vengeance of a Moloch or Hecate is singularly unknown amongst the Toto. There are about a few cattle-heads in the little Toto-world. They eat pigs, goats, deer, birds of almost all categories, but not beef. This explains the only reason why the 1921 and 1931 Censuses recorded them as Hindus. Some of them also eat snakes, rhinoceroses or even tigers. They call 'rice'—the *maruza*, which again appears to be a variant of the Greek root *oruza* from which the word 'rice' has been derived.

Their cooking is simple and done in pots which they can make from earth. Food is served in wooden basins and vessels, while liquor in bamboo phials (*poipa*), *hadia* (pot-brewed liquor) is their principal drink and life-elixir, as it were!

Every Toto has his own bamboo-walled kitchen garden, where barring vegetables and greens, betel-nuts are grown abundantly. There are also mango, jack-fruit and guava trees scattered here and there in the Totoland.

Like all settled aborigines, their cultivation is systematically primitive, they know the art of sowing broadcast their seeds. It seems that like most of the aborigines they were at first averse to the settled life of living by agriculture and did not know how to turn clods of earth by ploughshare, geared by a team of bullocks or buffaloes, which they always felt like a tough job. But, as the proverbial *jungli*, they are always past-masters in the art of clearing jungles and hunting games. They know the process of preparing clean soot-free wood-charcoal which they use as fuel in braziers in preference to the usual firewood. When a particular area is cleared of jungles, the same is ploughed up with rough wooden rakes and then sown over in part by seeds of seasonal crops. By the eastern flank of Totapahar runs the border of Bhutan, dotted here and there by patches of oranges, cultivated across the terrain ridges and furrows. The seems to be something like an enchanted wood where—everywhere you notice—numberless oranges all in lush bloom of golden fruits abound in luxuriance. The Totos have a good roaring trade in oranges in their outlying

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realm. Father, mother, children, irrespective of sex and age, all become partners in this seasonal industry and carry large basketfuls of these golden treasures on their backs to sell at considerable cash price to the *beparis*, viz., middlemen traders who hail from nearby business towns as agents of big merchants of Calcutta or other important centres for the obvious purpose.

The Totos are also good at basketry and split-bamboo or wicker-matting crafts. This helps them also as cash-earners; or, they barter their wares for rice which forms the staple of their life's only meat and drink.

The 1951 Census records that this straggling, tiniest tribe in India, has as many as a dozen or so of groups or sub-castes. Marriages among blood relations on either father's or mother's side, are banned by their ethnic taboos, but they are essentially endogamous, viz., a Toto must marry a Toto. Bigamy is totally unknown to them, but a young widow can re-marry a year after her husband's death. Like all tribals, marriage is simple enough with them, it being only an affair with no ceremonial routine of oath-taking, such as it obtains amongst their civilised counterpart elsewhere. Of their Bacchanal bout is, however, remarkable joined by the entire folks of their community-groups, with drum, band, cymbal, flute, and dance.

This smallest tribe in India has also some sort of Liliputian government and is noted too, for its capacity of survivality, endurance and zeal for corporate living.

The Totos bury their dead as also know how and when to bury their old hatchets in a burial.

Inheritance to goods and chattels or their properties follows from the law of the first-born on the male side, as it obtains among the Hindus and others of the civilised world. They also count their months by lunar calendar, starting from the third lunation, called *tarrish*, obviously a variant in *vulgo of tri-tithis i.e.*, tritiya of Sanskrit.

It is notable, however, that the Totos have not come under the proselytising influence of any outside religion, faith or culture, so far.

It is a happy augury that the West Bengal Government have recently decided upon the setting up of a State Advisory Council for the Tribes as well as an Institute of Tribal Welfare and Researches somewhere at Calcutta. This will, assuredly, look to the interests of this straggling remains of a fast decaying tribal people across the far eastern border of the province and help them grow up into a people quite culturally knit-together under one anthropological group.

They are, as a rule, a bit coyish by nature and pretty wary of the din and cheer-free life of their more culturedly superior counterparts, living in the haunts of civilisation in far-off cities and towns.

They can stand any amount of rigorous hardship, except sophistries. For, they desire, to all intents and purposes to be left alone in their own wonderland of wood-doves, deer-stalking, hog-hunting or orange-raising to lead an unfettered life, untouched by the glare and greed of the fashionable world. Surely, they demand no Totoland for themselves like others of their ilk in Free India; they have no turn for frippery politics, nor do they care altogether for what a diplomat might fight for a *lebensraum* issue in preferring a separate claim for the hilly-tribes or for selves!

Indeed, to rejoice with the dreamy hills and dales; throb with the spookish rule of the sylvan Ishpa; laugh at gloomy spells of Chima—Nature, just to drink life to the lees and, say it the last farewell manfully before shuffling off the mortal coil, is the only be-all and end-all of his mental Deutschland he craves here in the lonely tribal world under the sun!

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AGRA UNIVERSITY COLLEGES AND THE U.P. GOVERNMENT

By Prof. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A. and Prof. MADAN LAL SANGAL, M.A.,
D.A.V. College, Dehradun, Agra University

The attitude of the Congress Government of U.P. towards the Agra University Affiliated College Lecturers has not been what it should have been. The discriminatory policy and attitude of the U.P. Congress Government in this respect has caused deep disappointment and also resentment among the Lecturers in the Post-Graduate teaching Affiliated Colleges of the Agra University. They have been subjected to discriminatory treatment of the worst type, financial hardship, and whimsical, arbitrary, piecemeal, irrational reforms that have made the situation worst and increased the defects and created heartburnings.

We shall first of all state what the Government have done. Then we shall point out the defects and objections in what they have done. Finally we shall indicate what remedies should be adopted, failing which what consequences their actions are likely to lead to.

The object of this article is to make the intellectual elite of this country familiar with the enormity of the injustice done to us by our own national Government,—not to criticise them so much, and at the same time it is hoped that the Government also benefitting from a healthy criticism of the injustice, discrimination, and irrationality of their action, should remove these injustices, and thus establish their claims to be regarded as a civilized modern progressive Government that does not obstinately persist in refusing to remove the injustice done by itself. We hope the learned Doctor Sampurnanand, our Chief Minister, and the extremely cultured Education Minister Sri Kamalapati Tripathi will soon rectify the situation and do us justice.

In the Post-Graduate Colleges of the Agra University formerly the Lecturers were given Rs. 200 to Rs. 450 and the Heads of the Departments Rs. 300 to Rs. 600, when in the Residential Universities of U.P. the Lecturers were given Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, the Readers Rs. 500 to Rs. 800, and the Heads of the Departments Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200 or Rs. 1,250 (we are not sure). Thus the difference in the ceiling in the case of the Lecturers was Rs. 50 only as between Agra University Colleges and the Residential Universities of U.P.

Recently the U.P. Government abolished the Readers' post in the Residential Universities by giving all Lecturers there the grade Rs. 300 to Rs. 800. Thus the difference in the ceiling of Lecturers' pay now became (Rs. 800 minus Rs. 450) Rs. 350. So, when our leaders did not talk of the 'Socialist Pattern of Society' the difference was Rs. 50, but when they indulged in such talks the difference became Rs. 350!

The Congress Government of U.P. next indulged in whimsical, piecemeal, irrational reforms in the Agra University Colleges. They gave a so-called Senior Grade (Rs. 300 to Rs. 600) to the second and third men in the Post-Graduate Colleges where there are four and eight teachers in the Department. In this manner in some big Departments even the fifth or sixth men are getting this Senior Grade where there are, say more than twenty or twenty-five teachers.

Now, this Senior Grade given to the second, third, fourth, etc., men in the Post-Graduate Departments of our Colleges having five, eight, etc., number of teachers, not based on their academic qualifications or the length of service of the recipients of the Senior Grade, is extremely unjust, invidious, and unreasonable and has created very natural resentment and bitterness of feelings among the vast majority of the Lecturers who for no fault of their own have not got it. The defects of this action may be pointwise summarised as follows:

1. First Class second men with very long service to their credit in smaller Departments (*i.e.*, where the number of teachers is below five) have not got the Senior Grade when even junior Second Class (or even Third Class in some cases) second and third men in larger Departments (for no credit of theirs) have got it. Is it not strange!

2. When all second men (those in small Departments, *i.e.*, having less than five teachers) have not got the Senior Grade, some third, fourth, and even fifth men (in very large Departments) have got it. Is it just?

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3. Those who have got it are not only not more qualified than those who have got it (often they are definitely less qualified), but they do not have to do any additional work, as the maximum number of periods that a Post-Graduate teacher has to teach is fixed at twenty-one periods a week by statute, no matter there are five, eight, or eighty teachers in a Department. One fails to understand why some persons should be especially given greater salary and greater glory? And for what reason or justification?

4. Again, if (as certain persons in the U.P. Government want to make us believe), the government's object was to give a lift to a few very senior, old, deserving second men in some of the older Colleges whose future is blocked by Heads of the Departments of the same age, then this measure has defeated that object even. For by it similar senior, old deserving second men in smaller Departments (not having five teachers) are not covered. Thus the bottom is knocked out of their not very reasonable excuse.

5. Again, if the importance of a Department increases by reason, not of the especial academic qualifications or accomplishments of second or third men, but by reason of having five or eight teachers in the Department, then the natural question arises—why only the Senior Grade to the second and third teachers only, why not to all the five and eight teachers of the Department?

6. It has put some second, third, and even fourth and fifth men on par with their Heads of the Departments, which is unique in its irony and which does not make sound sense.

7. Nowhere in the world we heard of giving a Senior Grade to less qualified men in preference to more qualified men, to junior men in preference to senior men, and in which the academic qualification and length of service of recipients was no matter for consideration. But this is what our own Congress Government has done. This is the truth. And is not truth stranger than fiction?

This patent injustice to all lecturers in our Colleges (other than a few second and third etc.) should be removed at once by extending this Senior Grade (Rs. 300 to Rs. 600) to all lecturers in our Post-Graduate Colleges, no matter how much it may cost the Government, and no matter that they have chosen to indulge in an 'economy drive' just now. A patent injustice must be removed speedily at all costs and no excuse should be pleaded to perpetuate this oppressive injustice a day more. It must be noted clearly that this injustice was done to us by spending more government money (by giving Senior Grade to some persons), and therefore the Government should not hesitate to spend still more Government money to correct this injustice by extending this Senior Grade (Rs. 300 to Rs. 600) to all other lecturers in the Post-Graduate Colleges of the Agra University, if necessary, by imposing some such tax as the Education Cess. This irritating discrimination must go in any case *at all cost.*

We earnestly hope and request the enlightened and sympathetic leaders in charge of the Province whether in the Government or outside to realise the grave and gross injustice done to us and without any further delay or the need of any further agitation to correct the sorry and unjust state of affairs soon, very soon. The just Government should do justice by—

1. Immediately extending the Senior Grade (Rs. 300 to Rs. 600) to all lecturers in all Post-Graduate Colleges of the Agra University, and thus introduce uniform grade among the lecturers (who do the same type of work).

2. Giving our Heads of the Departments a better grade or at least an allowance so that there may be some recognition for their greater responsibilities. And also between the Heads and the second men lecturers there should be some difference.

3. If possible just now, if not possible just now then surely at a future date, the Government should give the same grades to the Post-Graduate College teachers of the Agra University as to the teachers of the Residential Universities of the State, for there should be no difference for doing the same work between the sister Universities of the State. In this connection they should kindly note that the non-Post-Graduate-teaching Affiliated Colleges of the Residential Universities of U.P. can never be compared with the Post-Graduate-teaching Affiliated Colleges of the Agra University, and as such our Post-Graduate-teaching Affiliated Colleges should get the Grade of the Residential

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Universities, and not the lower grade of their Affiliated Colleges.

Any reasonable man can see that our demands are most reasonable and just. It is sincerely hoped that public sympathy will be on our side, and that the Government will undo the mischief it has done (may be without meaning it), and thus not force us to take recourse to trade-unionsm which we do not surely like. The Congress Party that received Gandhiji's blessings should never stick to obstinately refuse to remove the injustice it has done to us. Let it not be said of the Congress Cabinet of the Uttar Pradesh Government what Lord Ripon said of the British Cabinet once, "The Cabinet, I admit, has got the giant's strength, and it is using it like a giant." The credit and strength of a modern civilized Government lies not in obstinacy or doing injustice particularly to the builders of the nation; but in doing justice and in yielding before the right cause.

——:O:——

U.S.A'S INTEREST IN RABINDRANATH

By BENOYENDRA SENGUPTA,
Superintendent, Cataloguing Division I, National Library, Calcutta

During my recent visit to the United States under the U.S. Department of State's International Educational Exchange Programme I had occasion to visit quite a number of important libraries—Public, University, State and Federal. I was interested to know the wealth of Indic material in these libraries and was impressed by the collection in the Harvard University Library (Massachusetts), New York Public Library, Library of Congress (Washington D.C.). In the Library of Congress, Rabindranath Tagore's works in original (besides translations) are well-represented. Wherever I went I found people evincing interest in Gurudev Tagore. While at the International House, 500 Riverside Drive, New York, I found that the 'Poetry Society' was much interested in Tagore and I volunteered my services to recite and read from Tagore at an after-dinner meeting arranged by the Poetry Society. The programme was for recitals and readings from French and Bengali. After recitations and readings from French were over I recited and read from Bengali (Tagore's poems) and the audience were so much impressed that they wanted that the time schedule be extended. Some of them wished that recitals and readings from Tagore should have been included in Item I.

In the Library of Congress I found a large number of translations of Tagore's work in various languages of the world. A list of those in languages other than English is given below:

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Gitanjali (transliterated title *Gitanjali*). Warszawa, 1922. Tr. by David Frishman. 110 p., plates, port. 23½cm. —*In Hebrew.*

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Gitanjali (Ilahiler), tr. by Bulent Ecevit. Turkeceye Ceviren: Bulent Ecevit. Istanbul, Ahmet Sait Matbaasi, 1941. 98 p. 20cm. —*In Turkish.*

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Gitanjali (Nefesler), tr. by Ibrahim Hoca. Istambul, Remzi Kitaben, 1942. 115 p., illus. (port., facsim.). 30cm. —*In Turkish.*

Tagore, Rabindranath.

Gitanjali, tr. by Di Di Rege. Mumbai, Indiyana Homa Pablikesana, 1941. 61 p. 22cm. —*In Marathi.*

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Tagore, Rabindranath: *Mashi.*
Meine lebenserinnerungen; tr. by Helene Meyer. Munchen, K. Wolff, 1923. 3 p. 1., 370 (1) p., 1 l. 18½cm.
—*In German.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *My Reminiscences.*
En ce temps la souvenirs, d'enface et de jeunesse, traduction d'Andree Karpeles. Gap (Hautes—Alpes) Publications Chitra, Editions Ophyro, 1950.
—*In French.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *My Reminiscences.*
Souvenirs: Traduit de ... per Mme E. Piecgnska. Paris, Editiones de la nouvelle revue francaise, (1924).
3 p.l., (9), 221 p., 1 l. 19cm.
Tr. Emma Pieczynska (Reichubach).
—*In French.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *My Reminiscences.*
Memorias, tr. Gulanara Lobato de Morais Pereira. Rio de Janeiro, J. Olympio, 1946.
229 p. port., 23cm. (Memorias, diarios compossees,16).
—*In Portuguese.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Nationalism.*
Nationalism, tr. by I. Adulomi. Warszawa, 1922.
91 (1) p., 23cm.
Title transliterated: ha-Leumiyuth.
—*In Hebrew.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Sacrifice & Other Plays.*
Das opfer und andere Dramen.
—*In German.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Red Oleanders.*
. . . Transliterated title: Rasskazy.
158 p. 20cm.
—*In Russian.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *The Religion of Man.*
La religion d l'home, tr. per Jane Drozvignie, 6 ed. Paris, Rieder, 1933.
296 p. 19cm. (Le prosateux modernas).
—*In French.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Stray Birds.*
Zwervende vogels (uit het Engelsch vertaeld door Johan de Molenaar). Amsterdam, Wereldbibliotheek-vereeniging, 1941.
101 p. 17cm.
—*In Dutch.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Thought Relics.*
. . . Title transliterated: Lehishoth neshamah (tr. by I. Adulomi). Warszawa, 1923.
—*In Hebrew.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *The Trust Property.*
(The trust property). Title transliterated: Shomer ha-Nahalah. Tel-Aviv, 1922-23?
15 p. 15½cm.
—*In Hebrew.*

Tagore, Rabindranath. *Selections.*
. . . La luna nueva, Nacionelismo, Personalidad, Sadhana; traduccion hecta en el Departamento editorial. (Mexico), Universidad nacional de Mexico, 1924.
—*In Spanish.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Selections.*
Seleccion de Rabindranath Tagore. Mexico, D.F., Vargas Rea, 1941.
3 p.1., 9-77 p., 1 l. 16½cm.
—*In Spanish.*

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Amor, versiones, parafrasis y recreationes de Eduardo Corranza. Illustraciones de Sergio Trujillo. Bogota, Libreria Surameria, (1945).
2 p.l., 7-125 p. illus. 17cm. (Coleccion Nagegante, 10).
—*In Spanish,* tr. from the French.

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Chausons de Rabindranath Tagore, vingt-six chants transcrits par Arnold A. Bake —Paris, P. Geutheer, 1935.
129 (1) p. 28 × 22cm.
—*In French.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Chitra.*
(Chitra). Warszawa, 1922.
37 p. 23½cm.
Transliterated title: Hitra, tr. by David Frishman.
—*In Hebrew.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Woman.*
(Woman). Title transliterated: ha-Ishah. Warszawa, 1923.
14 p. 23cm.
Tr. of *Woman* by I. Adulomi.
—*In Hebrew.*

Tagore, Rabindranath: *The Wreck.*
(The Wreck). Title transliterated: ha-

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Sefinah ha-terufah. Tr. by Uriel Halperin. Tel-Aviv, 1930.
253 p. 19½cm.
—*In Hebrew.*

Tagore, Rabindranath, *tr.*
Kabir, 15th C.
Cien poemas de Kabir; version Englesa de Rabindranath Tagore, traduccion al castellano con notas y prologo de Joaquin V. Gonzaliz. 2 ed. Buenos Aires, Libreria "La Facultad," J. Roldan y C. a, 1923.
146 p., 3 l., front. (port.) 19½cm.
—*In French*

In the Reference and Bibliography Division of the Library of Congress I found complete sets of International Index to Periodicals, Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Subject Index to Periodical Literature, Literature Index and other Indexes. I fully availed of the Indexes to compile a tentative bibliography of periodical articles by and on Tagore. I was even granted a Stack Pass to collect materials and to verify from the periodicals holdings of the Library of Congress. But unfortunately the time at my disposal was too short to verify each item for the purpose of annotation.

The following list, entitled *Tagoriana*, may be of some help to research scholars and enthusiasts:

TAGORIANA

From articles appearing in periodicals, mostly foreign, in European languages by Tagore.
(*Mostly translations*).

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Selections.*
Selections from his work (with biographical note).
(In *Scholastic*, v. 41, January 14, 1946. p. 15).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Aphorisms. From the Bengali of and tr. by Rabindranath Tagore.
(In *Quest*, April, 1916, pp. 530-2).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
At the fair.
(In *Fortnightly*, vol. 99, April, 1913, p. 790).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Autumn: poem.
(In *Asia*, vol. 20, October, 1920, p. 861).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Babus of Nayanjore: story.
(In *Golden Book*, v. 21, March, 1935, pp. 275-281).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Case for India: abridgment.
(In *International Digest*, v. I, May, 1931, pp. 32-3).

Tagore, Rabindranath,
Child: poem.
(In *Good Housekeeping*, v. 64, May, 1917, p. 38).

Tagore, Rabindranath,
Christmas greeting to Librarians.
(In *Library Journal*, v. 55, December 15, 1930, p. 999).

Tagore, Rabindranath,
Cloudy Day; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 147, July 11, 1931, p. 46).

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Crescent Moon: Selections.*
(Selections from the Crescent Moon).
(In *Survey*, v. 31, February 14, 1914, p. 528, port).

Tagore, Rabindranath,
Dalia.
(In *Delineator*, v. 85, Dec., 1914, pp. 11-12).

Tagore, Rabindranath,
Day's End: poem.
(In *Forum*, v. 51, Jan., 1914, p. 145).

Tagore, Rabindranath,
Die nacht der erfullung.
(In *Deutsche Rundschan*, v. 186, March, 1921, p. 331).

Tagore, Rabindranath,
East and West: poem.
(In *Independent*, v. 88, Oct. 2, 1916, p. 16).

Tagore, Rabindranath,
East and West.
(In *Living Age*, v. 311, November 26, 1921, pp. 523-9).

Tagore, Rabindranath,
East and West.
(In *World Tomorrow*, v. 12, May, 1929, pp. 225-26).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
East and West in India.
(In *Living Age*, v. 310, September 3, 1921, pp. 577-584).

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Tagore, Rabindranath.
East to West.
(In *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 139, June, 1927, pp. 729-734).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Epigrams: poem.
(In *Poetry*, v. 8, September, 1916, pp. 238-245).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Evening in July.
(In *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 112, July, 1913, pp. 58-61).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Fairy Reveals Herself; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *English Review*, v. 50, March, 1930, pp. 354-7).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Letters that Shackle our Mind.
(In *Asia*, v. 37, May, 1937, pp. 342-3).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Four Chapters: novelette of young India.
(In *Asia*, v. 36, December, 1936, pp. 765-9; v. 37, February, 1937; pp. 108-10; April, 1937, p. 30).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Gandhi, the Man.
(In *Asia*, v. 38, October, 1938, pp. 579-580).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Song Offerings (*Gitanjali*): poem.
(In *Current Opinion*, v. 54, March, 1913, p. 236).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Gitanjali: poem.
(In *Independent*, v. 76, November 27, 1913, p. 403).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Glance: poem; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, February 7, 193 (?) p. 179).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Great Britain and India.
(In *Spectator*, v. 145, August 30, 1930, p. 280).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Harbinger: poem.
(In *Current Opinion*, v. 69, August, 1920, p. 265 and in *Literary Digest*, v. 66, September 25, 1920, p. 400).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Harbinger: poem.
(In *Nation*, London, v. 27, June 5, 1920, p. 315).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
India: An Appeal to Idealism.
(In *Spectator*, v. 144, June 7, 1930, p. 1932).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
India and Bengal Lancer.
(In *Spectator*, v. 145, November 22, 1930, pp. 774-6).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
India and Russia: a contrast; abridgment.
(In *International Digest*, v. 2, February, 1932, pp. 33-5).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
India at its Worst.
(In *Living Age*, v. 330, August 7, 1926, pp. 333-5).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
India's Message to Japan.
(In *Outlook*, v. 113, August 6, 1916, pp. 856-81).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Issue in India.
(In *Spectator*, v. 148, January 30, 1932, p. 145).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Keyserling as a Philosopher.
(In *Living Age*, v. 328, January 16, 1926, pp. 158-60).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Last Song; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 148, January 2, 1932, p. 11).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Letters at Sea.
(In *Living Age*, v. 316, February 10, 1923, pp. 344-351).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Letters from Abroad.
(In *Living Age*, v. 316, January 13, 1923, pp. 89-93).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Love Discarnate: poem.
(In *Spectator*, v. 147, December 5, 1931, p. 766).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Man from Kabul.
(In *Outlook*, v. 100, February 14, 1914, pp. 356-360).

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Tagore, Rabindranath.
Meine Religion; ubers. von R. Otto.
(In *Western Monatsch*, v. 149, Dec., 1930, pp. 345-50).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Meine Schule.
(In *Deutsche Rundschan*, v. 183, April 20, pp. 127-143).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Message from India.
(In *Living Age*, v. 338, July 1, 1930, pp. 518-20).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Message of Hindu Stage; tr. by B. K. Roy.
(In *Open Court*, v. 39, March, 1925, pp. 129-30, port).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.
(In *Living Age*, v. 342, March, 1932, p. 42).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Mother India.
(In *Living Age*, v. 333, December 15, 1927, pp. 1085-7).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
My First Grief; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, March 7, 1931, pp. 343-4).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
My Mistress of the Time: poem.
(In *London Mercury*, v. 39, December, 1938, p. 184).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
My Name: story, tr. from the Bengali by Satya Bhusan Sen.
(In *Asia*, January, 1931, p. 51).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
My Parting Wish for the Women of America.
(In *Ladies' Home Journal*, v. 34, March, 1917, p. 9).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
My Prayer: poem.
(In *Good House Keeping*, v. 63, October, 1916, p. 34).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
My School.
(In *Living Age*, v. 326, September 5, 1925, pp. 525-529).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
My School.
(In *The Modern Review*, January, 1931, pp. 1-4).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
My Song.
(In *World Review*, v. 6, May 7, 1928, p. 127).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Nationalism in the West.
(In *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 119, March, 1917, pp. 289-301).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
New Age.
(In *World Tomorrow*, v. 8, November 1925, pp. 340-3).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
New Dolls and Old: story; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, February 21, 1931, p. 265).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
New Year: poem.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, January 10, 1931, p. 50).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Night and Morning.
(In *Hibbert Journal*, v. 26, July, 1928, pp. 577-582).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
On the Calcutta Road.
(In *Asia*, v. 21, February, 1921, pp. 102-107).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Once where We were Both Together: poe
(In *Nation*, v. 113, August 24, 19
p. 204).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Oriental and Occidental Music.
(In *Harpers Weekly*, v. 58, April 11, 19
p. 13).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Parrot's Training: satire.
(In *Asia*, v. 34, February, 1934, pp. 1
112).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
The Pathway; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, February 14, 1
p. 221).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Patriot.

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(In *World Tomorrow*, v. 12, January, 1929, pp. 10-12).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Poemes.
(In *Revue de Paris*, v. 28, pt. 5, Sept. 15, 1921, pp. 262-9).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Poet's Religion.
(In *Century*, v. 102, June, 1921, pp. 240-6).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Post Office: drama.
(In *Forum*, v. 51, March, 1914, pp. 455-471).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Prayer for These Times: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 204, March 20, 1920, p. 736).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Principle of Literature.
(In *Living Age*, v. 333, Nov. 15, 1927, pp. 920-925).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Rabindranath Tagore on European Music; tr. by R. Thomas.
(In *Etude*, v. 41, August, 1923, p. 524).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Rainy Noon; tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 147, October 10, 1931, p. 453).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Round Table Conference.
(In *Spectator*, v. 145, Nov. 15, 1930, p. 724).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Runaway.
(In *Living Age*, v. 303, November 29, 1919, pp. 551-561).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Schoolmaster.
(In *Living Age*, v. 323, Nov. 29, 1924, pp. 477-483).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Shakespeare: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 314, July 8, 1922, p. 118).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Shishu Bholanath or The Infant Lord Forgetful; tr. by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, (poem).
(In *Living Age*, v. 319, November, 1923, p. 237).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Skeleton.
(In *Current Opinion*, v. 65, August, 1918, pp. 125-6).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Skeleton: a study in Karma.
(In *Living Age*, v. 310, August 20, 192 (?), pp. 487-491).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Skeleton: poem.
(In *Literary Digest*, v. 85, June 27, 1925, p. 34).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Son of Man: poem.
(In *Christian Century*, v. 52, April 10, 1935, p. 486).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Song Bird: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 324, March 14, 1925, p. 608).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Song Bird: poem.
(In *Popular Education*, v. 42, June, 1925, p. 573).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Song of India.
(In *Independent*, v. 105, April 30, 1921, p. 445).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Sorrow's Dark Night: poem.
(In *Christian Century*, v. 59, January 14, 1942, p. 55).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Summer Pioneers: poem.
(In *Fortnightly*, v. 103, May, 1915, p. 846).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Sunset of the Century: poem.
(In *World Tomorrow*, v. 11, January, 1928, p. 32).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Tagore on His Drawings.
(In *Indian Art and Letters*, 4, 1930, pp. 69-72).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Tell Me a Story: tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, February 28, 1931, p. 306).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Temple: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 280, January 10, 1914, p. 68).

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Tagore, Rabindranath.
Temple of Gold.
(In *Literary Digest*, v. 47, December 13, 1918, p. 1189).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Thanksgiving: poem.
(In *Literary Digest*, v. 53, Nov. 4, 1916, p. 1186).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Three Conversations.
(In *Asia*, v. 31, March, 193? pp. 138-143), port.

Tagore, Rabindranath.
To Africa: poem.
(In *Spectator*, 158, May 7, 1937, p. 858).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
To the Watch: poem.
(In *Atlantic Monthly*, v. 111, May, 1913, p. 681).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Trial of the Horse.
(In *Living Age*, v. 303, October 18, 1919, pp. 148-150).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Tryst: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 278, August 30, 193? pp. 573-574).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Two Poems: poem.
(In *Literary Digest*, v. 47, August 19, 1913, p. 218).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Union of Culture.
(In *Living Age*, v. 312, January 21, 1922, pp. 139-150).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Die verlorenen juwelin; erzahlung, ubers von H. Meyer-Franck.
(*In Western Montatsch*, v. 145, January, 1929, pp. 494-500).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Voice of Humanity.
(In *Living Age*, v. 331, October 15, 1926, pp. 172-176).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Water Hyacinths: poem; tr. by N. Gupta
(In *Rotarian*, v. 44, June, 1934, p. 58).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Wayfarer: story; tr. by S. Tagore.
(In *Living Age*, v. 352, March, 193[illegible] pp. 28-34).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
When All My Doors are Open: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 325, May 30, 192[illegible] p. 474).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
When Ibanez jumped on his hat and other literary troubles of a lecture bureau.
(In *Literary Digest*, v. 79, October [illegible] 1928, pp. 50-5).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Why Pain and Evil are Indispensable.
(In *Current Opinion*, v. 55, September 1913, pp. 185-86, port).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Woman.
(In *Mentor*, v. 9, May, 1921, pp. 5-[illegible] port.).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Woman: poem.
(In *Mentor*, v. 9, May, 1921, p. 3).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Woman in Sorrow: poem.
(In *Living Age*, v. 280, January 3, 19[illegible] p. 2).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Wrongman in Workers' Paradise: st[illegible] tr. by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Asia*, v. 34, December, 1934, pp. [illegible] 19).

Tagore, Rabindranath.
Wrongman in Workers' Paradise: story by B. Bhattacharya.
(In *Spectator*, v. 146, January 17, 19[illegible] p. 76).

(To be continued)

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

A STORY OF INDIAN CULTURE: *By Bahadur Mal. Sarvadanand Universal Series, Vol. XVIII. Published by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. 1956. Pp. 359. Price Rs. 5.*

In this scholarly and thoughtful work the author brings the fruit of this thorough study and mature thinking to bear upon the causes as well as the processes of development of the dominant Indian culture from the Rigvedic times down to the present. The first section of the work bearing the title *Indian Culture in the Vedic Age* gives a fairly comprenensive picture (illustrated by appropriate quotations) of the civilisation of the Rigvedic Aryans under the heads of Political Organisation, Economic conditions, Social Life, Morality and Religion, Philosophical Conceptions and Attitude towards Nature, while it winds up with a notice (a too brief) of the ideas of the *Brahmanas*, the *Upanishads* and the six *Vedangas*. In the second section entitled *Movements of Reform* the author examines the factors leading to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism as well as the sects of Saivism and Vaishnavism (all dating according to his calculation from the 6th century B.C.) and their characteristic doctrines. The third and the most important section having the title *Vedic Religion becomes Hindu-ism* begins with an analysis of the racial and cultural factors leading to this transformation and the part played by the Brahmana Smarta class in the same. It then proceeds to present a complete picture of the different aspects of Neo-Hinduism by describing on the one hand what the author thinks to be its retrogressive tendencies in the shape of the rise of the popular religion, the hardening of the caste system and the decline of the position of women and on the other hand its great achievements in the field of literature and science, philosophy and higher religion as well as cultural expansion in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia. The fourth section called *Hinduism in the Middle Ages* continues the story of India's cultural decline, while it describes very briefly the reciprocal influences of Hinduism and Islam. The fourth section bearing the title *The Modern Period* deals with the Hindu renaissance which in the author's opinion amounts to a revival of the Vedic Aryan spirit.

While we have nothing but praise for the author's critical approach to the various aspects of his subject and his lucid style, we may be permitted to make a few remarks. There is a certain inappropriateness in the title of the work which deals exclusively with the fortunes of what is generally called Hinduism through the ages, although the author is careful to designate it *A Story of Indian Culture*. The work as a whole betrays a want of proportion, full and adequate attention being given to the culture of the Rigvedic period, while the Middle Ages especially are dismissed with a brief notice. In the author's chapter on the deterioration in the position of women (Book III, Ch. IV) there is no reference to the progressive admission of women's property rights in the *Vyavahara* sections of the *Smritis*, nor to the divergent views of these authorities on such points as widow-remarriage and *Sati*. Elsewhere there is a certain amount of contradiction as when the author mentions as characteristic of the Middle Ages the general institution of child marriages leading to sexual excess and physical as well as moral decay of the people, and the popularity of the cult of *sannyasa* (pp. 301-06), simultaneous or where he refers at the same time to the little influence of the mediaeval saints on the structure of Indian society and the vigorous as well as countrywide spread of the reform movement started by Ramananda and Kabir in the 14th and 15th centuries (pp. 304, 317). The alleged antiquity of the Saiva and Vaishnava sects which is traced back to the 6th century B.C. in one place (p. 165)

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is contradicted by the author's earlier and correct statement on p. 150. The author's reference (p. 8) to the coins of the Indus people is inaccurate. The statements that all earlier Indian governments were democratic in nature (p. 20) and that the kings of India unlike those of Ancient Egypt and Mediaeval Europe do not present any glaring instances of sheer autocracy (p. 3) are rash generalisations which are belied by the facts of history and should not have found a place in this work. Mention may be made, lastly, of a number of printing mistakes, of which the most serious is the misprint of the name of Bengal's great poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt (p. 348).

U. N. GHOSHAL

GANDHIJI'S FIRST STRUGGLE IN INDIA: *By P. C. Chaudhury. Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1955. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 2.*

The book under review may be regarded as an admirable addendum to Dr. Rajendra Prasad's excellent treatise on the subject in that it contains many revealing documents to which Dr. Prasad had no access, laboriously dug out by the author from Government archives. Some of Gandhi's correspondence relating to the subject treated and among them the one in Hindi reproduced in facsimile add to the value of the book. The following passage from the book will show how things stood then in Champaran:

"The set-up of the tenancy in Champaran was such that a tenant could not walk with an umbrella opened within a mile of the *kothi* of the European planter."

And conditions such as this threw up leaders who organized resistance against the planters (1907-8) dubbed as Raiyats' Revolt. It is interesting to note that even in 1908 there were stout souls like Seikh Gulab who refused to work as special constables. Chapter V—His (Gandhi's) Own Review—will be read with profit and interest.

The author says that he has nothing original to offer and he fittingly ends the book proper by quoting Rajendra Prasad. Sri Chaudhury has rendered a service to Gandhian literature. The production is good and bears the usual Navajivan stamp.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

MODERN LEADERS OF RELIGION: *By Srimat Puragra Parampanthi (D.C. 1/16,, pp. 360). 1957. Can be had of the author at 'Viraj,' Dibrugarh. Assam. Price Rs. 4.50 N.P., one dollar or 8sh.*

In this book the author has made an attempt at a comparative study of the philosophy of religion. He has selected twelve out of the many leaders of thought born in the 19th century—and included among them theologians, poets, philosophers, social workers, psychologists, scientists and statesmen. The author quotes profusely from their writings and presents a variety study of religion. He calls this the age of intellect and has adopted the objective standpoint to understand religion. One thing has come out of his search, that all of these thinkers are realists at bottom and this is not without reason.

Modern civilisation is charged with materialism, setting too much store upon what a man or nation has rather than upon what a man or nation is. Since the Reformation, governments were set up in Europe adopting secularist stand in matters of administration and education. This gradually spread all over the world. It was a revolt against the dogmas and traditional religions which kept humanity tied to medievalism and sectarian strifes and subjection to man-gods. The new form of government was a political and moral necessity. But the consequences have been far-reaching, effecting complete secularisation of human outlook on life. No doubt there has been considerable progress in material sphere. But without due attention to the spiritual side, this material progress was without a proper guidance as to what use to make of it. This brought about a crisis in civilisation. Present-day man is haunted with a feeling of nothingness and frustration and asks, 'What is the remedy?' The answer is plain and simple—'By evolving a new philosophy of life, by reinterpreting and harmonising religions, by a 'synthesis of Faith and Science.' Since Brahmananda Keshub Chunder first preached for the first time the Religion of Harmony, as the New Dispensation of the bridge. much water has flown under the bridge. longer leaders of thought take his teachings a religion of shifting beliefs. They are one their admission that Religion is ever progressive, it includes the whole of the past as it gresses onward. To put it philosophically, with new age has dawned a new spiritual consciousness, where man is felt more than ever to a child of the Eternal and a faith rooted in eternal truth of things, a faith that leads love, duty and reverence, love that breaks barriers of caste or creed, duty that seeks realisation of love at all costs in life if need be through death, reverence with a

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sifting insight for the past as well as for all times. Religion will thus embrace secular life. In short, the whole universe rests ultimately upon a foundation of the Spirit—and that Spirit is the infinite God. Man is also a spirit and the tests of his life and achievements, joys and sorrows must be spiritual. He has a spiritual destiny which is eternal both extensively and intensively. All mankind are bound up in a common life in the spirit, which is also spiritual and eternal.

The book provides a profitable reading. Excepting a large number of spelling mistakes, the printing and get-up are nice and price very moderate.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT

SAMSKRITA SAHITYA VIMARSA: *By Maharaj Acharya Devendranath Sastri. Bharati Sansthan, 31, Anandapuri, Meerut, U.P. Price Rs. 16.*

We have here a critical survey of Sanskrit literature in its different branches, made in the Sanskrit language, which is supposed to be 'the world language' and 'the mother of all other languages'. This is, perhaps, the second attempt to present a comprehensive account of Sanskrit literature in the Sanskrit language, the first being the one made several years back by Dr. Hansraj Agrawal. The book under review is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the Vedas and Vedangas, including grammar, prosody and astronomy, the philosophical systems, the Puranas and the Agamas, and the second part with *belles lettres* with brief references to rhetoric, music, *dharmasastra, arthasastra* and *namasastra*. The account of every work, nay, of every work, is accompanied by copious quotations enabling the readers to have a direct acquaintance with the original writings concerned. But in the absence of references to the printed editions and in cases to definite indications of the sources of the quotations the inquisitive reader finds it rather difficult to satisfy his curiosities and eagerness to have further light on a particular point. The authorship of the particular verse has been ascribed to two different writers in two different places of the book (pp. 509, 537) without making any definite reference to the sources. It is not clear if any principle has been followed in the order in dealing with the poets. Of course, there is no chronological arrangement. Though drama has been assigned a separate section we come across here names of persons who are not authors of any dramatic works. We find here as well as in the section on Vedic commentaries a few names of modern writers though a number of other sections can equally boast of many of them. On the whole the book which gives in one volume a fair account of the important aspects of the vast and valuable literature in Sanskrit will be read with profit and interest by students of Sanskrit Pathasalas as well as by all lovers of Sanskrit who will appreciate the wide range of the scholarship of the learned author even if they cannot agree with him on many points. The printing and get-up of the book is fine. The price appears to be rather high especially in consideration of the financial condition of students of Sanskrit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

JUKTARASTRER RAJNAITIK PADDHATI: *By David Cushman Coyle. Translated in Bengali by Gautam Gupta. Published by Parichaya Publishers, 175-A, Park Street, Calcutta-17. Pp. 182. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a Bengali translation of *The United States Political System and How It Works* by David Cushman Coyle in English published by the New American Library of World Literatures, Inc., New York in 1954.

This book in fourteen chapters deals exhaustively with the various aspects of the U.S. political system. A short history of the evolution of the system has been given in the preface which is illuminating. In presenting the subject, the author has tried to give a true picture of the state of affairs of his country. He claims no perfection for the American political system and has shown how the system has developed through experiments and difficulties. Many pitfalls of the U.S. system may be helpful to us as we may learn from their experience. The U.S. pattern is individualistic and capitalistic and ours ir socialistic (without abandoning individualism altogether), so there must be some difference. But we both are democratic and hence we agree on broad principles. The book is a welcome addition to political literature in Bengali.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

ARYASHUR-KRIT JATAKMALA (Jatak 1—20): *Edited and translated by Suryanarayan Chaudhury. Sanskrit-Bhavana, Kathotia, Post. Kajha, Dist. Purnea, Bihar. Pp. 287. Price Rs. 3.*

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The *Jatakmala* is a serial story, so to speak, of Buddha's repeated re-incarnations, prior to his attainment of Enlightenment. These edifying tales have been translated as is well-known into various languages. They were rendered also into Sanskrit, with slight modifications, by the poet Aryashur. Twenty of his renderings are now published in the original, together with their Hindi equivalents and after suitable editing by the scholarly editor-*cum*-translator, who has made an excellent job. It is to be earnestly hoped that he will bring out, before long, in a similar manner the remaining *jatakas* as well.

KHISHTIJ: *By Chandraprakash Varma. Saraswati Publishing House, Allahabad. Pp. 103. Price Re. 1-8.*

An anthology of fifty-nine poems, by a poet who sings of the ever-inviting happiness of horizon,—that hyphen between Heaven and Earth, whenever his imagination wafts him away from the daily rut or when Nature's beauty pierces his heart into tune and tears.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BHAKTAMAR STROTRA: *By Mo... Damji Shah. Printed at the Kishore Printi... Bombay. 1951. Paper cover. Pp. 50. Price 1... annas.*

Forty-four Sanskrit scholars, offering pra... ers to Rishabhdev Bhagavan, composed ... Vikram Samvat 800, by a pious Jain M... Acharya Shri Mantungsuri Maharaj, has ... legend behind them. Brahmin pandits at ... Court of Raja Bhoja had shown certain miracl... and thereupon he asked the Jaina pandits ... they could show any, and in order to test th... devoutness, put 44 shackles on the feet of ... Muniji and asked him to free himself if ... could. The Muniji began to recite *shlokas* ... praise of Rishabhdev Bhagavan, and at the ... citation of each *shloka*, one shackle broke dow... Thus at the end of the 44th verse, he was co... pletely free. On this Raja Bhoja was great... impressed and began to hold the Jaina religi... in as much respect as that of the Brahmins.

K.M.J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Symbol of the Tree in Mythology

John Stewart Collis writes in *The Aryan* ...:

If we walk through even a small wood at ... we find it eerie. If someone tells us that ... will encounter alarming appearances or hear ... cries, we are quite likely to see or hear ... for, though the scene outside has changed ... pletely, a wood or forest in 1957 A.D. is ... the same as in 1957 B.C., or long before. ... can understand how from the earliest times ... have exercised a powerful influence upon ... kind. At first they were feared. And when ... ing is feared it is not seen for what it is: ... thing else is seen, a god or a devil; and in ... es of early man there were many tree- ... and tree-devils to be placated and wor- ... ed and treated with circumspection.

... time went on they saw more than gods ... devils. A multitude of supernatural beings ... the woods—gnomes, fairies, elves, pixies, ... dryads, satyrs, leprechauns. It is strange ... fairies appeal to us still and how ... we accept them in literature. When we ... bout Ariel we do not find him ridiculous. ... could be more fantastic or far-fetched ... the idea that Prospero could open a pine ... and let Ariel get out. Yet we accept it ... just as we accept the notion that ... ax by the help of her most potent ministers ... in her unmitigable rage did confine him ... within which rift he remained a dozen ... venting his groans; and we are quite ... ated to hear Porspero threaten to rend an ... and peg him in its knotty entrails till he ... howled away twelve winters. And we know ... beautifully the nymphs and naiads, the ... s and dryads, enter into Greek and Roman ... ature in the hymns of Homer and the odes ... Ovid. They thought that it was not possible ... the splinterer of the crag was also the ... er of the hyacinth—there must be many ... Looking round upon the rich and lovely ... of Greece and Italy, they beheld a ... titude of spiritual toilers among which the ... spirits took a prominent place, while the ... of woodland deity of classic times, Pan, has ... ...ed to us in modern days as Pantheism.

Even the Gods of Olympus themselves started as trees. Though eventually they held court upon the Mountain in all the panoply of deified beings, they could not have got there without the benefit of the oak, the ivy, the apple and the mistletoe —thus Zeus from the oak, Dionysus from the ivy, Appllo from the apple.

In the same way we see Thor in Northern Europe associated with the rowan tree whose bunched berries in autumn still astonish us like flaming flowers; we see Ukho, their god of thunder, and Taara, and Balder, all taking their origin from the oak; we see the sacred grove of Upsala dedicated to Woden, the god who after hanging for nine nights on the gallows-tree descended to the under-world and brought back the prize of wisdom. In Egypt, we see, Osiris, the god of vegetation, had his origin in a tree as also Adonis in Syria and Attis in Phrygia. *The Book of the Dead* of the ancient Egyptians gave instructions to all souls on their arduous journey to the Islands of the Blest. The soul on leaving the body set out to climb the hills and cross the desert; and, when at last, weary and faint with hunger and thirst, he reached the divine sycamores, then one of the goddesses—Nuit, Hathor, Selkit or Nit—emerged from a tree and offered him fruit, bread and water. Thus refreshed, he could proceed on his journey, but, being now the guest of the goddesses, he passed safely through all perils and eventually reached the Islands of the Blest where he found happiness and peace for evermore.

It was not only the great forest with all its echoing mysteries and deep shadowy shrouds, nor the single tree of compelling size or fearful aspect, which commanded the veneration and promoted the idolatry of the people. A clump of trees made a great impression. A few standing closely erect upon a hill suggested divinity. Sometimes they were thought of as the abode of gods, and sometimes they were regarded simply as natural temples in which gods might be approached. In both cases they were known as groves. No race was more influenced in this way than the Jews. So deeply did the Semites cling to the belief that there was a spiritual

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force inherent in vegetation that the Old Testament prophets, engaged in removing the Deity out of reach, were appalled at the perversity with which the Israelites persisted in planting groves and setting up altars in the sacred shades. The Old Testament is riddled with the denunciations of the prophets regarding them: "He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves," or "And they set them up images and groves in every high hill and under every green tree," "And they left all the commandments of the Lord their God . . . and made a grove" and so on. As a boy at school, aged ten, I remember being expected to pull a solemn face over this, and under the head of "divinity" being made to learn by heart the imprecations of the prophets. This put me more against the prophets than the groves.

A grove could also be a centre from which a deity would give advice or make prophecies—that is, an oracle. A rustling could be heard among the branches! Was it not a god speaking? Soon they learnt to interpret his message through specialists in this kind of thing—priests. Moreover, the roots of the trees were regarded as cords of communication with the lower regions, the abode of departed spirits who were informed with wisdom and knowledge of the future. Thus the very deep roots of the Oak at Dodona, reaching down to Tartarus, justified that the grove should be considered even more qualified in prophetic power than the famous grove at Delphi.

When we today look up into the sky we see the endless ether. In earlier times they saw a roof. Here, beneath their feet, was the earth; there, above, was its roof—blue, scarfed or sparkling with jewels. What was holding up the roof of the world? What pillared it? It would seem that a cloud-capped mountain could easily be conceived as a pillar—and was thus conceived. But still more wide-spread was the idea that a tree, a Universe Tree, was responsible for sustaining the sky. They imagined the existence of colossal trees, the most famous of which was the Scandinavian Yggdrasil Ash.

All Life is figured by Them as a Tree [wrote Carlyle]. Igdrasil, the Ash-tree of Existence, has its roots deep-down in the kingdoms of Hela or Death; its trunk reaches up heaven-high, spreads its boughs over the whole Universe: it is the Tree of Existence. At the foot of it, in the Death-Kingdom, sit three *Nornas*, Fates—the Past, Present, Future; watering its roots from the Sacred Well.

Descriptions of extraordinary trees of this kind lent themselves to the tautological rhetoric of the word-drugged Jews. Thus Ezekiel speaks of a tree "whose height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied and his branches became long because of the multitude of waters when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations."

And thus Nebuchadnezzar:

"I saw, and beheld a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof to the end of all the earth: The leaves thereof were fair and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it."

In still earlier times when the mind moved even more freely in creative mood there was really no boundary to the properties of the Universe Tree. The grander the conception, the easier to believe. It bestowed knowledge, wisdom, bliss. It could grant men courage and give women children. It was the ladder by which the dead could mount to Heaven. It provided milk, water, dew and rain. Its juice was intoxicating. Its seed was the progenitor from which all forms of life were created. Its trunk was the abode of gods who fed upon the ambrosia which gave eternal life. Its roots reached down into the lowest depths of the nether regions, from whence rose the springs that gave water to the rivers of the world. Its boughs composed the scaffolding of the sky; its leaves were clouds, its fruit the stars—the sun and moon but bubbles in its branches..

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The intricacies of tree-worship make any plain or comprehensive statement rather difficult—I have but held up the mirror to a few aspects. The Indian conceptions would make a study in themselves. The great god, Brahma, who, letting the light of his countenance fall upon chaos, dispelled the primeval gloom and lifted the earth from the ocean, is represented in Hindu mythology as having emanated from a golden lotus which had been quickened into life when the spirit of Om moved on the face of the waters. What we do find in Indian mythology, or in interpretations of it, is a deeper digging into the meaning and significance of symbols than we get elsewhere. Thus, to take a single example, there is the Garden of Eden with its Tree and its Serpent. The tree makes an easy symbol; it is the Tree of Knowledge, partaking of which we were expelled from the paradise of innocent ignorance and took upon ourselves the burden of consciousness.

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Some Modern English Writers

Stephen Spender writes in *Careers and Courses*:

I am going to talk about the several generations of English writers, some of them older and some of them younger, who are all today working and writing in England. And in talking about this English literary situation, I want you to bear in mind that I myself am a very old writer indeed. The reason why I am very old is firstly, that I am 45 about 10 years past the age when many people retire from better professions than writing and secondly, that a good many generations have gone by in the 25 years since I was 20, because I reckon that now-a-days it takes about 5 years for them to be a new generation of writers. Don't blame this on the writers. It is really the result of our living in an epoch when every five years or so it is discovered that events, or some event, has happened, which cuts the young people who are are just rising to the age of 20 irrevocably off from those who have attained the mature age age of 25.

For instance, five years after the first World War, to a youth of 20 a veteran of 25 who had fought on the Western Front in France was a glamorous incomprehensible neurotic; and in the 1930s the older writers who participated perhaps in the Spanish Civil War, to a boy of 20 already in 1935 seemed like some stone effigy of a participant in the Crusades. Thus it is a dinosaur who is now speaking to you and if I try to touch on the younger generations of writers in England I must warn you that I probably have the viewpoint of a derelict monster. So, in the early 1920s we had writers like Michael Arlen, early Aldous Huxley and T.S. Eliot of the *Waste Land*, who seemed to characterize a period that ended exactly, I should say, in the year 1928. Then in 1928 there was a spate of war books about the first World War, written 10 years after the event, *i.e.*, 10 years after 1918; and then there was the grim early 1930s, followed already in 1935, by a revolt towards a kind of appocalyptic personalism led by poets like Dylan Thomas, who has died recently, and George Barker; and then in 1939 there was the second World War, when the best writing had now the qualities of a letter sent home from the front, whether it was a soldier's front or a civilian front, in bombed London. And so on; so it goes on; every 5 years a new generation, and so I am left today with a rather curious literary scene which reminds me of a view of mountains seen through a plain from far away, perhaps, even seen from the ocean which lies beyond the plain.

To follow out my metaphor, at he back there are the cold peaks of the mountains which are snow-covered, remote and universally admired. That is how the work of D.H. Lawrence, T.S. Eliot, W. B. Yeats and Edith Sitwell must seem to the young writer today, who is just getting on to 20 years old. He feels the presence of the white clear-cut mountains very incisive against the sky, and yet he thinks there is no way of getting to them. The transparent heights of these mountains do not seem to connect with the dusty plain on which he has to live and work. And on the slopes of the mountains, and still far away, perhaps there is an animated town inhabited by the spiteful, self-indulgent, gay inventions of the early Aldous Huxley and Evelyn Waugh. Here are Mr. Gumbrell and Paul Pennyweather, creatures of Decline and Fall and *Chrome Yellow* and other novels typical of the 1920s and not far away from them are the exotic and erotic and intoxicated figures of Ernest Hemmingway's *The Sun Also Rises* and always inhabitants of a Paris of the 1920s which today seems as remote as Nineveh or Babylon and of a Spain which was a country where nothing was thought about except Bullfighting. And nearer still to the young writer on his dusty plain are a group of father figures towards whom our 20 year old writer feels a more lively irritation. These are Auden, McNiece, Isherwood, the writers of the 1930s, amongst whom there is myself. The young writer feels towards us rather as we when we were young, felt towards our parents who were active before, let us say, 1914. He feels that somehow we were involved in and therefore perhaps responsible for everything unpleasant that has happened since the year 1[illegible] and just in the same way I used to think that my parents' generation should have come to some sensible arrangement with the Kaiser and because they did not do so, they were responsible for the first World War; so today the young think that since we opposed Fascism without preventing it, we probably made things much worse than they would have been if we had done nothing at all about it, and the young feel that in any case by interfering and by writing about political themes we caused the confusion of politics with literature, which still hangs like their plain in an untidy mess of dust. They feel that we abandoned the disinterested suit of literature for the messy introduction of a political cause into literature and that

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the cause was lost, or at any rate it was not won by us but the other people, literature also as a result suffered severe losses.

Now there is a further complication to my metaphor of the mountains and the plain, and this is that despite the distancing and the intervals between generations that I have described, nontheless all these generations are writing and talking at the same time. Eliot and Huxley and the writers of the 1930s are by no means extint volcanaes; in fact they are very active development and changing volcanoes and yet, and this is very important from the young man's point of view, those old mountains Eliot and Huxley are changing along lines of their own development, changing along lines which are quite removed in time from any that the younger writer born so many generations later can develop along. In fact, if the past literature of the older writers proves inaccessible to him, the present activity of the older writers is also equally inaccessible as a starting point for the younger writer. Of course, in this account, just to be fair, I should mention that there are one or two quite accomplished writers who do not fall into our such clear categories. For instance, there is Graham Greene and his novels about Sin and Catholicism and yet, admired as Graham Greene and widely read as he is, I do not think that his work influences any one else to feel sympathy or even hostility for it or against it. So the writer rarely is looking back, as I suggest, to the novels of Yeats and Eliot and Edith Sitwell of the oldest generations.

Now, what does he do in this situation? I should think that answer to this question ought to be a demon, that is to say, I think the answer ought to be totally unexpected, arising from an anticipared direction although later on one should also be able to see that this unpredicatable direction was all along invitable; in other words, the answer ought really to be a genius. A genius is really always the answer to problems of literature. And in fact I have to admit, that I think there is rather a lack of genius in writing all over the world today, and it may be the sign of this lack of genius, particularly in England, that the answer is a very clearly stated, rather safe and comprehensible one, perhaps, too comprehensible. If you read the English Magazines, like the *London Magazine* or *Encounter*, you see it in the angry letters from the younger writers and what the younger writers are saying is: "No more experiments, no more adventures, no more mysteries! Our predecessors have gone quite far enough. What we are willing to concede to them is that we might take over their ashes and make use of anything we find of value, in order, in our work, to consolidate this and make something clear and ordered out of it. But what we want for ourselves is the literature of limited aims about known things, which also perhaps have a background of academic learning. For example we might write a novel about the rather disreputable going on of Professors and teachers of some University but not the University of Oxford or Cambridge, we are sick and tired of them, but some small University like Reading. And in our verse we will study accepted past models of respectworthy poets and we will adapt these to express suitable occasions for our own poetry as these occasions arise in our experience." I don't think anyone who has read such a novel as *Hurry on Down* by John Wayne or *Lucky Gin* by Kingsley Ames would disagree with this account of their aims. What these writers really do is to abandon the efforts of their predecessors. to take the most far-fetched ideas and to concentrate them into the terrible crystal of a story or poem. In fact, the very idea of doing anything as grandiose and as ambitious as this would strike the younger writers as wrong and they dryly remark that it is really better to describe truthfully one rather shabby provincial Don instead of aiming at producing anything so unreal and inexact as terrible crystals. Crystals, they go on to say, are the concern of minerologists, and I can quite imagine how the argument would go on. I ought to add though that the picaresque novels of Mr. Wayne and Mr. Ames. which are about modern life with the scene laid in an English provincial University, are both of them very well written and they are highly entertaining. They certainly succeed in establishing a kind of basic idea from which to make a new start.

And perhaps the most interesting thing about them, and perhaps the most interesting thing about the literature of the younger writers in England today, is that they reject tragedy. Not merely are they cynical and gay but they are written in a style which deliberately aims at passing from one comic episode to another, without arriving at any particular conclusion or trying to state an attitude which is tragic towards life. They, on the contrary, insist on treating life as a string of anecdotes, as episodic, as funny as macabre but inconclusive. In other words, they go back to the literary form which used to be called the picaresque.

Now this is all very well in the novel but I must say that in poetry I find it rather less effective. Indeed it is only a certain neatness of form which prevents the poetry of Mr. Wayne

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and Mr. Ames, because they and their friends write poems as well as novels, from being too dry and, in fact, rather boring. Of course, the point surely about a poem is that it does have to have intensity and passion behind it. D. H. Lawrence, for instance, once remarked: "The trouble about the so called Georgian poets who wrote before the first World War was that they blew off their poems when the pressure-guage of emotion had got too little steam up." And the same might be said about many of the younger poets writing in England today. But, all the same, I think one can understand the attitude of these younger writers. They do not want to go in for Crusades because the Crusades have usually ended in wars. They do not want to be carried away by great passions. They like literature, and they take writing seriously. It is a kind of bedrock writing on a very narrow bed and a rather smallish rock. Probably, these writers would say they do not care if literature shrinks to rather narrow limits. They are not intimidated by words like provincial. They talk about solidarity, retrenchment, correctness and so on and they look on their work of writing as doing a job well. All the same, I must admit that I find all this a little bit depressing. Of course, one aspect of it is it corresponds to a tendency of the English today not to look outside their immediate surroundings at all. From outside England, from some place like—let us suppose—Singapore, it looks almost absurd that English Writers young English Writers should be thinking that the aims of English writing should not only be to turn away from foreign lands but even from London, Oxford and Cambridge, because even these great centres in England itself seem to be too cosmopolitan. . . . All I mean is that I feel writing is very confined today, unlike it has in every country windows opening on the outside world, and I cannot help hoping that perhaps some of these writers will, like D. H. Lawrence, who also started from the provinces move out into the world. I don't believe today that literature can get stuck at certain places, even in certain forms with such very limited a

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

What is Jordan?

As the Sixth Fleet of the United States Navy steams towards the Middle East, the stability of Jordan hangs in precarious balance. By the time these lines appear further explosive developments may have taken place. But whatever the internal situation of King Hussein's dominion, one question is bound to remain relevant: what is Jordan? The constructive solution for an apparently unviable state depends on the answer.

A fact which is too often forgotten is that Jordan is *Arab Palestine*. The first partition of Palestine (the territory included in the provisions of the Balfour Declaration) took place in 1921. In that year, the Mandatory Power lopped off two-thirds of the original area of Palestine and set up the mandate of Transjordan. This, in 1946, became the independent kingdom of Jordan. Of the 1921 division Transjordan was allotted some 37,400 square miles, while only 10,400 square miles remained to truncated Palestine.

Population figures are equally illuminating. At the time of the partition Transjordan's population was less than 400,000. The present total of 1,400,000 has been reached through the incorporation of some 500,000 Arabs in the area annexed by Jordan from Palestine in 1948, and by the entrance of some 500,000 Arab refugees. That is to say, two-thirds of Jordan's present population consists of Palestine Arabs, whose original third was initially Palestinian. Of these their lot in other Arab host countries, the Palestinian Arabs in Jordan have full voting rights and are completely enfranchised citizens. It is clear from these data that in all essential respects, geographically, demographically and politically (the Palestinian Arabs constitute a two-thirds majority), that Jordan is *de facto* the state of the Palestine Arabs.

The Palestinians are largely concentrated on the west bank. More politically alert than the Bedouin on the other side of the Jordan, they provide the leadership for the pro-Soviet, anti-Western intrigues which created the most recent crisis. The ousted Premier Nabulsi, for instance, is a Palestinian Arab.

Arab Nationalism, despite its present negative and destructive character, is undoubtedly a potent force in the Middle East which it would be folly to minimize. But how artificial is the attempt to subdivide it into categories labelled "Jordanian" or, for that matter, "Palestinian," present developments indicate. In an interview with Kennett Love, a *New York Times* correspondent (March 23, 1957), the then Premier Nabulsi declared: "Jordan cannot live alone. Our intentions were from the first to work for Arab unity; the first step is a sort of federation and the first phase of federation is to have it between Syria and Jordan."

Perhaps the most significant paragraph in Mr. Kennett Love's dispatch is his appraisal of Jordanian nationalist feeling. "Most Jordanians interviewed by this correspondent said that they did not regard the prospective loss of sovereign independence as a serious matter. Many spoke of themselves as South Syrians and declared that the people had not developed any strong sense of Jordanian nationality in thirty-six years."

These observations have long been familiar to students of the Middle East. Any useful approach to the problem of the region must distinguish realistically between the authentic resurgence of Arab national sentiment extending even to grandiose dreams of Pan-Islam, and the dynastic rivalries and feuds which cut across the area not always following its territorial demarcations. Artificially created buffer-states like Jordan can have no inner cohesiveness on the present basis. Jordan lacks economic viability since the withdrawal of the British subsidy, and the chief bond among its citizens is the hatred of Israel systematically nourished by the Egypt-Soviet-Syria axis. The only crop such soil can grow is trouble.

The American decision to support an independent Jordan is welcome in so far as it serves notice on Russia to stop maneuvering in the area. The Eisenhower Doctrine was invoked as soon as young King Hussein announced to the world that "the propaganda campaign and the internal crisis were the responsibility of international communism and its followers." The President of the United States decided that the integrity of Jordan was vital to American interests and took unilateral action to make his position unmistakably clear. American ships, equipped, we are told, with nuclear weapons and headed by the air-carrier Forrestal, set sail in the appropriate direction. The Middle Eastern agitators and, presumably, Soviet Russia got the point.

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It may be noted that the United States acted without consulting its allies and without sanction of the United Nations. When America felt its interests threatened by further communist penetration in the Middle East, our country acted swiftly and alone, apparently prepared to accept whatever consequences the move might precipitate, including the possibility of military action. Whether or not one approves of "brinksmanship" as national policy, one cannot help wondering why the United States chose Jordan for this demonstration. The extent of Soviet penetration had been more forcefully shown by the wholesale arming of Egypt and Syria, and by Soviet support of Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal. The threat to the West, through absolute control of canal by pro-Russian elements and the loss of oil supplies and vital oil routes to Great Britain and Europe, was a far more dangerous move in the struggle for power between East and West than anything that could happen in the feeble kingdom of Jordan. Yet the United States chose to be righteously indignant when the democracies of England, France, and Israel took independent steps to safeguard their particular interests as these were vitally endangered by the build-up of Soviet armor in Sinai and the canal zone. Then President Eisenhower grew eloquent on the sanctity of the United Nations as an instrument for the redress of grievances and as the forum for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The chief result of American intervention last October seems to have been the total loss of the Suez Canal as an international waterway. The Egyptian dictator has emerged from his military defeat with the victor's prize of absolute control of the Suez Canal, and makes no secret of his further aggressive designs against Israel.

However, all this is water through the canal. When it suits our government, the United Nations can be bypassed without homily or sanctimony. The question now is to what purpose will King Hussein and his state be bolstered?

If Jordan is being preserved merely to continue its role of pawn of the Great Powers, whether Britain or the United States, its future is no brighter than its past. A country must have a sounder reason for existence than that of a predestined pupet. Unless some organic principle of cohesion is discovered, Jordan is bound to disintegrate and be swallowed up piecemeal by its eager neighbors. King Saud eyes the south, Syria the north, and, were the process of dismemberment to start, Israel would have no choice but to absorb the west bank which juts into its heart. But, however tempting to the bordering countries such a dismemberment might be, the result would only add to the problems of the region.

Jordan could could exist for reasons of its ner vitality and not as an artificial creation were it to become openly what it is in fact—the state of Arab Palestine, just as Israel is the state of Jewish Palestine. This would mean that the population of Jordan, instead of squandering its energies in sterile belligerence and violent dreams of a second or third round, would have to concentrate on the development of the country. This is not idle fantasy. In antiquity, the region was once one of the granaries of Rome. It could be irrigated and restored, just as Israel has been through zeal and imagination. Such plans as that of the Jordan Valley Authority, if put into effect, would transform Jordan as well as benefit Israel. Jordan and Israel form a natural economic and physiographic unit whose industrial and agricultural potential could be richly exploited were peaceful relations to replace the present impotent border raids.

The emergence of an economically viable Jordan would be a logical solution for the chronic Arab refugee problem, so long fostered and exacerbated by Arab demagogues. Palestinian nationalism could be gratified on the soil of what is actually Palestine, and perhaps the other Arab states could be persuaded to permit their kinsmen to start leading normal lives of productive worth.

Admittedly, so reasonable a proposal has little to recommend it to the Egyptian dictator or his cohorts who are more concerned in the maintenance of a *casus belli* than in the welfare of their wretched populations. But, since the United States has entered the arena directly in connection with Jordan, perhaps some consid-

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...ive solution could be ventured upon. For the ...United States to show its strength merely to bol...ster one form of Arab chauvinism against another ...is not enough. International communism will ...soften on the Middle East as long as the political ...and economic issues of the region add to the ...unrest and misery of all who live there. Jordan ...provides an opportunity for a fundamental ...attempt to deal with basic ills—*Jewish Frontier*, ...May 1957.

—

How American Literature Inspired Indian Leaders

This is the last of the three articles by Dr. ...Narasimhaiah in the *American Reporter*, May ...2, 1957:

It is largely for its broad humanity and ...its moral fervour that American literature has ...exercised its influence across the oceans. As ...early as the nineteenth century, American lite...rature was a world force. Shelley fed on the ...romances of Charles Brockden Brown; Keats ...admired him; Scott admitted his wonderful ...influence; Hazlitt thought him a real genius. ...Emerson influenced the mind of Europe as did ...Stowe its heart. Whitman's *Leaves of ...Grass* was regarded in China and Japan as a ...book of Western democracy. In Russia, ...after the revolution his poems "honouring ...liberty" were declaimed all over the country. ...Once, Edgar Allan Poe was mostly respon...sible for the peculiar turn French literature took ...in the hands of such writers as Baudelaire, ...Mallarme and Paul Valery, who in turn, founded ...the Symbolist movement on the same principles ...as Poe enunciated.

In India, the writings of Washington, Jeffer...son and Tom Paine were inspiring to national ...heroes. Thoreau's *Walden*, which became a ...bible of the English labour movement, nourished ...Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation. It is ...well known that Gandhi is indebted to Thoreau no less ...for the contents of the essay than for its title ...*Civil Disobedience*. Thoreau, it may be recalled, ...refused to pay the tax to an administration in ...whose measures and expenditures he had no ...part and which he opposed from principle. ...It will interest us to hear that Thoreau, who ...influenced Gandhi, was himself profoundly ...impressed by the loftiness of Sanskrit literature. He ...referred to Buddha as "My Budha" and said of ...the *Bhagavadgita*: "Beside the vast and cosmo...gonal philosophy of the *Bhagavadgita* even our ...Shakespeare seems sometimes youthfully green ...and merely practical."

To Emerson, his contemporary and one of the greatest Americans of all time, India meant much more. He wrote of the *Gita* in his Journals: "It was the first of books; it was as if an empire spoke to us; nothing small or unworthy but large, serene, consistent, the voice of old intelligence. . . ." It is not the sentimentality of a superstitious man. Few were more critical than Emerson. Formerly "Indostan was stupid" and its religion "absurd." But later his essays and poems were impregnated with Indian thought.

It is said that the transcendentalism of Emerson and Thoreau must be traced to French utopianism and German mysticism. But let it be remembered that in those countries transcendentalism led to an abdication from public affairs, but in America, as in India, it led to an incessant concern with them. That really is the essence of Hindu philosophy—service above self.

It was a very powerful current in the nineteenth-century America and not a few felt its influence. Besides Thoreau and Emerson, there

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were A. B. Alcott and Margaret Fuller. Arthur Christy says that Whittier (whom every schoolboy in India has read) "offers in his poetic work more poems on Oriental themes, more paraphrases of Oriental maxims and more imitations of Oriental models than may be found in Emerson's verse."

Whitman, of course, is the "Sanyasin of America" as Swami Vivekananda said. His *Leaves of Grass* shows no superficial understanding of the *Gita*.

Later Carl Sandburg and Eugene O'Neill showed considerably the influence of Indian thought in their writings. The crowning achievement is that of T. S. Eliot, who, one makes bold to say, would have written not *The Waste Land* but altogether a different poem but for the influence of the *Upanishads*. What otherwise might have been a poem of disintegration now ends with Shanti, Shanti and hope for the future of man, thanks to the message of Datta, Dayadhwam and Damayata from the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*.

If for nothing, only for the curiosity of knowing what effect the so-called other-wordly philosophy of the Hindus has had on a practical people like the Americans, it is worthwhile studying their literature. Speaking of the infiltration of Hindu thought into America, Romain Rolland said in his *Prophets of New India*: "For there can be no doubt that it has contributed to the strange moral and religious mentality of the modern United States. . . . It is a psychological problem of the first order intimately connected with the history of our civilization."

Another Western thinker is even more enthusiastic when he says that "just as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the newly discovered riches of classical literature were stimulating the minds of Italians by a new creation, so in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the newly discovered literatures of India have been stimulating the leading writers of America to new explorations and new horizons of thought." The case of Eliot, the most influential poet of the first half of the century, should substantiate the claim.

A word must now be said on the rival claims of the literatures of other lands on our attention. Apart from England, and perhaps Ireland, which has in recent times at least one major poet and one major novelist to boast of in W. B. Yeats and James Joyce, no other English-speaking country has developed a literature of its own. As for European literatures provision must be made for their study and, indeed, has been made in respect of French and German (more for the language than for the literature) in view of their international importance. As for Russian and Chinese, which are now coming on the horizon, a beginning must be made in spite of barriers of language.

In the meantime, it is hoped that, since English is a compulsory study in the colleges, we may avail ourselves of the opportunity to teach American literature. This could be done not only under the programme of English literature but also as a subject of special study by providing for it among optional subjects and by having a paper on American literature for the English Honours courses.

It is of interest to note that the Sorbonne in Paris established a chair in American literature 35 years ago and the University of Berlin had a similar chair up to the collapse of Germany; in Uppsala, Sweden, there is an American Institute. Oslo has made American literature the special field of one of its permanent chairs.

In Indian universities although chairs need not be founded straightaway, advantage can be taken of the presence of American scholars who come on an exchange basis.

It is sad that in the field of letters none of the outstanding men—poets of the order of Frost, Sandburg, Wallace Williams; playwrights and novelists like Eugene O'Neill, Faulkner, Hemingway, and literary critics like Blackmur, Cleanth Brooks, John Crow Ransom, Edmund Wilson, Lionel Trilling, Douglas Bush—some of them university teachers—should have been enabled to visit us, spend some time in universities, and help us to know why America has become in the twentieth century "the city of Muses, the Athens of our Age, and the admiration of the world."

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=প্রবাসী=

১২০।২, আপার সার্কুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

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কৃত্তিবাস রচিত

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স্বনামধন্য ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

সুবিখ্যাত কৃত্তিবাসী রামায়ণের সর্বোৎকৃষ্ট

অষ্টম সংস্করণ প্রকাশিত হইল

...ট উইলিয়ম কলেজ হইতে প্রকাশিত যাবতীয় প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশবর্জিত মূলগ্রন্থ অনুসারে ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় সুসম্পূর্ণ ...ত বিশ্ববিখ্যাত ভারতীয় চিত্রকরদিগের আঁকা রঙীন ষোলখানি এবং এক বর্ণের তেত্রিশখানি শ্রেষ্ঠ ছবি ...। রঙীন ছবিগুলির ভিতর কয়েকটি প্রাচীন যুগের চিত্রশালা হইতে সংগৃহীত ছবির অনুলিপি। অন্যান্য ...ও একবর্ণের ছবিগুলি শিল্পীসম্রাট অবনীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, রাজা রবি বর্মা, নন্দলাল বসু, সারদাচরণ উকীল, ...কিশোর রায়চৌধুরী, মহাদেব বিশ্বনাথ ধুরন্ধর, অসিতকুমার হালদার, সুরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শৈলেন্দ্র দে ...ত্র সুনিপুণ তুলিকায় চিত্রিত।

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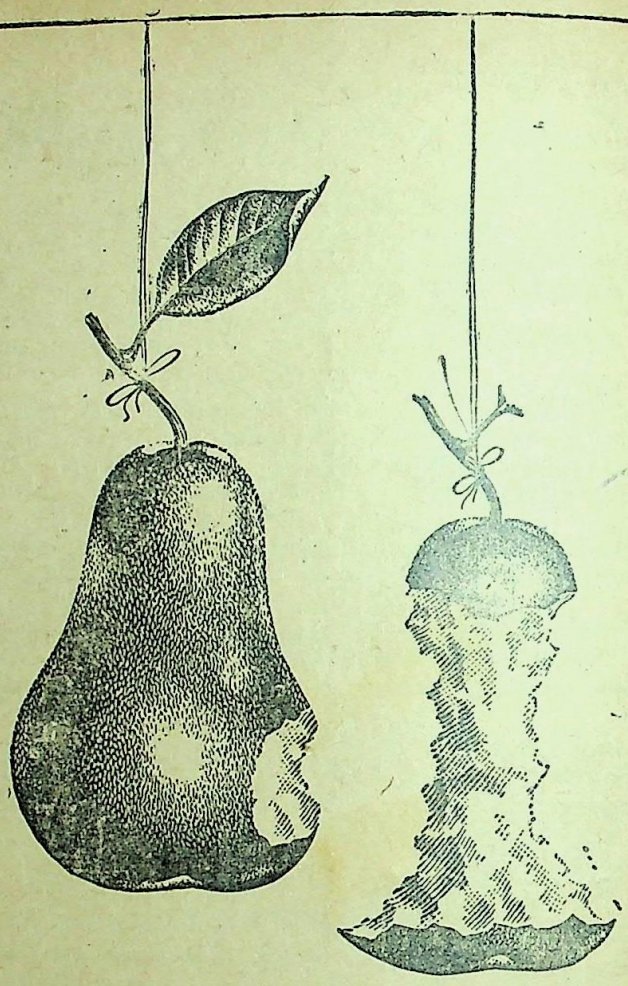

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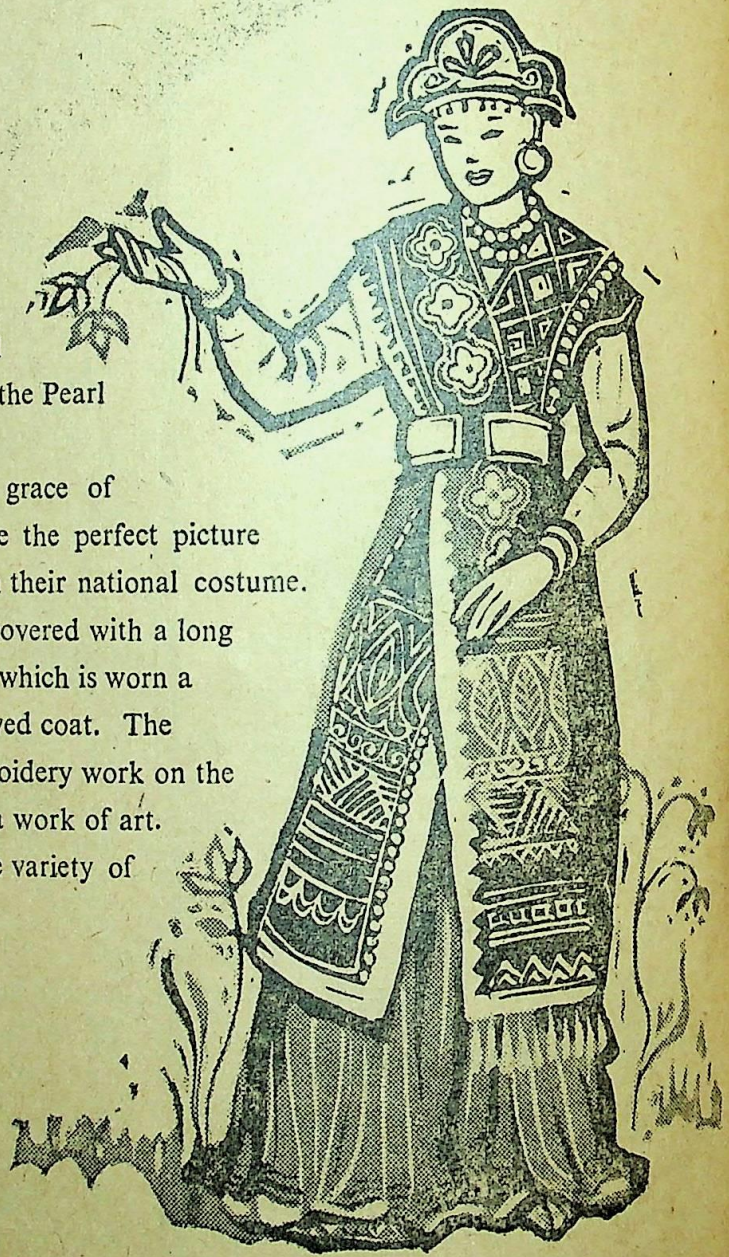

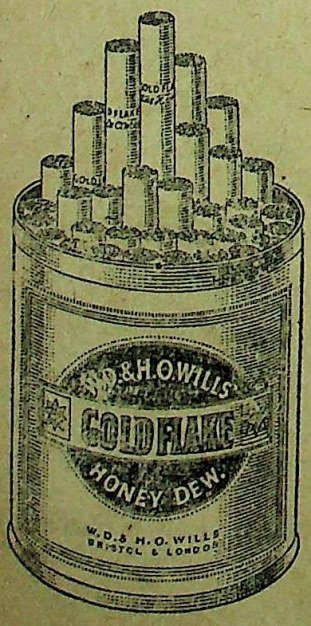

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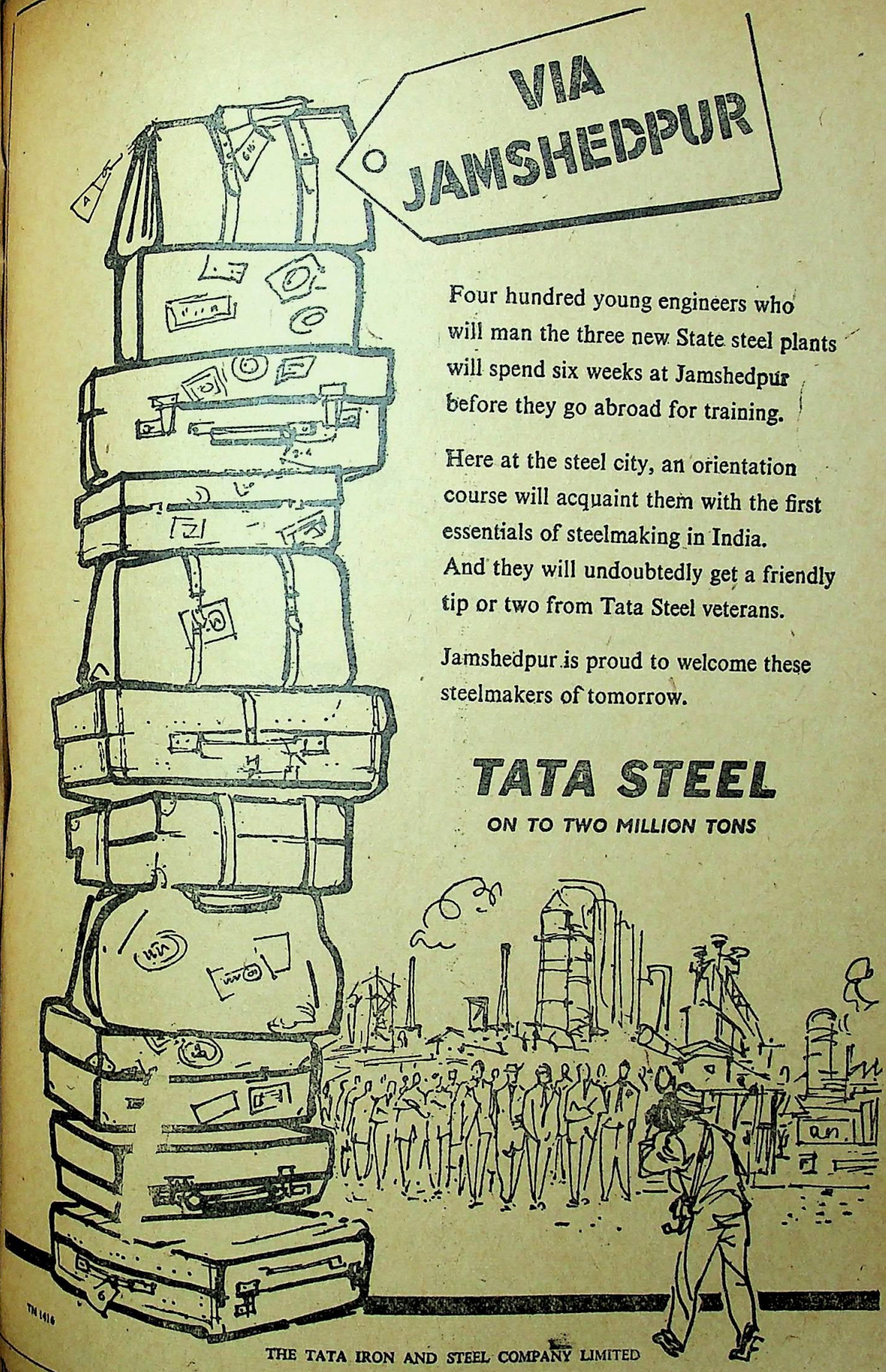

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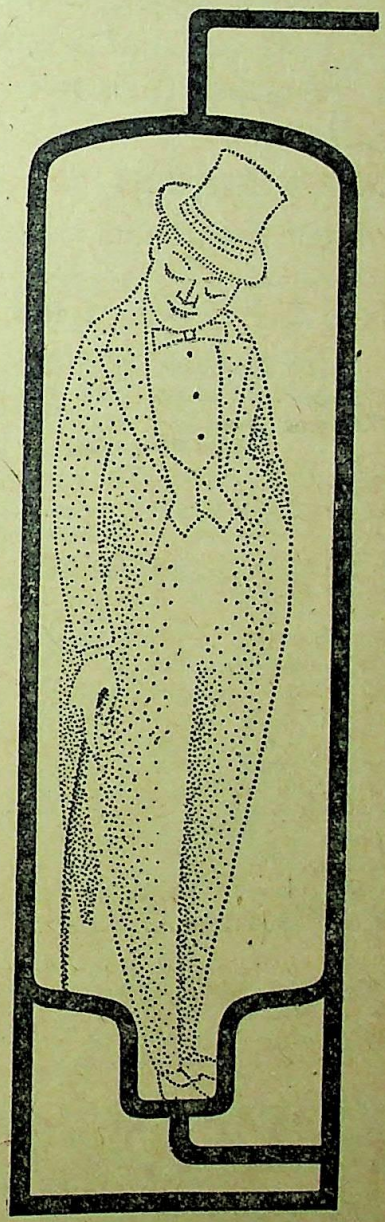

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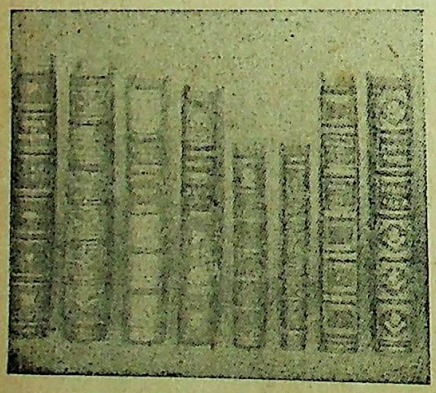

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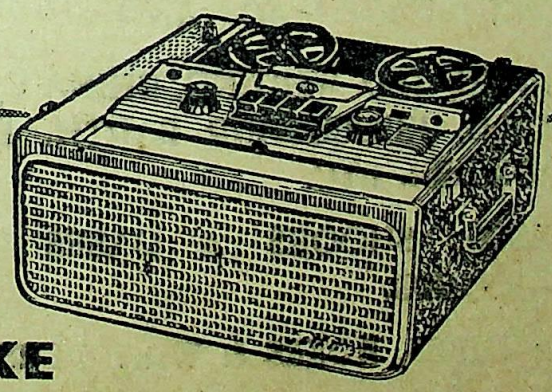

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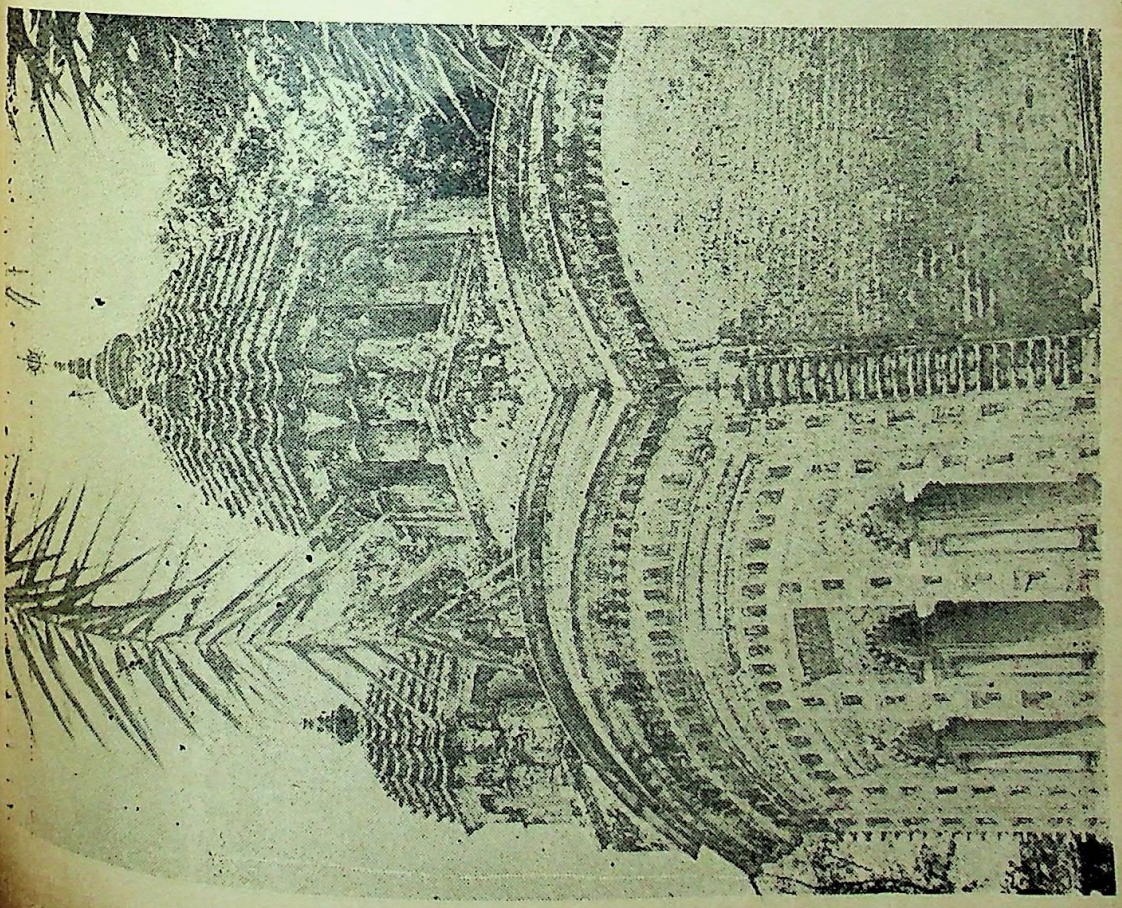

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MAHISAMARDINI

By Pravatendushekhar Majumdar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

The Great Illusion

A Calcutta weekly, that specializes in reviewing economic and political affairs, has recently remarked in one of its special issues, that the only visible effects of the completion of the First Five-Year Plan were soaring prices and a rising spiral of unemployment. Although the logic and accuracy in the data put forward in support might both be questioned, there can be no question about the above statement, where the conviction of the common man is concerned.

It has been remarked by no less a person than Mr. Geoffrey Tyson, who so very ably edited the premier economic weekly of India, *Capital*, from 1932 to 1952, that there has been an abrupt change of opinion about the future in India. In an article, written in the *Geographical Magazine* of London, he writes:

"Recently, for the first time, doubts have begun to be heard about India's ability to carry through her Second Five-Year Plan; more significantly the doubts are heard loudest of all within India itself. This is a complete change of mood; a year ago a few senior civil servants and businessmen might have had their mental reservations which they mostly kept to themselves, but it would have been the grossest folly for a politician of any party to question the feasibility of the Plan. What has happened because this abrupt change of front?"

Mr. Tyson may well ask the question, although the answer has either evaded him or else he is reluctant to put it bluntly.

The real answer is the loss of faith of the people. By loss of faith we mean the faith of the people in the Congress and in the Congress Government.

The nation is getting demoralised, through ruthless neglect and disregard. All that they have got in these past ten years are pious hopes and promises, which have been progressively deferred, of relief and betterment. There has been talk, in season and out of season, of a Welfare State. What the Man in the Street observes today is a State and a Nation that is solely and ruthlessly exploited for the betterment of a small group of politicians, their myrmidons of office and of a small group of profiteers. All of them are far better off than ever before, particularly the group of politicians. And the burden of the tax-payer, the householder and the honest workman, has increased five-fold, where the cost of living is concerned. The standard of living of the middle-class, who are the backbone of any democracy, is lower today than it has been since the beginning of this century.

This is the reason why the morale of the people has gone down, and they have no faith in the capacity—in some cases even of the integrity—of most of the persons who are in high office and in positions of trust. And that is why they are protesting against the increase in taxation, direct and indirect.

The Plans are doomed to failure unless organised labour can be persuaded to observe some social laws. West Bengal has already become a plague-spot where industry is concerned and the latest disruptive movement, the Bank strike, is affecting the trade also to a very serious extent. Organised labour is also following the path of exploitation, the forcible imposition of terms on a vast majority for the illusory benefit of a very few.

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Communalism Stalks the South

The whole of the country received a great shock from the communal riots in a district of Madras in which Hindus belonging to one caste mercilessly murdered their co-religionist of a different caste. The tragedy arose out of the murder of a Christian Harijan, in an obscure village in the Mridukalathur Taluka in the district of Ramnathapuram in the State of Madras. Immediately riot broke out between the Harijans and the Marabars (Thebars). The conflagration soon spread out to the neighbouring Talukas and even to the nearby district of Madurai and cost nearly fifty precious lives.

The rioters resorted to all the well-known tactics of goondaism, arson, looting and murder. They fought one another with firearms. The riots have been a blot to India's fair name and a proper investigation into its origin is immediately called for. It is a moot question whether the loss of life of one individual could lead to such a widespread and violent riot. The initial leniency of the police in dealing with the situation would also seem to invite comments.

India had to pay a very great price for the vice of communalism. One should have thought that the lessons of the tragic events leading to the dismemberment of the country and of the subsequent happenings both in India and her sister-country Pakistan had conclusively demonstrated the utter ineffectiveness of communal strife as a political weapon. The starving peasants of Eastern Pakistan, the refugees dying in the Sealdah platform and the itinerant Punjabi are a constant reminder of what communalism ends in. The homeless orphan of Ramnathapuram would, it is hoped, drive home this lesson to the people in the South, who, having been largely unaffected by earlier communal strifes might have missed it.

Why Efficiency Suffers?

Efficiency is on the decline almost in every sphere of life in India—particularly in the government departments. Trains are normally late, posts are usually uncertain, corruption is not unusual—in short, inefficiency reigns almost supreme. The causes are many; but one of the most important is the absence of any spirit of service among those occupying the higher echelons of the official bureaucracy. The following news-item appearing in the *Statesman* September 13, illustrates the point:

"Another instance of a train running ... minutes late because of the insistence of a ... senior official to have his way has come to light. ... As a result of the detention, the train missed ... connexion with an important train at Asansol.

"A Third Class bogie of the Moghalsarai ... Passenger train was found damaged after it had ... reached Bhadreswar on the Eastern Railway ... from Howrah on Wednesday night. The removal of the damaged bogie required detachment ... of a saloon. Reattachment of the saloon would ... have disturbed the arrangement of the remaining bogies, involving considerable delay.

"The railway staff at Bhadreswar approached Mr. S. P. Chatterjee, Divisional Superintendent, Transportation, Dhanbad, who was in the saloon, and requested him to travel for the rest of his journey in a First Class compartment of the train. Mr. Chatterjee, who was on his way to Dhanbad, insisted that he must travel in the saloon.

"The staff had to reattach the saloon to the train according to the set pattern, after removing the damaged bogie. The operation took over an hour as the shunting facilities at a small station, like Bhadreswar, are extremely limited.

"The Asansol-Bareilly Passenger had left Asansol when the Moghalsarai Passenger reached the station. A large number of people travelling in the Moghalsarai Passenger who were to have caught the other train at Asansol were stranded there. They included Mr. Chatterjee."

Being a railwayman himself it was natural to expect of the officer Shri Chatterjee that he would be instructing the staff not to cause any delay in an effort to reattach his saloon. What happened was however completely to the contrary. It would be interesting to know what steps, if any, the railway authorities have taken against this officer, who, if the report be true, deserves severe correction. Similarly a report appeared in the newspapers of Calcutta that a Minister of the Central Government, who insisted that his saloon be attached to a mail train, thereby displacing a whole bogey of third class passengers, during the rush period of the Puja holidays. Who is this wonderful specimen?

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The Way of the Bureaucrats

Professor C. Northcote Parkinson of the University of Malaya has formulated a law on the growth of bureaucracy. According to him, "bureaucracy expands on the basis of the fact that work expands so as to fill the time available for its completion." For example, an elderly lady of leisure might take a whole day in writing a letter which would require no more than a few minutes for a busy executive.

Professor Parkinson proceeds on two assumptions which, he says in an article in the fortnightly *Reporter* of New York, are almost axiomatic truths. These assumptions are: (1) "An official wants to multiply subordinates, not rivals" and (2) "Officials make work for each other." From these he concludes that "there will be little or no relationship between the work to be done and the size of the staff to which it may be assigned. A lack of real activity does not, of necessity, result in leisure. A state of occupation is not necessarily revealed by manifest idleness. The thing to be done grows in importance and complexity in direct ratio with the time to be spent."

The validity of Parkinson's analysis is at once obvious as one looks at the working of the Government departments in India. The various departments are inflating in numbers, yet no real improvement in efficiency is visible. But no matter the officers, at least generally, seem to have much free time.

Reportedly the Government of India's attention has also been drawn to this aspect of the growth of bureaucracy in India and Pandit Nehru is understood to have asked one of Professor Parkinson's articles to be circulated among the various departments.

Postal Caprices

The capriciousness of the Postal Department has reached almost an intolerable proportion. Delays and lapses in the delivery have become almost a routine affair. One has to count one's stars if he receives articles addressed to him through post. We have received complaints from our subscribers and other friends about such irregularities. A contemporary, the daily *Jugabani*, has also editorially drawn the attention to the great inconvenience caused by the mismanagement in the Postal Department. But matters do not seem to have improved for the better. The peons and the postal authorities take advantage of the fact that no one can conclusively prove non-delivery of unregistered packets and parcels. But the efficiency of the department can be measured only by the extent to which such complaints are made. Is it really too much to hope that the authorities would take public complaints a bit more seriously and try to enforce a greater degree of discipline over the staff? The indiscipline among the postal employees is due, we know, also partly to the irresponsible trade union leadership. It is, therefore, time that our trade union leaders also realized the need for a change of their organizational and political tactics. This policy of intransigence is hitting West Bengal vitally, in particular, making it a plague-spot for trade and industry.

Annual Report of the Reserve Bank

"The Indian economy exhibited signs of the growing strain imposed by a high rate of investment which was partly deficit-financed. Evidence of this strain was reflected in the continued rise of commodity prices and costs of living, in monetary stringency and a rapid decline in foreign exchange reserves. A wide range of corrective measures, which included additional taxation, a restrictive import policy except as regards foodgrains, and general as well as selective credit controls was adopted by Government and the Reserve Bank to deal with the situation." Thus observes the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank of India in its Report for the accounting year ended June 1957. The report contains, as usual, a survey of the major economic developments during the year and a detailed account of the measures taken in the fields of credit policy, banking development and legislation, and supervision of banks.

Agricultural production in 1955-56 was slightly lower than in 1954-55 due mainly to a fall in foodgrains output, but in 1956-57 the production of foodgrains is estimated to have risen by 3-6 million tons or 5.5 per cent and the total agricultural output also rose by about 6 per cent. The rising trend of industrial production was well maintained during the year; the average index of industrial production for 1956 (base: 1951=100) recorded a rise of about 9 per cent over 1955 and the average index for January-April 1957 at

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141.9, was also about 9 per cent higher than in the same period of 1956. The price situation continued to cause concern, with the general index of wholesale prices (base: 1952-53=100) rising further by 8.3 per cent between June 1956 and June 1957 on top of a rise of 13.8 per cent in 1955-56. The rise in prices, the Report observes, was attributable to the rising impact on demand of the incomes generated by heavy investment under the Plan and the relative shortfall in agricultural production, particularly of coarse grains in 1955-56, accompanied by increased tendency to hold foodgrains partly with the help of bank credit. The short-term measures which Government took to curb the rise in prices included arrangements for imports of wheat and rice. Credit restriction measures were also employed by the Reserve Bank to deal with the situation. The only long-term solution to the problem, the Report states, is increase in output, accompanied by appropriate fiscal and monetary policies.

The expansionary forces in the economy were operative in the monetary and banking spheres. In 1956-57, there was a substantial increase in money supply with the public, though the magnitude of increase (Rs. 153) was smaller than in the previous year (Rs. 212 crores). The larger deficit in the balance of payments considerably neutralised the expansionist effect of a larger volume of deficit financing by Government and of bank credit. Scheduled bank credit expanded by Rs. 164 crores as compared to Rs. 142 crores in the preceding year. The substantial rise in imports was undoubtedly an important factor in the sharp rise in bank credit. The rise in the deposit resources of the scheduled banks at Rs. 178 crores, was, however, much larger than in 1955-56, the increase being largely connected with the import of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities under Public Law 480. Though the expansion of deposits was as large as the rise in bank credit, in view of the already overextended position of banks at the beginning of the year, the pressure on the liquidity of banks and monetary stringency in general were intensified. The gap in liquid resources was filled mainly by borrowings from the Reserve Bank, the outstandings of which touched a peak of Rs. 103 crores at the end of March 1957. The average of the outstanding borrowings from the Reserve Bank was Rs. 68 crores during 1956-57 or more than twice the figure for 1955-56.

The rising tempo of outlay under the Second Plan, which is estimated to have risen from a little over Rs. 600 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 750 crores in 1956-57 and to over Rs. 900 crores in 1957-58, is reflected in the increasing overall budgetary deficits of the Central and State Governments. The 1956-57 deficit of the Centre and States together at about Rs. 250 crores was about Rs. 100 crores higher than in 1955-56. The deficit for 1957-58 of the Centre alone is estimated at Rs. 280 crores, after taking into account the new tax proposals, while the States have also budgeted for deficits totalling Rs. 65 crores on revenue account. Net borrowings of the Centre and States amounted to Rs. 14 crores during 1956-57, as compared with that of Rs. 82 crores in 1955-56, but the actual absorption of Government securities in 1956-57 by the public was much smaller, if account is taken of the purchases made by the Reserve Bank and the State Governments during the year.

The high and continuing deficit in balance of payments was the most conspicuous feature of the economy during the year, the sterling assets of the Reserve Bank declining by Rs. 227 crores to Rs. 457 crores in spite of a credit of Rs. 95 crores from the IMF. The deficit was largely the result of an unprecedentedly high level of imports in both the public and the private sectors, resulting from the accelerated rate of development activity and the high level of industrial production, together with the need to import large quantities of foodgrains. The Report refers to the various measures that have been taken to halt the drain on foreign exchange reserves for instance, the ban on the incurring of new foreign exchange commitments on uncommitted project, reduction of import quotas, withdrawal of the basic allowance of foreign exchange for purposes of travel abroad for pleasure, etc. The Report emphasises the importance of export promotion; in this the Report says that with a large economic plan austerity is called for on a wild front and the promotion of exports at some sacrifice of domestic consumption is one way of implementing it.

During the year 1956-57, the Bank's monetary and credit policies continued to be adapted

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in the changing economic context. The Bank's policy was one of controlled expansion. In the prevailing situation, with considerable inflationary potential, the direction of credit policy should be of general restraint without a jeopardy to the functioning and progress of essential productive sectors of the economy. Financial stringency, the Report emphasises, is a common characteristic of a phase of economic boom, reflecting essentially a sharp rise in the demand for credit rather than a decrease in the supply of money or credit. In fact, money supply and bank credit in India have expanded at an unprecedented rate during the last three years or so. The Reserve Bank sought to achieve the objective of controlled expansion on the one hand, through some raising of the cost of credit together with selective credit controls, and on the other, through temporary liberalisation of the bill market scheme and revision of the open market operations policy. Since November 1956, the net purchases by the Bank of Government securities by the year-end amounted to Rs. 30 crores.

In regard to measures of credit restraint, the Reserve Bank used both general and selective controls, the latter for the first time on a systematic and significant scale. During the first half of the year, credit policy was mainly one of flexible selective control chiefly directed against the use of credit for assisting speculative activity in certain commodities, but in the second half, this policy was reinforced by the application of a measure of general control through a rise in the Bank's lending rates including the Bank rate which was raised from 3½ per cent to 4 per cent, effective May 16, 1957. The manner in which the increase in the lending rate pattern was brought about—partly through a rise in the basic rate and partly through enhancement of the stamp duty—was designed primarily to minimise disturbances to the money and gilt-edged markets. The use of selective credit controls through directives to commercial banks with regard to advances against commodities was throughout characterised by flexibility in keeping with the changing conditions. The commodities covered by these directives included foodgrains, cotton textiles and sugar. Towards the close of June 1957, the Governor of the Reserve Bank also addressed a letter to scheduled banks seeking their co-operation in achieving a positive reduction in the level of bank credit without diminishing assistance to the essential sectors. The banks were also asked to take steps to reduce their systematic and continued reliance on the Reserve Bank, as a situation might arise calling for a review of the present arrangements regarding assistance from the Reserve Bank. The letter has been interpreted in banking circles as marking a transition from a policy of cautious lending to one of positive and constructive restraint.

As regards the prospect, the Report observes, monetary and credit policies have to be directed to ensuring that the expansion of money and credit does not take place at a rate disproportionate to the capacity of the community to mobilise real resources for development. The problem of resources is two-fold: that of domestic resources and foreign resources required for the foreign exchange content of development. The Report observes that the Second Five-Year Plan, as it was originally formulated, involved heavy reliance on external assistance, and development in the initial period of the Plan point clearly to the need for even more of such assistance. As against this, the outlook on the availability of such finance is yet not clear. It is therefore clearly desirable to keep investment in the economy in the immediate future within the limits of domestic and external resources in sight. It would also be necessary to exercise some restraint on the growth of consumption. Every effort must be made to get the maximum results from the actual investments undertaken. And, the Plan targets for both the public and private sectors need to be rigorously and urgently reviewed. It is these adjustments in programmes, public and private, and the detailed formulation of fiscal, monetary and credit policies directed to maximise the resources available for investment that constitute the immediate tasks ahead, concludes the Report.

The Report commends a reduction in domestic consumption with a view to increasing our exports. The idea is good no doubt, but the consequence may not be good in all cases. Just to cite the example of sugar. In 1957 the sugar production in this country reached a record figure of 20.29 lakh tons. India is now

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exporting sugar to foreign countries and as a result the sugar price is soaring. The excise duty to a certain extent is also responsible for the higher price of sugar. But the shortage resulting from the export is being fully utilised by the dealers and the hoarders so as to reap high profits on the existing stock. In other words, the short supply of a commodity will cause its price to go up and the dealers will be benefited by profiteering. The overall result will be the rise in the price level, a rise in the cost of living and a rise in the cost of production.

The Political Storm Centre

Hardly a day passes without bringing a news of disturbance from the Middle East. Even since the dawn of civilisation the Middle East has been the storm centre of history. From the days of early Greek colonisation and the expedition of Agamemnon and Alexander the Great, the Middle East has provided the battlegrounds where empires were ruined and empires were rebuilt. It is here where the two continents meet and where also meet diverse people, diverse language and culture and customs. Religion, rather than political unity, is still the most formidable force that has been the cradle of political swings. Political events have been changing in rapid strides and galaxy of personalities are coming in and going out of the political arena—Xerxes, and the Crusades and the Arab League and the Suez Canal developments are just milestones in the march of events. Here not only Ceasar and Antony won their laurels, many crowns went into the ruins of history. The modern time has its thrills and upheavals in the Pan-Arabism, the Baghdad Pact, the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, the rise of Nasser. Here meet the violent racial forces like the Greeks, the Turks, Arabs, Jews, Egyptians, Persians and the like. It is an area rich in natural resources and raw materials and it provides a vital route between the East and the West. This area was the victim of colonialism and imperialism from the very ancient time down to the recent past. At present a new form of imperialism threatens to engulf this area in the shape of Eisenhower Doctrine and the Baghdad Pact on the one hand and the penetration of Soviet Russia on the other. This is the area where Great Powers and personalities have played and still play the political game of battledore and shuttlecock. Here ethnical and religious alignment still predominate over the concept of political nationhood; the people are divided within their national boundaries—the Sunnis fight against the Shias, the Arab against the Jew, the Egyptian against the Jew, the Egyptian against all the neighbours of Egypt, the Arab against the Kurd in Iraq, the Hashemite in Iraq or Jordan against Saudi, the Maronite against the Moslem in Lebanon.

Saudi Arabia has an area of 1.6 million square kilometres and a population of 6 million; Egypt has an area of one million square kilometres and a population of 20.70 million; Israel has an area of 20,678 square kilometres and a population of 1.76 million; Lebanon has an area of 10,400 square kilometres and a population of 1.38 million; Iraq has a population of 5 million; Syria 3.30 million, and Jordan 1.40 million. The Middle East is rich in oil resources and as much as 66 per cent of oil reserves of the world are in the Middle East. The Middle East oil resources are given in the following table:

	Annual Production (million tons)	Proved reserves (in millions of metric tons at end of 1956)
Bahrain ..	1.5	30
Egypt ..	1.8	25
Iran ..	16.0	4,000
Iraq ..	33.2	3,000
Kuwait ..	54.0	7,000
Kuwait Neutral Zone ..	1.4	100
Qatar ..	5.3	200
Saudi Arabia ..	46.8	5,400
Total	160.0	19,755

According to the estimates made by the OEEC Commission for Energy, the OEEC countries imported 117 million tons of oil in 1955 and it will go up to 175 million tons in 1960 and 415 million tons in 1975. In 1955, of the total oil imports by Western Europe, 80 per cent came from the Middle East as against 19 per cent in 1938 and 69 per cent in 1951. Of the Middle East total oil exports, 63 per cent went

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to Western Europe. In 1955, the destination of Middle East oil exports were as follows: (in million tons): Western Europe 92, Asia (Far East) 36, North America 14, and Latin America 4. The total exports thus come to 146 million tons. The approximate annual oil revenues of the Middle Eastern countries are stated below in million Sterling Pound:

	1954	1955
Bahrain ..	4	3
Iran ..	—	32
Iraq ..	68	73.8
Kuwait ..	70	100
Qatar ..	8	12
Saudi Arabia ..	56	100

Although the current rate of production of oil in the Middle East is 160 million tons, that is, 21 per cent of the world production, its potential reserves attract the countries of the world. The Middle East is not a homogeneous area. It would be rather correct to state that there are Arab-speaking peoples in the Middle East than Arab States. Egypt as the dominating member of the Arab League does not claim it to be Arab in race, although it is an Arabic-speaking nation. Most of the countries of the Middle East have large desert areas and their size is no indication of their strength. Jordan with an area of 35,000 square miles is more than twice the area of Austria; but only 5 per cent of its land is cultivable. Of the total land area in Iraq, only 5 per cent is cultivable and Egypt has only 2 per cent of culturable land; Syria has 15 per cent, Israel 19 per cent and Lebanon has only 20 per cent cultivable land.

Race and religion provide much closer bonds of union among the people of the Middle East than the concept of nationality. Both the Arabs and the Jews are Semitic people, but the Jews are outside the tide of Arab nationalism. The Arabic-speaking peoples are mostly Moslem, but there are many Christian Arabs of different sects, as for example, in Lebanon. Moslem Arabs are divided between Sunni and Shia and provides a basis for separation in politics, as it is in Iraq. In Egypt, there are about 1.40 million Coptic Christians and 3 lakh other Christians. The Moslems of Saudi Arabia are practically all Sunnis, largely of the puritanical Wahhabi sect. There are no Jews at all. Iraq has 150,000 Christians. Of the Moslem community, nearly half are Shia. All Jews have gone to Israel. Of the 3.30 million population of Syria, 5 lakh are Christians; 2.30 million Sunnis and 5 lakh Shias. Israel has 1.70 million Jews in a population of 1.90 million. Of the 2 lakh non-Jewish population, 1.40 lakh are Sunni-Moslem Arabs, 40 thousand Christian Arabs and 20,000 are Druze. Jordan has one lakh Christian population and the rest are all Sunni Moslems. There are no Jews in Jordan. Of all the States in the Middle East, Lebanon has the most complex population structure. Of its 13 lakh of population, 7 lakh are Christian and the rest are Moslem or Druze. The Jewish inhabitants have migrated to Israel. Of the 6 lakh non-Christian population, 2.70 lakh are Sunni Moslems, 2.40 lakh are Shiah Moslems and 80,000 are Druze. Among the Christian inhabitants, 3.70 are Maronites, 1.30 lakh Greek Orthodox and the remaining one lakh belong to seven other Christian sects. The per capita income in 1949 in U.S. dollars were as follows: Israel 389, Lebanon 125, Egypt 100, Syria 100, Iraq 85 and Saudi Arabia 40.

Up to the end of the first world war, there was practically no Middle East problem of the magnitude and type that have emerged today. With the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish suzerainty over these smaller States of the area ceased. There developed in the immediate post-war years what was known as Pan-Arabism. The supporters of this doctrine "believed that the Arabs, because they spoke Arabic, a language different from Turkish, were *ipso facto* entitled to secede from the Ottoman Empire and to form a State where everybody who spoke Arabic would be included." But the "Arab nation . . . like all other nations, is not an entity delimited by ethnographical data, nor the fortuitous result of geographical or historical association, but the function of an act of will."

Originally, the Pan-Arabism aimed at securing a dislodgement of the French from Syria and the Lebanon and the suppression of Zionist activities in Palestine and subsequently the formation of a unitary or a federal Arab State including the Fertile Crescent. During the periods of the second world war, that is, between 1943 to 1945, a different concept of Pan-Arabism

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took its birth. In the new scheme, there was no idea for the amalgamation or federation of States; it aimed at securing an alliance of sovereign States of the region. In the subsequent development, Egypt unexpectedly figured as the leader. The former King Farouk's father, King Fouad had the ambition of becoming the Muslim Caliph in succession to the dethroned Ottomans. King Farouk made several attempts to succeed to the Caliphate but without much success. The Wafdist Party under the leadership of Nahas Pasha supported the Pan-Arabism under Egyptian leadership. But the concept of Pan-Arabism drifted away on account of the inner contradictions of the States of the Middle East. The dynastic feuds and rivalries among the States in this region is greatly responsible for the failure of the Pan-Arabic movement.

There is a dynastic tie between Iraq and Jordan whose present rulers are second cousins, both being the great-grandsons of the late Sherif Hussein of Mecca. They cherish hatred against the wealthy Saudi Arabia because in 1925 the late King Ibn Saud took Mecca by force of arms from Sherif Hussein. The post-war years have witnessed a cleavage in the Middle East alliance and Arabism has virtually come to an end. The Baghdad Pact and the Middle East Defence Organization have divided the countries of this area. Iraq is a member of the Baghdad Pact and as such she is linked thereby with Turkey, Persia and Pakistan under the overall alliance of the United Kingdom. Jordan, so long under the Egyptian influence, has now practically broken away from that country and is now under the influence of the U.S.A. Until very recent times, Jordan was a sphere of influence of the British Power, but with the dismissal of Glubb Pasha the British influence has waned and the star of the USA has risen in the political horizon of Jordan. Since the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, Egypt has been bidding to be the leader of the Middle Eastern countries. Egypt is bitterly hostile to Iraq because Iraq is an ally of Britain. There is moreover an age-long rivalry between these two countries for the domination of the area—this is struggle for power between the Empire of the Nile and the Empire of the Euphrates. Egypt today is an ally of Soviet Russia. Syria is bitterly anti-French and anti-British, but many army leaders are pro-Russian. Syria and Saudi Arabia recently have joined hands with Egypt in many issues of the Middle East, although peculiarly enough Saudi Arabia is now under the sphere of influence of the U.S.A. The oil fields of Saudi Arabia are being exploited by oil companies of the USA and the oil royalties are the main sources of income of Saudi Arabia. Israel fully belongs to the Anglo-American alliance and Lebanon, half of whose population are Christian, is afraid of Syria.

Today the countries of the Middle East are faced with national and group rivalries and palace and army conspiracies and cliques. Stability is to be maintained by constant struggle and vigilance and balance of power is more lost than maintained by alignment and re-alignment of the countries. Even the USA and the UK have their rivalries and the recent event in the desert of Oman indicated that. The Eisenhower doctrine is an attempt to fill up the vacuum created by the liquidation of the British influence from most of the countries of the Middle East. To oppose Russian infiltration, the USA has devised the Eisenhower Doctrine. The Middle East will not only be the main battleground of the future war, it will influence the scale of war. The Power that will control the oil-fields of the Middle East will considerably control the destiny of the war to come. In 1918 Britain replaced the Turkish suzeranity over the Middle East. Then there was no power to rival her claim. The USA was indifferent to the happenings in the Middle East and Russia was busy with her own internal upheavals. But now Britain had to yield to the growing influence and power of the USA. Britain today is no match for the Soviet Russia whether in the battle of diplomacy or in the might of arms to cope with the growing influence of the Soviet Russia in this region. The USA has to step in in order to keep the Russians at bay at the same time to oust British oil monopolies from the area. That is why the situation in the Middle East is so very fluid and so very difficult to control. As against Soviet Russia, the USA and the UK will join hands; but between USA and the UK difference is daily growing and the influence of Britain is gradually waning. The countries

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the Middle East are being utilised just as pawns by these three big Powers to subserve their purpose. They push one country against another in order to maintain their power and such movement of the pawns give them enough scope for further inroads in the affairs of the nations of the Middle East.

The Problem of Algeria

News has just arrived of the fall of three-month-old Government of M. Bourges Maunury on a vote of confidence in the French National Assembly on the Government's Algerian Reforms Bill. The news has not been quite unexpected in view of the all-round hostility to the Government proposed reforms in Algeria which were not satisfactory to either the Conservative or the Left. The Reforms were rejected by the Algerian Liberation Front on September 22 which meant that it would have been difficult to implement the measures, even with the approval of the French Parliament. The defeat of the French Government no doubt hinged on other issues than Algeria but in a way it also demonstrated the basic unsoundness of the French attitude to the solution of the problem of the independence of Algeria; it indicated a failure on the part of the French Government to realise that no solution could be effected without the active and voluntary co-operation on the part of the Algerians themselves.

Two of the leaders of the Algerian Liberation Front, Dr. Lemine Debaghine and M. Yazid Guellal, who recently visited Calcutta, made it clear that after the abduction of the six Algerian leaders by France, it was difficult for the Algerians to place much reliance upon French motives. The Algerians, they pointed out, had enthusiastically received the resolution of the 1956 session of the U.N. General Assembly calling upon the parties to reach a peaceful settlement in Algeria. In the name of accepting the resolution France had however let loose a reign of terror. The two Algerian leaders pointed out the fact that there were now 800,000 French troops in Algeria equipped with arms and ammunition supplied to France under the North Atlantic Treaty. There were also a few NATO divisions there. The French troops had killed more than five lakhs of Algerians and French terror compelled another five lakhs to seek refuge in Morocco and Tunisia.

Dr. Debaghine and M. Guellal further said that given three conditions the Algerian Liberation Front would agree to an immediate General Election for the country. The conditions were: Recognition of Algerian Independence, cease-fire and the establishment of a Provisional Government. France had conquered Algeria by force of arms and could not therefore claim any legitimate right there. Referring to the substantial European minority in Algeria they said that it presented no peculiar problem at all and an independent Algeria would provide them comparable opportunities as were given in the neighbouring Morocco and Tunisia.

The UN Resolution on Hungary

The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution on September 14 condemning the Soviet Union for her part in crushing the Hungarian revolution in October-November, 1956. The vote on the resolution, which was brought before the Assembly on September 10 by thirty-six members, was sixty in favour, ten against with ten abstentions. One member—the Union of South Africa—was absent. The resolution also endorsed the report of the five-nation United Nations Committee on Hungary. The report of the Committee published on last June held the Soviet Union responsible for putting down a spontaneous national uprising in Hungary. The members of the Committee were: Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay. Earlier a Burmese suggestion to substitute the word "deplore" for "condemn" in the text of the resolution was rejected. The Irish suggestion for a U.N.-supervised reciprocal withdrawal of American and Soviet troops in Europe as a possible way of liberating the captive nations of Eastern Europe, which was backed by India, was also likewise rejected during the debates. Burma and Eire both however voted in favour of the 36-nation resolution. Yugoslavia, the U.S.S.R. and eight other eastern European countries voted against. Afghanistan, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen abstained from voting.

Not unnaturally both the U.S.S.R. and

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the present government in Hungary vigorously opposed the approval of the resolution. Refuting their charges Mr. Alsing Andersen of Denmark who was chairman of the five-nation committee said:

"I want to stress the importance of the fact that the report of the Special Committee was unanimous. This is, to my mind, a highly noteworthy fact, when you take into consideration that the five members came from five different parts of the world and from countries with very different economic and social conditions and very different cultural and political traditions."

Mr. Andersen stressed these five points:

1. It had, "for good reasons," not been denied that the Soviet Union used its military force to crush the Hungarian national uprising.

2. It could not be denied that but for this military action it would not have been possible for Mr. Kadar to establish his present regime.

3. It had been alleged that the Soviet Union acted on the invitation of the Hungarian Government but there was no information on who invited them.

4. It had not been denied that it was General Serov, head of the Soviet Political Police, who personally, in the midst of negotiating on the withdrawal of Soviet troops, arrested the Hungarian delegation.

5. It was an established fact that a great number of Hungarians had bene deported.

In accordance with the terms of the resolution Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand would go to the U.S.S.R. and Hungary to seek an end to oppression in Hungary.

The resolution says among other things that the General Assembly of the United Nations—

"4. Finds that the conclusions reached by the Special Committee on the basis of its examination of all available evidence confirm that (a) the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in violation of the U.N. Charter, has deprived Hungary of its liberty and political independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental human rights; (b) the present Hungarian regime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; (c) the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has carried out mass deportations of Hungarian citizens to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; (d) the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has violated its obligations under the Geneva Conventions of 1949; and (e) the present authorities in Hungary have violated the human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Treaty of Peace with Hungary;

"5. Condemns these acts and the continued defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly;

"6. Reiterates its concern with the continuing plight of the Hungarian people;

"7. Considers that further efforts must be made to achieve the objectives of the U.N. in regard to Hungary in accordance with the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter and the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly;

"8. Calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present authorities of Hungary, in view of evidence contained in the report, to desist from repressive measures against the Hungarian people, to respect the liberty and political independence of Hungary and the Hungarian peoples' enjoyment of fundamental human rights and freedoms, and to assure the return to Hungary of those Hungarian citizens who have been deported to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

While exception may be taken to wording in parts of the resolution there cannot be two opinions about its basic soundness. The mere fact that no country outside of Eastern Europe came out to oppose the resolution as such is sufficient proof of that. Though the U.N. cannot do anything to get its resolution implemented the moral lesson of this vote cannot be wholly lost. The Western lapses do not entitle the U.S.S.R. to practise such violation of human and State rights as it did in Hungary and, to a lesser extent in Poland last year. This we are obliged to say despite our wish for better relations with the Soviet Union.

South Africa's Apartheid

It is an indication of the degree of progress in the outlook of the white rulers of South Africa that while the Government of the United States of America has embarked upon a determined, even if gradual, policy of desegregation in all spheres of American life, the white Gov-

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ment of the Union of South Africa has been proceeding to introduce segregation in as many spheres of South African life as possible. The South African Government has already to its credit among other segregation measures, the Group Areas Act which compelled the non-white people to live in specified areas and the Bantu Education Act which introduced segregation in the field of primary and secondary education. Now the Government has introduced the separate University Education Bill proposing first to exclude non-white students from the white Universities which at present admits them to mixed classes (Cape Town and Witwatersrand, Johannesburg), and secondly, to place the University colleges for non-white persons (which would then be the only institutions where non-whites can receive higher education) under a rigid and detailed governmental control whereby the white authorities would be able to direct every aspect of teaching and administration of the non-whites in the country.

The policy is admittedly one of perpetuating the white domination of South Africa and peoples. The policy of apartheid in the field education is sought to be justified on the that it would offer equality of races on a rated basis—a theory already discredited in practice in the U.S.A. In the Union of th Africa also the reality can be ascertained with reference to the practice of the South can Government. And in practice the ory of segregation in South Africa is, as the *ience and Freedom* editorially points out, e doctrine of *baasskap* or mastership of the ite race in the South African community ich is the iron hand inside the velvet glove of artheid intellectual theory. It is this doctrine d not any desire for equal development of all es which led Dr. Verwoerd, the present inister for Native Affairs, to proclaim that ere is no place in the European community Africans beyond the level of certain types labour and that education must be restricted cordingly. It is a doctrine which only one overnment in the world would have wholeartedly approved; but the leader of that overnment died in the air-raid shelter in Berlin 1945."

It is, however, heartening to find leading South African white University teachers in the forefront of the struggle against the renewed efforts of educational segregation in South Africa. An international conference is proposed to be held in London in early November to express support for the South African Universities in their struggle against compulsory race segregation and government control of higher education for non-whites. The conference would be presided over by Dr. J. W. Cook, Vice-Chancellor of the Exeter University and would be addressed among others by the Rev. Michael Scott and is being supported by the Association of University Teachers, London. The conference, it is to be hoped, would be able to rouse the interest of the world to the struggle of the African peoples against their white masters.

The West German Election

Dr. Konrad Adenaur's Christian Democratic Party has been returned to power with an increased majority in the West German Elections of September 15. The Party would now have an absolute majority of 43 in the Bundestag (Low House), compared with the majority of 13 in the outgoing House.

In the third General Elections since the founding of the Republic in 1949 fifteen parties took part in the contest. The main opposition was, however, offered by the Social Democratic Party which was critical of Dr. Adenaur's political and economic policies. The results of the elections simplified German parliamentary life as all but four parties were virtually wiped out. The party position in the new House was as follows (figures in brackets indicate strength in the old House):

Christian Democrats	270 (240)
Social Democrats	169 (153)
Free Democrats	41 (36)
German Party (Right wing)	17 (33)

About 90 per cent of the total of 35,500,000 votes were polled in the elections. According to *Reuter*, each man and woman over 21 had two votes, the first as constituency vote counted only in their own constituency, which have an average of about 140,000 eligible voters. The candidate receiving the most votes in each of 247 constituencies is elected to Parliament.

Vote two is the list vote in which the voter chooses a party. List votes cast all over the

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country are totalled and a further 247 seats will be decided by the distribution of the list votes among the parties.

The working of the complicated electoral law may make the total number of seats rather more than the theoretical 494.

Among the voters were soldiers of the new Bundeswehr—the first soldiers to have voted in a German Parliamentary Election. Before 1945, German soldiers had no vote. At the last elections the Bundeswehr had not yet been formed.

While the Social Democrats have failed in their challenge to oust the Christian Democrats from power they have secured enough seats to be able to block any constitutional amendment not to their taste.

Dr. Adenaur's victory has been sought to be put forward as having been due to his close association with the West, while the Communists have likened it with Hitler's. The position is, perhaps, best described in the words of Herr Ollenhauer, the West German Social Democratic leader, who said: "The Bundestag elections of 1957 are over. The struggle for the unity, peace and freedom of the German people continues."

China After Eight Years

China has made claims for remarkable progress during the eight years since the regaining of her independence in 1949. Her First Five-Year Plan is said to have been a success. The total value of industrial production in China was 223.4 per cent of that in 1952 or an average annual increase of 17.4 per cent—and the value of her agricultural production was 126.4 per cent of that in 1952 representing an annual increase of 4.8 per cent. The rates of growth of industrial and agricultural production would be impressive indeed, if only the figures had been concrete integers instead of relative percentages.

In an official review of the progress made under the First Five-Year Plan, it is said that one of the early mistakes, which was corrected later on, was "insufficient consideration of China's specific conditions. There was overstress on size and modernity in some projects and there was insufficient attention to co-ordinating big, middle and small projects and making full use of the existing facilities, thus causing some waste."

This wrong tendency was soon corrected and a policy was adopted instead of "making full use of the potentialities of the existing enterprises to hasten the construction of new enterprises" so that the final figures presented a good picture of the achievements.

Are not "overstress on size and modernity" and "insufficient attention to co-ordinating big, middle and small projects and making full use of the existing facilities" also some of the major ills of the official policy in India? But is there any equivalent recognition of these defects on the part of the Government as there has been in China?

The real trouble, in all these Plans, is of course lack of technical knowledge and experience on the part of those who are at the head of the governmental organisations. And the enthusiasm of the Planners is in the inverse ratio. Hence, all these extraordinary lacunae are responsible for the mess.

China and the United Nations

The People's Republic of China, the largest State of Asia, has been kept out of the world organization of States for over eight years now. India's latest proposal to get China admitted into the United Nations has been rejected by the U.N. and the question has been shelved for another year.

India's proposal was opposed by the Steering Committee of the U.N. General Assembly. The proposal of the Committee was in two parts: the first part recommended for the rejection of India's proposal; and the second part proposed to postpone any decision on the admission of China or the unseating of Formosa (which now occupies the seat in the Security Council in the name of China). The voting on the first part of the resolution of the Steering Committee was 46-28 (with seven abstentions); on the second part 47-27 (with seven abstentions). When the resolution of the Steering Committee was put to vote as a whole, it was approved by 47 votes with seven abstentions. The states voting against the resolutions of the Steering Committee, that is voting in favour of China's immediate admission into the UN, were: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussia, Cze-

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Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland; Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Rumania; Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Ukraine, Soviet Union; and Yugoslavia. Cambodia, Israel, Laos, Pakistan, Portugal, Saudi Arabia and Tunisia abstained from voting. South Africa was absent.

The discussion on India's proposal disclosed a confusion of thoughts among the States on the grounds on which China could not be admitted into the world body. Some states objected on the ground that China was a new state and her stability was yet to be tested. Malaya put forward the existence of her civil war as a ground for her objection. However, as Krishna Menon made it clear, none of the justifications held good.

If a host of States—Pakistan, Sudan, Tunis, Morocco, Ghana and Malaya to cite a few—could become members of the United Nations almost simultaneously with their emergence as new states, one failed to understand how China, even after eight years of vigorous existence, could not be regarded as a "State." Malaya's civil war antedated both the States of Malaya and people's China; it was a product of British imperialism. It was therefore not clear how Malaya could hold it out as a real justification for her opposition to China.

It was quite clear that some of the States did not give vent to their real feeling on the matter because of the influence of the United States. None of the states of the world was now in conflict with the Republic of China. The anomaly in the attitude of states was borne out by the fact that while the United Kingdom recognized China in trade, she voted against China in the U.N.

The basic aims of the United Nations were world peace and fraternity of nations. The achievement of the aims would be facilitated as more and more states could be associated with the ideals and workings of the organization. In practice, however, the organization, under the influence of a group of states, was following a policy of illogical and deliberate exclusion against China. This policy naturally has led to the undermining of the authority of the organization as exemplified in its helplessness in dealing with momentous questions of world peace as unification of Germany and the solution of the complexities in Indo-China, Kashmir, Korea and Algeria.

Among the Asian states opposing China's admission were Japan, the Philippines, Thailand and Malaya. Of these the opposition of the first three was not perhaps unexpected in view of their military and political commitments and association with the West, and the United States in particular. Certainly Malaya's opposition comes as a great surprise. Apart from the indirect contribution of the Chinese revolution to the independence of Malaya, China all along supported Malaya's claims for independence and she was one of the first countries to recognise the new State Federation of Malaya. No doubt, Malaya's internal politics was complicated by the presence of a large number of non-Malayas there, among them a substantial humber of Chinese. But China's contribution, if any, towards the creation of such a situation was certainly much less than the British Government's. It would however be disastrous for the future of the young state if Malaya should embark upon a policy of gradually ousting the non-Malayan inhabitants from the country. The reference to Malaya's internal political differences as a justification for her opposition to China, as has been done by the Malayan delegate Dr. Ismail bin Dage Abdul Rahman, hardly evinces political wisdom on the part of her new rulers.

Albania

There is a forgotten bit of Europe, which very seldom figures in the news of the day. This predominantly Mahomedan tract, named Albania, is like an island in a sea of Christianity. It has come into the ken of the *New York Times*—from which the extracts below have been taken—due to its peculiar political condition. The details given by the *New York Times* is very graphic:

It would be easy—and not inaccurate—simply to write that Albania is a fragment of Stalinist Russia that anachronistically has managed to survive in the post-Stalin world.

But that is only one side of the coin.

A traveller to this remote Moslem land beside the Adriatic Sea quickly discovers that Albania is a country the West has forgotten.

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Bitterly poor, harshly wounded by World War, II, racked by "cold war" hostilities, Albania is struggling by such means as are available to try to improve the plight of her harassed people, whose history has known little but tragedy.

The country's lot today is not a pleasant one. Its standard of living is the lowest or close to the lowest in Europe. Only in distant areas of Siberia or Central Asia is one likely to see so many ragged, destitute persons.

Yet it must be stressed that Albania's economic and cultural well-beihg incontestably has been improved by the Communist regime, albeit by means that the West abhors. And visits by this correspondent and by a trickle of tourists from Britain and France seem to indicate at least a grudging emergence from hostile isolation from the Western world.

Premier Mehmet Shehu insists that Albania wants to normalize her contacts with the West. There is reason to believe that Moscow had to prod Albania to take this step, but at least it represents an advance over conditions of a year or two ago.

If much in Albania's plight is the fault of the country and its leaders, it is also true that not a few of Albania's maladies stem directly from Western neglect, Western disdain and Western hostility toward a small, proud people.

Albania, the smallest of the Balkan states, is a rugged mountain fastness on the Adriatic Sea.

It fell into the Communist orbit at the end of World War II and has since given the Soviet Union an outpost in the Mediterranean, of which the Adriatic is an arm.

Bounded by Montenegro in the north and Greece in the south, Albania's mountains are set back from the coast and send several, powerful streams through marsh and lowland to the sea. For the most part, the people live in the narrow vales in the hinterland.

They were given the name Albanians by the ancient Byzantines. But they call themselves Shqipetars, the eagle's brood.

They till the soil of the fertile basins in an obstinate combination of pastoral and agricultural life. They are almost entirely dependent on it. And only 10.9 per cent of the surface of the land is arable.

Their history has proved them just as obstinate in the defense of their rights. They are courageous and loyal to their chiefs. They also have a passionate regard for themselves as one people, because they have one territory, one language and one tradition.

It is generally believed that when the Thracians were driven from their seats in antiquity they migrated westward and moved in with the Illyrians in the barely accessible Albanian Alps. Eventually a few Goths and some Serbo-Croats came, too. The fusing of these elements produced the intractable Albanian.

The Shkumbi River divides Albania between the Ghegs of the north and the Tosks of the south. The dialects of the two differ widely but mutual comprehension is possible. The Albanian language is made up of diverse elements: Latin, Greek, Turkish, Rumanian. Only a few words are taken to be of ancient Illyrian origin.

In social matters the Albanians are like other mountain folk. In some groups, particularly among the Ghegs, society is still in the tribal stage of development.

The blood feud, or vendetta, has been a scourge among the Ghegs. In many places even the accidental death of a kinsman can be avenged only by the murder of the guilty person or one of his relatives.

The Ghegs are renowned for their independent spirit and warlike temper. They furnished Albania's national hero, Skanderbeg, who united the chieftains in a brief resistance against the Turks in the fifteenth century.

Among the Ghegs there are Moslems and many Roman Catholics. The Tosks in the south are mostly Moslem; others are Greek Orthodox. Altogether the Moslems make up 70 per cent of Albania's 1,300,000 people.

For five centuries the Albanians were under slack Turkish rule. Now and then an army from Constantinople would rush over them. But the Albanians were restless under control and made trouble when not left to their own devices.

The revolutionary Young Turks used a military expedition to bring Albania into their constitutional regime. They succeeded only in arousing the northern clans into resistance.

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The authorities in Constantinople were forced to abandon their plan. The tribes in northern Albania obtained their demands. Almost equal concessions were made in the south, and Albania came closer to a united and sovereign independence than ever before.

In 1921, the big powers confirmed Albania's frontiers and proclaimed that her integrity was vital to Italy's security.

Ahmet Zogu, who had become Prime Minister, was forced into exile in 1924. A year later, he returned with Yugoslav troops and proclaimed himself at first President and then King Zog in 1928.

Zog had made his country virtually an Italian protectorate and millions of lire poured into Albania. The pace slackened with the world economic crisis.

In 1939 Mussolini invaded Albania. Zog fled to Greece and Albania ceased to exist as an independent state.

During World War II an Albanian Communist party was organized with help from Yugoslavia. When the Germans withdrew in 1944, Communist partisans installed Enver Hoxha as leader of the new Albania.

But Hoxha apparehtly feels no gratitude for the fact that the Yugoslavs gave his party in its infancy. With the Soviet-Yugoslav split in 1948, Hoxha liquidated his secret police head, Koci Xoxe, on the charge of having prepared a revolt in Albania with Yugoslav help.

And ever since that time, Hoxha has reviled his "comrades" across the border. Even after 1956, when Yugoslavia was being wooed by the West, Albania lagged behind. While other East European Communists were racing to withdraw from earlier abuse of Marshal Tito, Hoxha continued to insist that Koci Xoxe was an "imperialist criminal."

Tunisia

As is known today, Tunisia is being dragged, despite all efforts to the contrary, into the fratricidal campaign of France in Algeria. The incidents leading to this unfortunate situation, as given below, appeared in a special to the New York Times:

Paris, Sept. 9—Habib Bourguiba, President of Tunisia, declared tonight that a "state of emergency" existed in five areas along the border between Tunisia and Algeria. Tunisian authorities said the action had been taken because of repeated border violations by French troops in Algeria. The proclamation reported here in dispatches of the French News Agency, said the state of emergency would continue for three months.

The proclamation affects the provinces of Souk-el-Arab, Le Kef, Sbeitla, Gafsa and Tozeur.

The proclamation authorized the local Governors in the five areas to dispose of civil and military forces to assure the "integrity of the territory of the republic." To this end the Governors were authorised to "take all military and security measures required by the circumstances."

The Tunisian authorities explained the proclamation as falling under Tunisia's "right of legitimate defense."

It appeared to be Tunisia's answer to the recent declaration by Andre Morice, French Defense Minister, that French troops would exercise the "right of hot pursuit" in coping with Algerian nationalist guerrilla forays along the Tunisian and Moroccan borders. Tunisia borders Algeria on the east and Morocco on the west.

President Bourguiba's proclamation further demonstrated the hot-to-cold nature of relations between France and Tunisia. A little more than three weeks ago, while warning Algerian rebels against using Tunisia as a base for attacks on the French in Algeria, the President expressed his conviction that the possibility of further friction between the two countries no longer existed.

Since then has come the French policy of "hot pursuit" and two border incidents involving the exercise of that policy.

French troops killed six Tunisian soldiers on September 1, while pursuing Algerian guerrillas into Tunisia.

The second incident took place last Friday and produced contradictory reports. The Tunisian Government said the French had crossed the border and killed two Tunisian civilians. The French maintained there had been no border violation and that a "spy" had been shot out of a tree 500 yards inside Algeria.

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Portugal Vs. *India*

Portugal has laid plaint against the Union of India at the International Court at Hague. The preliminary statements, etc., as given below are news worthy of record:

The Hague, Sept. 24.—India's contention that Portugal's declaration purporting to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice as wholly invalid was submitted in detail today by Prof. C. H. M. Waldock of Oxford University.

This is the second day of the oral hearings at The Hague of the application brought by Portugal for right of passage—for officials and armed forces—across Indian territory to her Goan possession on the west coast—Daman, which she governs, and two tiny inland enclaves, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, of which she has lost control.

The president of the Court, Mr. Green H. Hackworth (the U.S.A.), sits with 17 judges gathered from all over the world, two of them ad hoc judges so that India and Portugal may be represented on the bench. The Indian judge is Mr. Chagla, Chief Justice of Bombay.

Prof. Waldock said Portugal's manner of acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court made nonsense of the optional clause in the statute. The Portuguese declaration purporting to accept it was vitiated completely by a third condition inserted in it. This condition reserved the right for the Portuguese Government to exclude from the scope of the declaration, at any time, any given category or categories of disputes by notifying the U.N. Secretary-General and with effect from the moment of such notification.

India considered the condition objectionable. It might be interpreted to apply even to a dispute in respect of which proceedings had already been instituted before the Court.

She had smuggled a veto into her acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction.

No one would deny that the operation of the optional clause system allowed each State a large measure of flexibility. But this did not mean there was no limit. This limit was reached when a State retained the right to change the scope of its acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction at its own sweet will, moment by moment.

The unlimited power to vary its obligations, claimed by Portugal, meant that other States were left in a condition of complete uncertainty as to the obligation they were supposed to have accepted with Portugal.

Judge Guerrero, in the recent Norwegian loans case, said that it was never the intention of the authors of the statute that reservations should serve to enable a State to evade undertakings involved. He added that such a reservation must be regarded as "devoid of legality."

India asked the Court to hold that the Portuguese condition was also "devoid of legality."

Professor Waldock called the Portuguese declaration "double-faced."

It was explained today that the sixth and last objection put forward by India yesterday was based on India's declaration of February 28, 1940, accepting *ipso facto* the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

In this declaration India said that disputes dating from before 1930 were excluded by reason of an earlier declaration by India on February 5, 1930 to that effect.

The Indian submission now is that if the Portuguese did raise any questions which would otherwise lie within the jurisdiction of the Court, those questions related to situations or facts which arose long before February 5, 1930.

The application was merely a part of the Indo-Portuguese dispute, a non-justiciable dispute with an extensive political background.

India had exercised great restraint. It came as a shock to some people that the initiative in this case had been taken not by India, the aggrieved party, but by Portugal. Did Portugal wish to get from the court an endorsement of the continued occupation of her colonies in India?

Portugal had alleged that the Indian Government was responsible for the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1954. These allegations, presumably an attempt to prejudice the court against India, were entirely untrue and slanderous. Portugal had tried to give a legal appearance to issues that were really political and put India on the defensive.

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The Portuguese in their legal arguments invoked a treaty of 1779 with the Marathas, which did not mention Dadra and Nagar Haveli or concede sovereignty.

Until the application, India had also not heard of the 1779 treaty. They organized research in Marathi documents in the ancient Modi script which few could read tied in thousands of cloth bundles. But there was no treaty on right of passage between Daman and the enclaves, either under the Marathas or the British.

The application was ineffective also because, before filing it, the Portuguese Government had not exhausted the possibilities of diplomatic negotiation as it was required to do before having recourse to the court.

The fifth objection was that the questions raised by the application fell, by international law, within the domestic jurisdiction of India. The court therefore had no jurisdiction.

The sixth and final objection would be based on the reservation *ratione temporis*. India submitted that, if the Portuguese declaration did raise any questions which would otherwise lie within the jurisdiction of the court, they related to situations or facts which arose long before February 5, 1930.

The questions thus raised were excluded from the scope of India's declaration.

The Latest Railway Racket

Dishonesty and racketeering is the order of the day. The complacent nit-wits who are playing ducks and drakes with the physical and moral resources of India seem to be quite indifferent about the consequences. Perhaps it is to their advantage, the latest bid to rob the long-suffering common citizen is given below. It is from the *Statesman*:

Something of a racket is believed to have started in the reservation of railway upper class berths at Howrah and Calcutta booking offices. The demand for berths on the eve of the Puja holidays is very heavy, and certain people are stated to be trying improperly to control the availability of such accommodation.

The reservation of upper class accommodation for travel on September 28, when the Puja holidays begin, was opened on Wednesday. Many had been waiting outside booking offices since the previous night and when the counters opened there was brisk booking of accommodation. Some in the queues were said to have represented travel agents. The reservation of the entire upper class accommodation on a mail train was stated to have been sold to a single individual.

There is no limit on the booking of reservation by an individual or a travel agent. Frantic efforts by individuals, including some railway officers, to secure reservation in the past two days have met with little success. "Berths on all trains are booked . . . you can try through travel agents . . . come and meet us"—were what most reservation clerks at Howrah or in the City offices replied to individual applications. Some travel agents were more helpful to those in difficulty.

The New Import Policy

We reproduce below a report taken from the *Statesman*. This shows the mentality of the persons in charge of our economic future. The policy regarding the import of "some more essential consumer goods" is to be noted carefully. We wonder whether the exceedingly small quantities of milk foods, etc., would have any margin left after the needs of the children of the ministers, their sycophants and entourage and those of the racketeers.

We are also assured that there is no rise in prices *although we and our friends and acquaintances* are already being mulcted. Perhaps officials and ministers are allowed a special rebate.

New Delhi, Sept. 30.—The dominant feature of the import policy for the next six months, announced today, is that the continued suspension of the O.G.L. is accompanied by a limited restoration of the established importer.

But simultaneously the import of more than 150 items has been totally banned. These include razor blades, tobacco manufactures, woollen fabrics, watches, cycles, fountain pens, crockery, glassware, cutlery, perfumes, toilet goods and musical instruments.

Also on the prohibited list are beer, ale, cider, and other fermented liquors. There is

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no ban yet on the import of whisky, brandy, gin and wines, although the Red Book ominously states against these items. "Policy to be announced later."

Some "more essential consumer goods" including milk foods for children, spices and betelnuts will be allowed to be imported in exceedingly small quantities. The tempo of industrial production will be kept up by allowing the imports of essential raw materials, replacements and spare parts, though here again quotas have been greatly reduced.

It is because of these that the partial restoration of the established importer has been possible. Besides, the actual users in the industry have been assured of licences to meet their requirements.

Official sources are reluctant to commit themselves to a precise estimate of the "substantial saving" of foreign exchange expected from the drastic import policy. But it is reasonable to assume that from October to March next, the country may spend on her imports Rs. 100 crores less than it did during the first six months of 1957.

A comparison with the last three months, during which import by established importers remained wholly suspended, will not be normal, for this was a transitional period when the basis of the import policy changed from the calendar to the financial year. The change-over is directed towards a closer correlation between the import policy and foreign exchange control.

According to Mr. S. Ranganathan, Secretary of the Union Commerce and Industry Ministry, the restrictions on imports have not so far pushed up prices of indigenous goods, nor have there been complaints of decline in quality. He hopes that this creditable performance by the Indian industry and trade would continue.

However, the new import policy does include a number of steps to safeguard the interests of the consumer. Licences for electric motors for agricultural purposes, electro-medical apparatus and unexposed cinematographic films will be given only on condition that these goods are sold according to the directions of the specified Governmental agencies.

A certain amount of flexibility has been provided to make the imports more economic. For instance, drugs and medicines can be imported "in bulk"; smaller packages can be made locally. To save on shipping freight the import of essential raw materials will be licensed on the basis of 12 months' requirements.

The new import policy has been formulated in the context of a further decline in the country's foreign exchange resources which stood at Rs. 361 crores on September 20. On July 5 the figure was Rs. 451 crores.

This presumably explains the severity of the import cuts. The import of raw films is likely to be reduced by one-third and that of exposed films by half.

About books and periodicals, official spokesmen assert that there has been no difficulty in issuing licences in the past nor would there be any in future.

It is learnt that since March this year, the private sector has made arrangements for the import, on deferred payment, of capital goods worth Rs. 45 crores. Among the countries with which these arrangements have been made are the U.K., West Germany, the U.S.A., France, East Germany, Italy and Japan.

There is already sufficient indication of the changing pattern of the country's imports. The imports of plant and machinery were Rs. 100 crores in 1955; Rs. 141 crores in 1956 and Rs. 66 crores in the first four months of this year. The corresponding figures for the import of industrial raw materials were Rs. 373 crores; Rs. 48 crores and Rs. 200 crores.

Against these rising figures, the import of consumer goods declined from Rs. 200 crores in 1955 to Rs. 194 crores in 1956 and to Rs. 5 crores in the first four months of 1957.

"No Rise in Prices"

Many years back a French crank, by the name of Dr. Coue, gave a slogan for sufferers humanity. It went thus; "Everyday, in every way, I am getting better and better." The following news is the Krishnamachari-*cum*-Desai equivalent:

New Delhi, Sept. 30.—The response to the recent appeal made by the Union Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, not to raise

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the price of imported as well as indigenous goods because of the restrictive import policy has been "quite good," an official spokesman told Press-men here today.

In fact, he added, Indian manufacturers had voluntarily agreed not to increase for the present the prices of certain articles, although they felt there was a case for slightly increasing prices.

Asked whether there had been any deterioration in the quality of the goods supplied, the spokesman said that his Ministry (Commerce and Industry) had not so far received any such complaints.

He said that compared to Rs. 275 crores for which licences were issued for imports in the first half of the current calendar year, the licenses for only Rs. 95 crores were issued during the period July to September 7.

Even this figure of Rs. 95 crores included imports of capital goods for Rs. 20 crores and iron and steel: Rs. 13 crores. In the next six months—October to March next—the imports would be substantially less than those in the first half of the current calendar year.

Suicides in Uttar Pradesh

The *Statesman* gave the following news. Though a detailed analysis is lacking, it is clear that the majority of those unfortunates were young. It is a harrowing report:

"Lucknow, Sept. 14.—Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi, Home Minister, disclosed in the State Vidhan Sabha that over 4,000 persons committed suicide in the State during the last two years and four months. The main reasons for suicides were prolonged illness, failure in love affairs, domestic quarrels, and disappointing results in examinations.

"The Home Minister, who was replying to a question by Sri Ganga Prasad Singh, said that it was not possible to give percentage of different causes of suicides. Replying to a supplementary by Sri Narain Dutt Tewari, the Minister said that unemployment might be also one of the reasons for suicides.

"Giving the number of suicides year-wise, the Home Minister said that 1,588 persons committed suicide in 1955, 1,815 in 1956 and 639 in 1957 upto April 30."

The Call of Gramdan

In the third week of September a two-day conference, organised by the Sarva Seva Sangh under Vinobaji's guidance, on *gramdan*, was held at Yelwal near Mysore. The conference was attended by a number of Central and State Ministers and by the representatives of the three leading political parties of the land—the Congress, the P.S.P. and the C.P.I. The conference gave full support to the *gramdan* movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. The Central and State Ministers also expressed full appreciation of the merits of the movement and their desire to help it. However, they pointed out at the same time that the governments concerned would have to proceed with their land reform schemes, which were based on the abolition of all intermediate interests in land, limitation of holdings, and promotion of co-operatives in all its phases, with the consent of the people. The conference also stressed the desirability of the closest co-operation between the Community development projects and *gramdan*.

Referring to this last point about the desirability of the closest co-operation between the Community development projects and *gramdan*, the weekly *Vigil* writes:

"In a very general way, that is, where both want to promote co-operative methods, the two can be said to have a common objective. But there is a basic difference between the government's approach which is based on private property in land and the ideology of *gramdan* which seeks to do away with the sense of such property. A vigorous propagation of the ideology of *bhoodan* or *gramdan* can, of course, loosen the roots of certain types of vested interests but it is doubtful whether the same climate of opinion can be equally propitious for the simultaneous prosecution of the *gramdan* movement and the kind of land reforms aimed at by the Government's policy."

"Admittedly," the *Vigil* adds, "where the Community projects have failed most is in the crucial sphere of rousing popular initiative and the spirit of self-help. Not that there have not been any material benefits conferred but the main objective, that of making the people self-reliant and self-active, has eluded the project-makers. Another grave problem which is defying solution has been that whatever material benefits the projects have yielded have been appropriated by the better-placed sections of the

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community to the practical exclusion of those whose need for such benefits is the greatest. The machinery of execution largely under bureaucratic control has failed to activise the springs of action in those sections of the people whose upliftment is needed most."

It would not be easy to correct these drawbacks by merely associating the Community projects with *gramdan*. Village reconstruction according to the *gramdan* ideology cannot again be successful unless it is fitted with the overall national planning. Then "is reconstruction as envisaged by Vinobaji possible in the context of the Governments' all-out effort in the pursuit of a plan like the Second Five-Year Plan?" the *Vigil* asks.

Gandhiji's Jayanti

On the occasion of the celebration of Gandhiji's Jayanti it is but natural to recall what and how far has been done in bringing his message home to the people. It would then appear that while much has been said about the need for the study and the propagation of the master's ideas not much has concretely been done to achieve this aim. In this respect, however, some commendable work has been done in the United States, the volume *Gandhiji's Reflections on Democracy*, published by the U. S. National Council on Asian Affairs being such an example. Similar efforts, made in India, would certainly go a long way toward popularising Gandhiji's ideas among the Indian people.

Progress of Indian Films

While India has long been one of the world's leading producers of films the standard of her films did not attain much height until recently. That the Indian film industry is capable of making films that indicate a remarkable progress has been highlighted, among others, by the recent award by the jury of the Venice Film Festival of the Golden Lion of Saint Mark—the highest prize—to the Bengali film *Aparajito* directed by Shri Satyajit Ray. Shri Ray entered the film world only recently and *Aparajito* is his second picture. His first picture *Pather Panchali* was also an outstanding success both nationally and internationally. The Venice award is therefore also a great personal triumph for the young director—all the more so because the judges there are very fastidious in their taste and refused to make the award to any film last year.

Here we are reminded of an interesting thing. While *Aparajito* has been able to obtain the world's highest prize it failed to be considered worthy of even a mention by the committee for State Film Awards in India! What an indictment of the committee's capacity to judge this is.

While on the subject of films one cannot but refer to another regrettable fact of the sidetracking of the real maker—the director—of the film at the time awards are made in India. Thus while the Bengali film *Pather Panchali* won the highest State award—the President's Gold Medal—there was no mention of the director Satyajit Ray. Another conspicuous instance is the omission of any reference to the director—Sambhu Mitra—when the dual language film *Jagte Raho* won an international prize. In both these instances all the praise was showered upon the producers but none for the directors to whom all the credit was due.

The Chinese Films

The citizens of Calcutta has got an opportunity to see the Chinese films through the initiative of the local branch of the India-China Friendship Association. Though China is one of our neighbours, our knowledge of the land is very limited. Films being a very important medium of communication peoples can know each other better through the films. In this regard the recent Indian film festival in China and the current Chinese film festival in India are to be welcome. The Chinese film shown here are mostly documentaries portraying progress and problems in the different fields.

Most of the other films dealt with a particular theme with the object of imparting a lesson to the audience. The standard is good and some of the colour photographs were really beautiful.

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VICE-PRESIDENCY UNDER A PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

By Prof. B. B. JENA, M.A.

Article 63 of the Constitution creates the office of a Vice-President for India. The Constitution intends that he should be a sort of stand-by to fill up the gap whenever a vacancy, temporary or permanent, occurs in the office of the President (Art. 65); and meanwhile he is the ex-Officio Chairman of the Council of States (Article 64). This provision was obviously borrowed from the United States of America, but there is a great deal of difference between the two officers. The decision to have a Vice-President was taken by the Union Constitution Committee and their Report contains a provision to that effect in clause 6 of chapter 1 of Part IV. Though this office is almost unknown to any other Constitution in the world except the United States of America, our fathers of the Constitution, surprisingly enough, took it for granted that it was so very essential and normal that no one discussed its necessity in a Constitution based on the parliamentary executive, where the President himself is considered to be an ornamental head.

In the U.S.A., the President happens to be the real executive officer and the first citizen of the country, and the administration cannot run even for a day without him. It is not necessary that, in the event of a vacancy, there should be a ready-made stand-by, but he should also be chosen by the people, because the Vice-President becomes the President in the event of a vacancy. But even in the U.S.A., in the beginning, it was considered as an unnecessary office—he was called by some as 'His Superfluous Highness'—and so the fathers of the Constitution made him the ex-officio Chairman of the Senate.[1]

Two questions arise now. Is it necessary that in a parliamentary executive we should have a Vice-President? Is it desirable that he should be the ex-Officio Chairman of the Council of States?

Times without number the makers of our Constitution went on emphasising that our President is only an ornamental head and that even in 'emergencies,' he is to be guided by the advice of the Ministers. So the real power is with the Prime Minister who has a majority in the Lower House. Is it necessary under these circumstances that we should have an elected stand-by as in the U.S.A.? We have noted a difference above that the President is the real executive in U.S.A. but there is another difference equally important. In the U.S.A. there is nothing like a temporary vacancy. Once the Vice-President assumes the office he *becomes* the President for the rest of the four-year term. In India, the Vice-President can never *become* the President. If it is a temporary vacancy, "when the President is unable to discharge his functions owing to absence, illness, or any other cause, the Vice-President shall discharge his functions" until the President resumes his duties; and in the case of a permanent vacancy "by reason of his death, resignation or removal or otherwise, the Vice-President shall *act* until the date on which a President elected in accordance with the provisions of this chapter to fill such vacancy enters upon his office" (Art. 65); but this period cannot be longer than six months [Art. 62 (2)].[2] It is on this ground that a different procedure for the election of the Vice-President is supported by Dr. Ambedkar.[3] So for such a short period as six months, maximum period allowed, is it necessary that we should maintain another high dignitary ready at hand? For the last *one hundred and eighty years there were only seven instances* when a Vice-President became the President of America under this provision. Due to the difference in the nature of the provision here, there may be more occasion when the President may be 'absent' and the Vice-President may be called upon to perform his duties; but even then it is unlikely that the need for a permanent stand-by of this

1. W. B. Munro, The *Vice-President in the U.S.A.*, p. 167, 5th Edition.

2. In the Constituent Assembly during a discussion on this article one or two good suggestions were given, which Dr. Ambedkar refused to accept. Thus, it was suggested that 'time' would be more appropriate than 'date' and illness, etc., were vague and should be made more definite. Who will declare the President's illness? Obviously the President shall have to do it himself. There is one contingency under which a Vice-President can act for a long period, that is when the President is ill and refuses to resign. Such a contingency may arise when the President and Vice-President belong to the same party and the party in power is not sure if its nominee would be chosen in a re-election.

3. C.A.D., Vol. VII, No. 28, p. 1101.

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sort will be felt. And it is exactly for this reason as in America, the Constitution makes him the ex-Officio Chairman of the Council of States.

The importance of the provision may be examined in the negative way—what is the harm in this provision? To me the provision looks undersirable for two reasons; in the first place, it is not quite correct to say that the President will be only ornamental; even the 'makers of the Constitution' admitted that he will have tremendous influence. Others like myself, say that under some circumstances the President will have power even 'to influence' the complexion and composition of the ministry. He has got the power to dissolve the House, to declare an emergency, to refuse assent to bills, and so on and nothing prevents him from exercising these powers in his discretion. Is the country, I ask, to be governed even for a day by an officer who has no claim to be there, and occupying as he is an insignificant post all the time and suddenly assuming a gigantic shape. Taking into consideration the vital role even a temporary President could play, we feel firstly that either a more representative man as in the U.S. is required, or somebody who is likely to be impartial and non-partisan like the Chief Justice of India.[4] Secondly, it is undesirable that the erstwhile presiding officer of a house of legislature should become the nominal head in a system of parliamentary executive. The principle on which the British type of parliamentary executive works is that the Executive Head can do anything unless controlled by the Parliament. Or that there are two sovereigns, the executive head and the Parliament and they are connected and co-ordinated through the buckle of the ministry. From whatever angle we see, the essential principle is that the Parliament as a body should be separate from and independent of the Executive Head so as to be an effective check, and in this case one branch of the Parliament itself (the Council of States) is controlled by the Vice-President in the sense that he cannot be removed by it. But one point which reduces the weight of this argument is that the Vice-President ceases to be the Chairman of the Council while acting as the President.

4. In Eire and in Burma, a Commission performs these functions.

We come to the most vital part of the provisions. The Vice-President is made the ex-officio Chairman of the Council of the States, following the American model, and for the same reasons so that in reality "his normal functions are mainly to preside over the Council of States."[5] Our makers must have thought on the same lines as their American counterparts in the 18th century that the man must be given some job because Dr. Ambedkar explained, "It is only on a rare occasion, and that too only a temporary period that he may be called to assume the duties of a President."[6] So far it is all right. But the makers have forgotten one important difference that ours is a Parliamentary executive and theirs is the Presidential. In the former the role of the Parliament is different from that of the Congress. In a Parliamentary democracy, the executive is constantly under the review of the Legislature and the fate of the ministry is decided on the floor of the House. It is highly undemocratic and undesirable that the Council should have a presiding officer who is neither chosen by it nor whom it can remove by itself. Surprisingly enough this aspect of the matter was never discussed in the Assembly.

The question to ask is: what is our idea in having this combined post? Is he mainly to be the Vice-President and then act as the Chairman of the Council or the other way? My point is that different representative capacities are required for these two posts and we cannot combine them. If he is to act for the President he has to be chosen on a wider basis and if he has to preside over the Council, he has to be chosen by the House and be removable by it—the fact that in the Senate and the Lords, the irremovable officer preside is no good analogy.

Other Provisions

The Vice-President shall hold office for five years, from the date on which he enters upon his office. A vacancy occurs in the office by his death, or by the end of the normal period of time or by resignation or by his removal by the Parliament. In the case of resignation, he has to address a letter to that effect under his hand to the President. There is no question of acceptance or non-acceptance and probably no

5. C.A.D., Vol. VII, p. 1110.
6. *Ibid.*

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will cease to be the Vice-President from the moment the President receives his letter. The procedure for his removal is different from, and much more easy than that in the case of the President. The initiative must come from the Council and it can simply start the proceedings without apparently showing any cause, it can simply express want of confidence. All that is required is that fourteen days' notice should be given and the resolution should be pased "by a majority of the then members of the Council," and then it should be "agreed to" by the House of the People. Here are one or two lacunae in the wording which were presumably left because psychologically the makers thought that the post was of minor importance and so it did not require detailed provisions or accurate wording. First, the meaning of "then members of the Council" is not clear; by context it means the total membership of the Council without counting the vacancies; if so, it could have been worded accordingly. Secondly, "agreed to" is not clear. Does it mean that the resolution should be passed as it is without any change or amendment? Thirdly, it is not clear if the 14 days' notice applies to moving the resolution in the House only. And lastly, it is not clear when this removal comes into effect and who will give effect to it. Compare the removal of the President where it is said that when the resolution is passed by the second House "such resolution shall have the effect of removing the President from his office as from the date on which the resolution is so passed" [Art. 61(4)]. An election to fill the vacancy in the natural course shall have to take place before the expiration of the term [Art. 68 (1)]. In case of any delay in the assumption of office by the new Vice-President the outgoing Vice-President continues in office [67 (c)]. In any vacancy occurring by other reasons stated above, the election to elect another Vice-President will be held "as soon as possible" (the clause could have been worded within six months) and the new Vice-President shall hold office for a full period of five years.

The Vice-President shall be "elected by the members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at a joint meeting in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote, and voting at such election shall be by secret ballot [Art. 66(1)]." Thus, it differs from the Presidential election in several respects:

1. The electoral college for the Vice-President is confined only to the members of the Parliament and thus it excludes the members of the State Assemblies.

2. It includes *all* the members of the Parliament but not merely the elected ones.

3. The weightage given to population is given up.

4. All the members of the Parliament must be assembled in a joint sitting.

Members of the State Assemblies were excluded because, Dr. Ambedkar said, the post was not so very important as that of the President and the same reason probably explains the absence of weightage for population. No explanation was given for including the nominated members in the electoral college, nor was this debated in the Assembly; it seems to have escaped the attention of all.

It was pointd out in the Assembly, as already seen, that the system should be called 'alternate vote' but not 'proportional representation.' Dr. Ambedkar promised to consider it and improve upon it later on; but he did nothing of the sort.[7] Secondly it was suggested that the voting need not take place in a 'joint sitting' but it could be done by other means. Dr. Ambedkar opposed the suggestion on flimsy grounds.[8] A question naturally arises here. Is it necessary that a joint-sitting should be called even if there is only one candidate. Note the significance of the words 'elected...in a joint-sitting' [in Article 66(1)]. The Act made by the Parliament under article 71(3), no doubt, precludes that necessity, but I feel that this particular provision of the Act is *ultra vires* of the Constitution as under Article 71(3) the Parliament can regulate election matters only "subject to the provisions of this Constitution." On this ground it can be held that the election of the first Vice-President (of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan) in 1952 is illegal and this could have been challenged in a Court of Law under Article 71(1). The Constitution says that the 'election' not 'voting' shall be in a joint-sitting.

7. C.A.D., Vol. VII, p. 1101.

8. He explained that elections conducted through the postal system was liable to result in failure. Either ballot papers are lost in transit or ballot papers are 'misused' by candidates.
C.A.D., Vol. VII, p. 1101.

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As 'election' strictly includes calling in nominations also, my contention is that nominations also should be made in a joint-sitting.

The Vice-Presidentship by itself carries no salary or allowance or powers and privileges nor is there any provision for Parliament to fix them as such. He is entitled to get only the salary and allowances as the Chairman of the Council of States, (which therefore is the really substantive post), which the Parliament shall prescribe by law under Article 97. When the Vice-President acts as the President, he automatically gets all the powers and immunities of the President, but his emoluments, allowances and privileges shall be according to what Parliament by law prescribes [in Article 65(3)] and until so fixed by the Parliament he draws "such emoluments, allowances and privileges as are specified in the Second Schedule." One thing is not clear. Suppose the Parliament changes the emoluments of the President but does not fix any for the Vice-President, does it mean that the Vice-President, while acting as the President, gets the new allowance of the President or those fixed by the Second Schedule? During the period the Vice-President is acting as the President, he is not entitled to the salary and allowances as the Chairman.

One more point remains. What is going to be the status and position of the Vice-President? The Constitution does not make high of him. He has no special status or emoluments or privileges except as the Chairman of the Council and in this latter capacity he occupies a less glamorous position than the Speaker of the House of the People. Compared with him, the American Vice-President has two feathers—he is the Vice-President chosen by the same electorate that has chosen the President, and he is the Chairman of the more powerful House of the Congress. When even then, he does not enjoy much status and prestige in the U.S.A., one of the Ex-Vice-Presidents Mr. Barkley told in 1951, "It seems there were two brothers. One ran away to sea, the other was elected Vice-President—and nothing was heard of either of them again" (vide *Readers' Digest*, February, 1957 p. 93). It is doubtful our Vice-President can fare better. Certainly it is meaningless to call him the second citizen, when the first citizen himself is supposed to be pale before the Prime Minister. But compared with his American counterpart, our Vice-President has no advantage. Because there is no provision for a temporary President in the United States many a Vice-President had to die insignificantly. But here we have that happy provision and it is quite likely that our President would like to be 'absent' from India for a State visit abroad or for medical treatment and so on, of course going abroad does not necessarily create a temporary vacancy. Presidents can be away even in America for a considerable time as proved in the case of Wilson. And it is quite likely that almost every Vice-President will have an occasion to occupy the Rastrapati Bhawan at New Delhi, even if it is only for a few days.

Much depends upon the future and on who comes to occupy that post, and what other powers can be given to him. But whosoever comes to office, he is soon bound to be disappointed; it is hollow without substance, an officer without power or prestige. Can more powers and duties be given to him? It is doubtful. On theoretical grounds, there is no provision for it in the Constitution, and it will be both unconstitutional and immoral to confer any executive functions on the presiding officer of a House of the Legislature. On the practical side, such attempts have miserably failed in the U.S.A. where the President is really more busy than our 'nominal' head of India.[9] It is doubtful if any could be given to him here.

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9. American experience may give us an indication of the future of this office.

"When the Constitution was being framed, one of the delegates suggested that the Vide-President should be given something to do besides waiting to step into another man's shoes. So they made him presiding officer of the Senate. But he is an outsider there, with no vote except in case of a tie, appoints no committees and has nothing more than perfunctory powers. Theodore Roosevelt, when he held the post of Vice-President, referred to it 'as an office unique in its functions,' or rather in lack of functions.' During the Hardinge administration (1921-23) Vice-President Coolidge was invited to attend meetings of the Cabinet and regularly did so. But Vice-President Dawes, during the Coolidge administration, declined a similar invitation, and the practice has since then been varied. (W. B. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 169 (fifth edition). In 1945 President Truman invited to Cabinet meetings Senator McKellor, then serving as president *pro tempore* of the Senate. In India, it will not be possible to invite him to the Cabinet meetings because of constitutional objections, but there is now a tendency, both in the U.S.A. and India, to use the Vice-President as a kind of a 'roving ambassador'. Both Nixon of America and Dr. Radhakrishnan of India have performed this role with a commendable thoroughness.

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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(XIII) Fundamental Rights: Cultural and Educational Rights

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Surendranath Banerjea Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

I

In this article we propose to deal with what have been described in our Constitution as our Cultural and Educational Rights.

II

India is a multi-religious and multi-lingual State and this often creates problems of a very complicated character. For instance, we find in the *Report*[1] *of the States Reorganisation Commission, 1955*:

"An important question connected with the recognisation of States[2] is that of providing safeguards for linguistic groups which are in a minority in different States. The problem of such groups exists in unilingual States and not merely in composite States. In a way, the problem is a cause as well as an effect of the movement for linguistic units. On the one hand, it is argued that multi-lingual States arrest the cultural growth of linguistic minorities and retard their political and economic advancement, and, on the other hand, it is contended that it is implicit in the very formative principle of a linguistic State that in such a State linguistic minorities must be reduced to the status of inferior citizens.

"The Scheme of redistribution of State territories which we have recommended will result in many cases in bringing together people speaking a common language. To that extent, it will reduce the number of linguistic minorities. It is, however, quite evident that even if the linguistic principle were applied very rigidly, the problem of linguistic minorities will, by no means, be solved. This is because there are obvious limitations to the realisation of unilinguism at the state level, the limiting factors being the following:

(i) not all the language groups are so placed that they can be grouped into separate states;

(ii) there is a large number of bilingual belts between different linguistic zones; and

(iii) there exist areas with a mixed population even within unilingual areas.

"Besides, the Constitution guarantees freedom of movement to all citizens of India. The present picture of the linguistic composition of various administrative units of India, therefore, can, by no means, be regarded as static.

"It is true that often the complaints about the plight of minorities in composite states or bilingual areas are greatly exaggerated. In fact, we have noticed a tendency to whip up a kind of 'persecution complex' amongst minority language groups to secure their support for certain demands. This, however, does not mean that such groups have nowhere been discriminated against. By way of illustration we may refer to the enforcement, in a number of States, of domiciliary qualifications and language tests for recruitment to services, which undoubtedly cause hardship to minorities. The problem of linguistic minorities, therefore, is not unreal."

The authors of our Constitution had forestalled this problem and, therefore, provided in Articles 29 and 30 of our Constitution as follows.*

"29. (1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

"(2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

"30. (1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

"(2) The State shall not, in granting aid

1. Paras. 757-59.
2. I.e., the constituent States of the Indian Union.

* For marginal notes to Articles 29 and 30 see any authoritative text of the Constitution of India.

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to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language."

To these we may add Articles 347, 350A and 350B of the Constitution, which run as follows:

"347. On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify."

"350A. It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities."

"350B. (1) There shall be a Special Officer for linguistic minorities to be appointed by the President.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under this Constitution and report to the President upon those matters at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament, and sent to the Governments of the States concerned."

It may be noted here that Articles 350A and 350B have been recently inserted in the Constitution by Section 21 of the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, practically, as we shall shortly see, as a result of the *Report of States Reorganisation Commission, 1955*.[3]

III

We shall now deal with the implications of Articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution. Before, however, we do this, we may observe by the by that, regard being had to their contents as well as to the marginal notes against them, it would have been well if Clause (1) of Article 29 and Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 30 had been placed under the same Article and Clause (2) of Article 29 under a separate Article. However, this is a matter of technical detail.

The substance of Articles 29 and 30 is to be found in Article 23 of the *Draft Constitution of India*. And when Article 23 of the Draft Constitution was under the consideration of the Constituent Assembly of India on 8th December, 1948, it was pointed out[4] by more than one speaker here that, as there would be "islands" of linguistic and religious minorities in different parts of India, this Article gave a clear direction to the majorities in those parts to look after the interests of these minorities so far as their language and culture were concerned. Further, with reference to the word "minority" itself in Article 23, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar pointed out in the Constituent Assembly as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee[5]:

"The word is used not merely to indicate the minority in the technical sense of the word (as we have been accustomed to use it for the purposes of certain political safeguards, such as representation in the Legislature, representation in the services and so on), it is also used to cover minorities which are not minorities in the technical sense, but which are nonetheless minorities in the cultural and linguistic sense. For instance, for the purposes of this Article 23, if a certain number of people from Madras came and settled in Bombay for certain purposes, they would be, although not a minority in the technical sense, cultural minorities. Similarly, if a certain number of Maharashtrians went from Maharashtra and settled in Bengal, although they may not be minorities in the technical sense, they would be cultural and linguistic minorities in Bengal. The Article intends to give protection in the matter of culture, language and script not only to a minority technically but also to a minority in the wider sense of the term as I have explained just now . . . It was felt that this protection was necessary for the simple reason that people who go from one province to another and settle there, do not settle there permanently. They do not uproot them-

3. See Chapter I of Part IV of the *Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, 1955*; also p. 260 of this Report.

4. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 8th December 1948, pp. 895-927; also *ibid.*, 7th December, pp. 891-94.

5. See *ibid.*, 8th December, 1948, pp. 922-23.

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selves from the province from which they have migrated, but they keep their connexions. They go back to their province for the purpose of marriage. They go back to their province for various other purposes, and if this protection was not given to them when they were subject to the local Legislature and the local Legislature were to deny them the opportunity of conserving their culture, it would be very difficult for these cultural minorities to go back to their province and to get themselves assimilated to the original population to which they belonged. In order to meet the situation of migration from one province to another, we felt it was desirable that such a provision should be incorporated in the Constitution.

"I think another thing which has to be borne in mind in reading Article 23 is that it does not impose any obligation or burden upon the State. It does not say that, when, for instance, the Madras people came to Bombay, the Bombay Government shall be required by law to finance any project of giving education either in Tamil language or in Andhra language or in other language. There is no burden cast upon the State[6]. The only limitation that is imposed by Article 23 is that if there is a cultural unity which wants to preserve its language, its script and its culture, the State shall not by law impose upon it any other culture which may be either local or otherwise. Therefore this matter really is to be read in a much wider sense and does not apply only to what I call the technical minorities as we use it (*sic*) in the Constitution."

It should be evident from what is shown above what the authors of our Constitution had in mind when they adopted Article 29(1) and Article 30 of the Constitution.

So far as Articles 350A and 350B of the Constitution are concerned, we may trace their origin to the following recommendation[7] of the States *Reorganisation Commission, 1953-55*:

"Constitutional recognition should be given to the right of linguistic minorities to have instruction in their mother tongue at the primary school stage subject to a sufficient number of students being available. The Central Government should acquire power to enforce this right on the lines of provisions contained in Article 347 of the Constitution."

And so far as the aetiology of this recommendation was concerned, we may find it in the following observations of the *States Reorganisation Commission*[8]:

"During the course of our enquiry, the question of reinforcing the existing system of safeguards for minorities figured prominently. It was strongly urged before us that the safeguards for minorities embodied in the Constitution have proved inadequate and ineffective against the cultural oppression of linguistic minorities and their economic exploitation. Whatever the merits of this assertion, we have to take into consideration the fact that large sections of public opinion, both among the proponents and the opponents of linguistic States, favour the strengthening of the existing Constitutional guarantees to linguistic minorities.

"We realise that over-emphasis on the rights of minorities and too many special safeguards for them would tend to keep the minority-consciousness alive and might thereby hamper the growth of a common nationhood, We are, therefore, not in favour of setting up too elaborate a system of guarantees to the minorities which would, in our opinion, complicate rather than solve the problem. At the same time, we are impressed by the need of according to the linguistic minorities sufficient opportunity for development so that they may not suffer from a sense of neglect or discrimination.

"Before we make our specific recommendations on the subject, we wish to indicate the broad principles and objectives which have governed our approach to the problem. These are:

(1) as the problem of linguistic minorities is common to unilingual as well as polyglot areas, the measures to be adopted should be such as can be applied to linguistic as well as composite States;

(ii) while minorities are entitled to reasonable safeguards to protect their educational, cultural and other interests, it has to be borne in mind that such safeguards should not so

6. This statement is true, subject to the requirements of Clause (2) of Article 30 of the Constitution.

7. See Recommendation 31 of the States Reorganisation Commission (1953-55) on page 260 of its Report (1955).

8. See paragraphs 767-76 of its *Report*.

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operate as to perpetuate separatism or to impede the processes of natural assimilation;

(iii) the system of guarantees to minorities should not be such as to lend itself to misuse by parties interested in promoting a sense of disloyalty to the State; and

(iv) it should be clearly understood that a State in which a particular language group constitutes the majority cannot be considered to be the custodian of the interests of all people speaking that language, even when they are residents of other States (*sic*) . . . . .

"The language of instruction in educational institutions and the language of the administration are matters that touch, in practice, many vital aspects of the life of every individual. They, therefore, constitute what we regard as the core of the problem of linguistic minorities.

"We first deal with the question of the right of minorities to instruction in the mother tongue. The Indian Constitution guarantees to the minorities the right to private schools, but does not specifically recognise the right to instruction in the mother tongues in public schools. It seems to us that linguistic minorities do not have the resources required to establish and maintain their own educational institutions, particularly in rural areas. In such cases, therefore, a positive duty should be cast on the State to provide for facilities to the minorities for education in the mother tongue at the primary school stage. . . . .

"After carefully examining the background of the question, the reasons why the suggestion for making suitable provision in the Constitution on the subject did not find favour with the Constituent Assembly[9], and the views expressed before us, we have come to the conclusion that the right of the minorities to have education in the mother tongue at the primary stage, subject to a sufficient number of students being available, should be placed on a more stable footing than is the position at present. We, therefore, recommend that constitutional recognition should be given to this right and that the Central Government should acquire power to issue appropriate directives for the enforcement of this right on the lines of the provisions contained in Article 347 of the Constitution."

It is hardly necessary to make any comment on these observations. They are so fair and reasonable!

Let us now pass on to Article 347 of the Constitution which, as shown before, empowers the President of India to provide, in certain circumstances, "for the use of a minority language also in the administration of a State." According to the *Report*[10] *of the States Reorganisation Commission, 1955,* "so far no order has been issued under this Article and it has been left more or less to the States concerned to regulate the use of the minority languages for administrative purposes." Further, we find in the said Report[11] "that the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Ajmer and Saurashtra have adopted legislation under Article 345 (of the Constitution), recognising the respective regional language or languages as the official language or languages in the States concerned;" that "in other States, English continues to be the official language;" that "some States have recognised more than one official lanugage"; that "thus, in Madhya Pradesh, both Hindi and Marathi are the official languages at all levels"; that "the Punjab and PEPSU have demarcated two distinct zones—a Punjabi-speaking zone and a Hindi-speaking zone;" that "in Bombay and Hyderabad, official business at district and taluk level is conducted in the languages of these units;" that "in Hyderabad, PEPSU, Rajasthan, Travancore-Cochin and Madhya Bharat, regional language or languages have been

9. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 7th and 8th December, 1948.

It may be interesting to note here the following observation of Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, a member of the States Reorganisation Commission (1953-55), in the Constituent Assembly on 8th December, 1948, in connexion with the motion of Mr. Z. H. Lari (United Provinces: Muslim), as amended by Kazi Karimuddin, that "any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof, having a distinct language and script shall be entitled to have primary education imparted to its children through the medium of that language and script," "in case of (a) substantial number of such students being available":

"If our Muslim friends today . . . demand that their children should be given instruction in primary schools through their own language and script where a sufficient number of them ask for this, the demand cannot be considered as extravagant. It is a demand which we should, if we are actuated by justice, be ready to grant."—See *ibid.*, 8th December, pp. 900-920.

10. See paragraph 778 of this *Report.*

11. See paragraphs 779-81 of the *Report.*

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cognised for use in the High Court;" that "in other States, English continues to be the language of the High Court;" that "as regards the lower Courts, there is no State, with the exception of Assam, in which English is used exclusively in the lower courts;" that "in most States, where English is used in the High Court, the subordinate courts use both English and the regional languages, the general practice being that judgments are written in English and other work is done in the regional languages;" that "several States have permitted the use of the minority languages in subordinate courts;" and that "Bihar, Bombay, Andhra, Madras, Orissa, Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and West Bengal have allowed the use of two, or even three languages, in certain areas."

After this survey of "the use of minority languages for official purposes," the States Reorganisation Commission observed[12]:

"The present position, therefore, is that, while it is generally agreed that minority languages should receive due recognition in bilingual areas, a clear policy has not so far been laid down for regulating the use of the minority languages in the administration.

In conclusion, the Commission stated[13]:

"We do not desire to make any recommendation about the details of the policy to be followed in prescribing the use of minority languages for official purposes. However, we are inclined to the view that a State should be treated as unilingual only where one language group constitutes about seventy per cent or more of its entire population. Where there is a substantial minority constituting thirty per cent or so of the population, the State should be recognised as 'bilingual' for administrative purposes.

"The same principle might hold good at the district level; that is to say, if seventy per cent or more of the total population of a district is constituted by a group which is a minority in the State, the language of the minority group, and not the State language, should be the official language in that district. It will also be an advantage if, in bilingual districts, municipal areas, or other smaller units such as taluks, where there are minorities constituting fifteen to twenty per cent of the population, documents which are used by the people at large, such as government notices, electoral rolls, ration cards, etc., are printed in both the languages. It should also be permissible to file documents in the courts, etc., in the minority language. Likewise, where the candidates seeking election to any local bodies are required to have a working knowledge of a language, the knowledge of a language of such minor language groups should be given recognition.

"These suggestions are for the consideration of the Government of India. What we wish to emphasise is that the Government of India should adopt, in consultation with the State Governments, a clear code to govern the use of different languages at different levels of State administrations and that effective steps should be taken (under Article 347 of the Constitution) to ensure that this code is followed."

In concluding our discussion of the question now under our consideration, we should like to observe that, although there is a considerable justification for what has been said or done in the interest of the linguistic minorities in different parts of the Union of India, there is another aspect of the question which should not be altogether ignored in this connexion, namely, should a linguistic minority in a constituent State of the Union be allowed to live perpetually as foreigners, as it were, in the midst of the local population? It appears to us that what Shri K. Santhanam stated with regard to this point in the Constituent Assembly on 8th December, 1948, is also worthy of our serious consideration. "In every province," he said[14], "there are islands of these linguistic minorities. For instance, in my own province of Tamil Nad there are islands, in almost every district, of villages where a large number of Telugu-speaking people reside. In this connection we have to hold the balance even between two different trends. First of all, we have to give to large linguistic minorities their right to

12. *Report of the States Reorganisation Commission*, 1955, para. 782.
13. *Ibid*, paras. 783-85; also p. 260.
14. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 8th December, 1948, p. 909. The attention of the reader is drawn to the entire proceedings of the Constituent Assembly on the date.

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be educated—specially in the primary stages—in their own language. At the same time, we should not interfere with the historical process of assimilation. We ought not to think that for hundreds and thousands of years to come these linguistic minorities will perpetuate themselves as they are. The historical processes should be allowed free play. These minorities should be helped to become assimilated with the people of the locality. They should gradually absorb the language of the locality and become merged with the people there. Otherwise they will be aliens, as it were, in those provinces. Therefore, we should not have rigid provisions by which every child is automatically protected in what may be called his mother tongue. On the other hand, this process should not be sudden, it should not be forced. Wherever there are large numbers of children, they should be given education—primary education—in their own mother tongue. At the same time, they should be encouraged and assisted to go to the ordinary schools of the provinces and to imbibe the local tongue and get assimilated with the people" (of the locality).

IV

We shall now deal with the implications of Clause (2) of Article 29 of our Constitution which declares, as shown before, that "no citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them." It may be noted here incidentally that this provision was inserted[15] in our Constitution on 8th December, 1948, at the instance of Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General) who had moved it in the Constituent Assembly by way of an amendment to what had ordiginally been provided in Clause (2) of Article 23 of the *Draft Constitution of India*[16], namely, that

"No minority whether based on religion, community or language shall be discriminated against in regard to the admission of any person belonging to such minority into any educational institution maintained by the State."

In justification of his amendment Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava said[17], among other things:

"The words 'no minority' (in the Draft Constitution) seek to differentiate the minority from the majority, whereas . . . . . in the Chapter the words of the heading are 'Cultural and Educational Rights' . . . . . the minority rights as such should not find any place under this section . . . no majority also should be discriminated against in this matter . . . . This amendment brings the majority and the minority on an equal status. In educational matters, I cannot understand, from the national point of view, how any discrimination can be justified in favour of a minority or a majority. Therefore, what this amendment seeks to do is that the majority and the minority are brought on the same level. There will be no discrimination between any member of the minority or majority in so far as admission to educational institutions are concerned. So I should say that this is a charter of the liberties for the student-world of the minority and the majority communities equally.

"The second change which this amendment seeks to make is in regard to the institutions which will be governed by this provision of law. Previously only the educational institutions maintained by the State were included. This amendment seeks to include such other institutions as are aided by State funds. There are a very large number of such institutions and in future, by this amendment the rights of the minority have been broadened and the rights of the majority have been secured. So this is a very healthy amendment and it is a kind of nation-building amendment . . . . The word 'community' is sought to be removed from this provision because . . . . the word 'community' is meaningless and the words substituted are 'race or caste.' So this provision is so broadened that on the score of caste, race, language, or religion no discrimination can be allowed."

The amendment moved by Pandit Bha-

15. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 8th December, 1948. particularly, pp. 897-98 and p. 925 thereof.

16. Corresponding, in effect, to Clause (2) of Article 29 of the Constitution of India.

17. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 8th December, 1948, pp. 897-98.

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...ava was duly accepted[18] by the Constituent ...Assembly on 8th December, 1948, and now ...constitutes Clause (2) of Article 29 of the ...Constitution. Let us analyse it here.

In a preceeding article[19] in the series we ...have been publishing in this journal, we in...vited the attention of the reader to the absence ...of the words 'sex' and 'place of birth' in Clause ...(2) of Article 29, and observed that it appeared ...to us that, subject, of course, to the other pro...visions of our Constitution, discrimination on ...the ground of sex or place of birth under ...Article 29(2) would not be constitutionally ...invalid. At any rate, we added, this point needed ...clarification. We still adhere to this view. For...tunately, there are some judicial pronounce...ments on the question and we may refer to ...them here.

In *Anjali Roy, Petitioner* v. the *State of ...West Bengal and Others, Opposite Party* ...Bose J. of the Calcutta High Court had held[20] ...on 14th February, 1952:

"Article 29(2) does not refer to the ground ...of sex. So this Article by itself does not in...validate any order of the State Government[21] ...or the Authorities of an educational insti...tution of the type described in Article 29(2), ...rejecting the admission of women students ...to a Government or Government-aided institu...tion. Article 15(1)[22] (of the Constitution) ...which is of wider application than Article ...29(2) prohibits discrimination on the ground ...of sex on (in?) all matters and so it includes ...discrimination in matters of admission to ...educational institutions. The result is that ...Article 15(1) should be construed as control...ling Article 29(2) of the Constitution."

On appeal against the judgment of Bose ...J. in this case, Chakravarti C. J. of the same ...High Court stated[23], however, in the course of ...his judgment[24] delivered on 5th June, 1952:

"Of paramount importance in Clause(1) (of Article 15 of the Constitution) are the words 'discrimination' and 'only.' What the Article forbids is discrimination and discrimination based solely on all or any of the grounds mentioned in the Article. All differentiation is not discrimination, but only such differentiation as is invidious and as is made, not because (of) any real difference in the conditions or natural difference between the persons dealt with which makes different treatment necessary, but because of the presence of some characteristic or affiliation which is either disliked or not regarded with equal favour, but which has no rational connection with the differentiation made as a justifying reason. Next, the discrimination which is forbidden is only such discrimination as is based solely on the ground that a person belongs to a particular race or caste or professes a particular religion or was born at a particular place or is of a particular sex and on no other ground. A discrimination based on one or more of these grounds and also on other grounds is not hit by the Article."

Further[25]—

"Some argument appears to have been addressed to Bose J. on Article 29(2) (of the Constitution) and the learned Judge has held that the Article should be read as controlled by Article 15(1) which is of a general character and covers all matters. Before assenting to that provision, I should require to consider the matter further when a proper occasion arises. Article 29(2) deals specifically with (the) denial of admission into educational institutions maintained by the State and it may not be without significance that it does not mention sex as one of the grounds on which such admission may not be denied. The framers of the Constitution may have thought that because of the physical and mental differences between men and women and considerations incidental thereto, exclusion of men from certain institutions serving women only and *vice versa* would not be hostile or un-

18. See *ibid.*, p. 925.
19. See *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, p. 301.
20. See *The All-India Reporter*, 1952, Vol. 39, Calcutta Section, pp. 822 and 824.
21. Reference here is to the Government of West Bengal. For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 822-31.
22. It runs as follows: "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste; sex; place of birth or any of them." Also see our article in this connexion in *The Modern Review* for March, 1955.
23. And Sen J. (of the Calcutta High Court) agreed with him.
24. In *Sm. Anjali Roy, Petitioner, Appellant* v. *The State of West Bengal and Others, Respondents*— See *The All-India Reporter*, 1952, Vol. 39, Calcutta Section, pp. 825-31.
25. See *ibid.*

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reasonable discrimination. It is true (that) while formerly Article 29(2) was, in form at least, an independent provision concerned with the particular subject of admission into educational institutions, it has now been linked up, to a certain extent, with Article 15, since Clause (4),[26] added to the last Article, authorises special provision for the advancement of educationally backward classes. Such provision may obviously be a provision, reserving certain educational institutions for the backward classes or reserving a certain number of seats for them, with the consequence of denying admission to other classes and, therefore, the Clause suggests that the subject of admission to educational institutions is not outside the ambit of Article 15. It may, however, be said that Article 15(4) has been added as an exception to that part of Article 15(1) which forbids discrimination on the ground of race or caste and as an amendment of that part of Article 29(2) which forbids denial of admission into educational institutions on the same grounds; but since no such provision regarding educational institutions has been made in Article 15 in the case of the ground of sex, Article 29(2), in so far as it does not mention sex as a forbidden ground of discrimination in regard to admission into educational institutions, remains unaffected. The matter is not free from difficulty, but I would prefer not to express any final opinion on it."

It appears from what is quoted above that the Calcutta High Court has not come to any definite decision on the question whether Article 29(2) of our Constitution is in any way controlled by Article 15(1) thereof. The Madras High Court, however, seems to have taken a definite decision on the point. In *The University of Madras (Appellant)* v. *Shantha Bai and Another (Respondent)*,[27] the Madras High Court[28] held[29] on 1st May, 1953:

"Now, it will be seen that while Article 15(1) enacts a general principle, Article 29(2) deals with a particular topic, *viz.*, admission to educational institutions. If the principle *generalia specialibus non derogant*[30] is to apply, the controlling provision would be Article 29(2) and not 19(1)[31] [15(1)?]. It should also be noted that the language of Article 29(2) is significantly different from that of Article 15(1). Thus, as pointed out by the learned Advocate-General, while Article 15(1) prohibits discrimination on the ground, *inter alia*, of 'place of birth', these words are omitted in Article 29(2). The omission is clearly deliberate and there is a purpose behind it. A State might be minded to open an institution for the advancement of knowledge in a particular region which might be backward and for carrying out this object it might restrict admission into the institution to persons of the locality. If persons from other and more advanced regions are to insist on being admitted and the restriction in favour of persons who belong to the locality is to be rejected as inconsistent with Article 15(1), the result would be that persons in the locality might be prevented for all times from improving their lot. It is to avoid such consequence that 'place of birth' which is included in Article 15(1) would appear to have been omitted in Article 29(2). In the same manner the omission of 'sex' in Article 29(2) would appear to be a deliberate departure from the language of Article 15(1), and its object must have been to leave it to the educational authorities to make their own rules suited to their conditions and not to force on them an obligation to admit women.

"Some argument was addressed before us on the exact significance of Article 15(3) which enacts that 'nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.' The true scope of Article 15(3) is that, notwithstanding Article 15(1), it will be lawful for the State to establish educational institutions solely for women and the

26. Clause (4) of Article 15 of the Constitution lays down: "Nothing in this Article or in Clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes."

Also see our article in this series in *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, in this connection.

27. Letters Patent Appeal No. 4 of 1952 from the judgment of Subba Rao J.—*The All-India Reporter*, 1954. Madras High Court, pp. 67-71.

28. Rajamannar, C. J. and Venkatarama Ayyar, J.—See *ibid.*, p. 67.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70. For details in this case, see *ibid.*, pp. 67-71.

30. "A general Act is to be construed as not repealing a particular one, that is, one directed to a special object or a special class of objects."—*Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes*, 10th ed., pp. 176-80. in this connexion.

31. An obvious misprint for 15(1).

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the exclusion of men students from such institutions would not contravene Article 15(1) . . . The combined effect of both Articles 15(3) and 29(2) is that, while men students have no right of admission to women's colleges, the right of women to admission in other colleges is a matter within the regulation of the authorities of these colleges. In *Anjali* v. *State of West Bengal* . . . Bose J. was of the view that Article 29(2) would be controlled by Article 15(1). But on appeal, the learned Judges left the point open.[32] We are of opinion that Article 29(2) is a special Article and is the controlling provision when the question relates to the (?) admission to colleges."

We feel inclined to agree with the view of the Madras High Court that "Article 29(2) is a special Article" and that it "is the controlling provision" so far as "admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds," is concerned. As we shall have an occasion to see later on, the Supreme Court of India also admitted the special character of Article 29(2) when it delivered on 26th May, 1954, in the course of its judgment in *The State of Bombay* (*Appellant*) v. *Bombay Education Society and Others* (*Respondent*)[33]:

"Article 15 protects all citizens against discrimination generally, but Article 29(2) is a protection against a particular species of wrong, namely, denial of admission into educational institutions of the specified kind . . . Article 29(2) confers a special right on citizens for admission into educational institutions maintained or aided by the State."

We may even go so far as to state that in these respects Article 29(2) may be treated as a "particular exception" to the "general intention" as embodied in Article 15(1). In such a case the accepted rule of interpretation is as we find in *Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes*:[34]

"Where a general intention is expressed, and also a particular intention which is incompatible with the general one, the particular intention is considered an exception to the general one. Even when the later, or later part, of the enactment is in the negative, it is sometimes reconcilable with the earlier one by so treating it. If, for instance, an Act in one section authorised a corporation to sell a particular piece of land and in another prohibited it from selling 'any land,' the first section would be treated, not as repealed by the sweeping terms of the other, but as being an exception to it."

In view of what we have stated above, we reiterate our former submission[35] that, notwithstanding what is provided for in Article 15(1), discrimination, on the ground of sex or place of birth, under Article 29(2) will not be constitutionally invalid. At any rate, the point needs authoritative clarification.

It may also be noted here that the insertion of Clause (4) in Article 15 by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, has, as we have seen before,* indirectly amended in some respects Article 29(2) so far as any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are concerned.

V

Before we conclude this article, we may refer, in connexion with the question of interpretation of Article 29(2), to the judgment of our Supreme Court in *The State of Bombay* v. *Bombay Education Society and Others*, delivered by Das J. on 26th May, 1954.

Briefly speaking, it appears from the judgment[36] that the Education Society of Bombay (respondent No. 1), to be referred to hereinafter as the Education Society, had been running since 1925 a recognized Anglo-Indian School known as Barnes High School at Deolali in Nasik District in the State of Bombay. The school used to receive a considerable aid from the State. English was used as the medium of instruction in it since its inception, the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indian community being English.

On 6th January, 1954, the State of Bombay

32. Reference is to the view of Chakravarti, C.J., of the Calcutta High Court as quoted before. Sen J. of the same High Court agreed with this view.
33. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, Part II, January, 1955, pp. 579-80.
34. Tenth Edition, 1953, Granville Sharp and Melville Galpin, p. 172.

35. See *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, p. 201.
* See *ibid.*, pp. 197-200.
36. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, Part II, February, 1955, pp. 568-88; Civil Appellate Jurisdiction (Civil Appeals No. 64 to 66 of 1954).

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issued a circular order, headed "Admissions to schools teaching through the medium of English." The operative part of this order enjoined that, subject to a few specified exceptions, "no primary or secondary school shall from the date of the order admit to a class where English is used as the medium of instruction any pupil other than a pupil belonging to a section of citizens the language of which is English, namely, Anglo-Indians and citizens of non-Asiatic descent."

On 1st February, 1954, one Dr. Guzar, an Indian citizen belonging to the Guzrati Hindu community, whose mother-tongue was Guzrati, sought admission for his son into Barnes High School. And on 2nd February, 1954, one Major Pinto, an Indian citizen belonging to the Indian Christian community, also sought admission into the school for his daughter. He claimed that his mother-tongue was English and that his entire family spoke and used English at home. But, as a result of the order of 6th January, 1954, referred to above, admission was refused by the Headmaster of the school to both the students as they did not belong to the Anglo-Indian community, nor were they of non-Asiatic descent. There were also "similar other applications for admission which," too, "had to be rejected on similar grounds."

Thereupon the Education Society and its Directors presented an application under Article 226 of the Constitution before the High Court of Bombay "praying for the issue of a Writ in the nature of *Mandamus* restraining the State of Bombay and its officers from enforcing the said order" and allowing "the petitioners to admit in the school any children of non-Anglo-Indian citizens or citizens of Asiatic descent and to educate them through the medium of English." Similar applications were made by Major Pinto and his daughter and Dr. Guzar and his son, "praying for similar reliefs." All these applications were consolidated on 11th February, 1954, heard together and accepted by the High Court on 15th February, 1954. The High Court made an order as prayed for. The State of Bombay then appealed to the Supreme Court against the order. The Supreme Court held[37] in essence:

"The impugned order (of 6th January, 1954) denying the right of students who are not Anglo-Indians, or are of Asiatic descent, to be admitted to a recognised Anglo-Indian School (in this case the Barnes High School) which receives aid from the State and which imparts education through the medium of English, is void and unenforceable as it offends against the fundamental right guaranteed to all citizens by Article 29(2) of the Constitution, because—

(*a*) the language of Article 29(2) of the Constitution is wide and unqualified and covers all citizens whether they belong to the majority or minority group;

(*b*) the protection given by the said Article extends against the State or anybody who denies the right conferred by it;

(*c*) the said Article confers a special right on citizens for admission into the educational institutions maintained or aided by the State; and

(*d*) the marginal note (to Article 29) referring to minorities does not control the plain meaning of the language in which Article 29(2) has been couched."

In elucidation of some of these points, we may quote an extract or two from the relevant judgment of the Supreme Court. It declared,[38] among other things:

"There is (a) good deal of force . . . in the argument that the order (of 6th January, 1954) restricts admission only to Anglo-Indians and citizens of non-Asiatic descent whose language is English. . . . Assuming, however, that under the impugned order a section of citizens other than Anglo-Indians and citizens of non-Asiatic descent, whose language is English, may also get admission, even then citizens, whose language is not English, are certainly debarred by the order from admission to a school where English is used as a (the?) medium of instruction in all the classes. Article 29(2) *ex facie* protects no limitation or qualification on the expression 'citizen.' Therefore . . . the order will contravene the provisions of Article 29(2)."

Further—

"The learned Attorney-General (for India[39] . . . falls back upon two contentions to avoid the applicability of Article 29(2). In the

37. *Ibid.*, p. 569.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 578-86.

39. Counsel for the appellant (State of Bombay)

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place he contends that Article 29(2) does not confer any fundamental right on all citizens generally, but guarantees the rights of citizens of minority groups by providing that they must not be denied admission to educational institutions maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them, and he refers us to the marginal note to the Article. This is certainly a new contention put forward before us for the first time. It does not appear to have been specifically taken in the affidavits in opposition filed in the High Court and there is no indication in the judgment under appeal that it was advanced in this form before the High Court. Nor was this point specifically made a ground of appeal in the petition for leave to appeal to this Court. Apart from this, the contention appears to us to be devoid of merit. Article 29(1) gives protection to any section of the citizens having a distinct language, script or culture by guaranteeing their right to conserve the same. Article 30(1) secures to all minorities, whether based on religion or language, the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. Now suppose the State maintians an educational institution to help conserving the distinct language, script or culture of a section of the citizens or makes grants in aid or an educational institution established by a minority based on religion or language to conserve their distinct language, script or culture, who can claim the protection of Article 29(2) in the matter of admission into any such institution? Surely the citizens of the very section whose language, script or culture is sought to be conserved by the institution or the citizens who belong to the very minority group which has established and is administering the institution, do not need any protection against themselves and therefore Article 29(2) is not designed for the protection of this section or this minority. Nor do we see any reason to limit Article 29(2) to citizens belonging to a minority group other than the section or the minorities referred to in Article 29(1) or Article 30(1), for the citizens, who do not belong to any minority group, may quite conceivably need this protection just as much as the citizens of such other minority groups. If it is urged that the citizens of the majority group are amply protected by Article 15 and do not require the protection of Article 29(2), then there are several obvious answers to that argument. The language of Article 29(2) is wide and unqualified and may well cover all citizens whether they belong to the majority or minority group. Article 15 protects all citizens against the State whereas the protection of Article 29(2) extends against the State or anybody who denies the right conferred by it. Further, Article 15 protects all citizens against discrimination generally, but Article 29(2) is a protection against a particular species of wrong, namely, denial of admission into educational institutions of the specified kind. In the next place, Article 15 is quite general and wide in its terms and applies to all citizens, whether they belong to the majority or minority groups, and gives protection to all the citizens against discrimination on certain specific grounds. Article 29(2) confers a special right on citizens for admission into educational institutions maintained or aided by the State. To limit this right only to citizens belonging to minority groups will be to provide a double protection for such citizens and to hold that the citizens of the majority group have no special educational rights in the nature of a right to be admitted into an educational institution for the maintenance of which they make contributions by way of taxes.* We see no cogent reason for such discrimination. The heading under which Articles 29 and 30 are grouped together—namely, 'Cultural and Educational Rights'—is quite general and does not in terms contemplate such differentiation. If the fact that the institution is maintained or aided out of State funds is the basis of this guaranteed right, then all citizens, irrespective of whether they belong to the majority or minority groups, are alike entitled to the protection of this fundamental right. In view of all these considerations the marginal note (to Article 29) alone, on which the Attorney-General relies, cannot be read as controlling the plain meaning of the language in which Article 29(2) has been couched. Indeed, in *The State of Madras* v. *Srimathi Champakam*

* See in this connection Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava's speech in the Constituent Assembly, as quoted before.

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Dorairajan[40] (1951, S.C.R. 525 at p. 530), this Court has already held as follows:

"It will be noticed that while Clause (1) (of Article 29) protects the language, script or culture of a section of the citizens, Clause (2) (thereof) guarantees the fundamental right of an individual citizen. The right to get admission into any educational institution of the kind mentioned in Clause (2) is a right which an individual citizen has as a citizen and not as a member of any community or class of citizens.

"In our judgment this part of the contention of the learned Attorney-General cannot be sustained."

Referring to the second contention of the Attorney-General, the Supreme Court held[41]:

"The second part of the arguments of the learned Attorney-General hinges upon the word 'only' to be found in Article 29(2). His contention is that the impugned order (of 6th January, 1954) does not deny admission to any citizen on the ground *only* of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. He maintains with considerable emphasis that it is incumbent on the State to secure the advancement of Hindi which is ultimately to be our national language and he stresses the desirability of or even the necessity, generally acknowledged by educationists, for imparting education through the medium of the pupil's mother-tongue. We have had equally emphatic rejoinder from (the) learned Counsel appearing for the different respondents . . . We must, therefore, evaluate the argument of the learned Attorney-General on purely legal considerations bearing on the question of construction of Article 29(2) . . . The arguments advanced by the learned Attorney-General overlook the distinction between the object or motive underlying the impugned order (of 6th January, 1954) and the mode and manner adopted therein for achieving that object. The object or motive attributed by the learned Attorney-General to the impugned order is undoubtedly a laudable one but its validity has to be judged by the method of its operation and its effect on the fundamental right guaranteed by Article 29(2) . . . . Granting that the object of impugned order before us was what is claimed for it by the learned Attorney-General, the question still remains as to how that object has been sought to be achieved. Obviously that is sought to be done by denying to all pupils whose mother-tongue is not English, admission into any school where the medium of instruction is English. Whatever the object, the immediate ground and direct cause for the denial is that the mother-tongue of the pupil is not English . . . the laudable object of the impugned order does not obviate the prohibition of Article 29(2) because the effect of the order involves an infringement of this fundamental right, and that effect is brought about by denying admission only on the ground of language. The same principle is implicit in the decision of this Court in *The State of Madras* v. *Srimathi Champakam Dorairajan* (1951, S.C.R. 525 at p. 530). There also the object of the impugned communal G. O. was to advance the interest of educationally backward classes of citizens but that object notwithstanding, this Court struck down the order as unconstitutional because the *modus operandi* to achieve that object was directly based only on one of the forbidden grounds specified in the Article. In our opinion the impugned order (of 6th January, 1954) offends against the fundamental right guaranteed to all citizens by Article 29(2)."

Thus the Supreme Court clearly declared in its judgment in *The State of Bombay* v. *Bombay Education Society and Others*, that under Article 29(2) of our Constitution, no citizen could be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds, on the ground of his language. As we have noted before,[43] Article 15(1) is silent on the question of 'language'. But, in view of Article 29(2), this does not matter so far as admission into an educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds is concerned.

Finally, the Supreme Court declared in the course of its judgment in the case re-

40. See our article in this series in *The Modern Review* for March, 1955. particularly pp. 197-99, in this connexion.

41. The *Supreme Court Reports*, Part II, February, 1955, pp. 581-84.

42. See our article in this series in *The Modern Review* for March, 1955, pp. 197-99.

43. See *The Modern Review* for March, p. 201.

44. *The Supreme Court Reports*, Part II, Feb 1955, p. 586.

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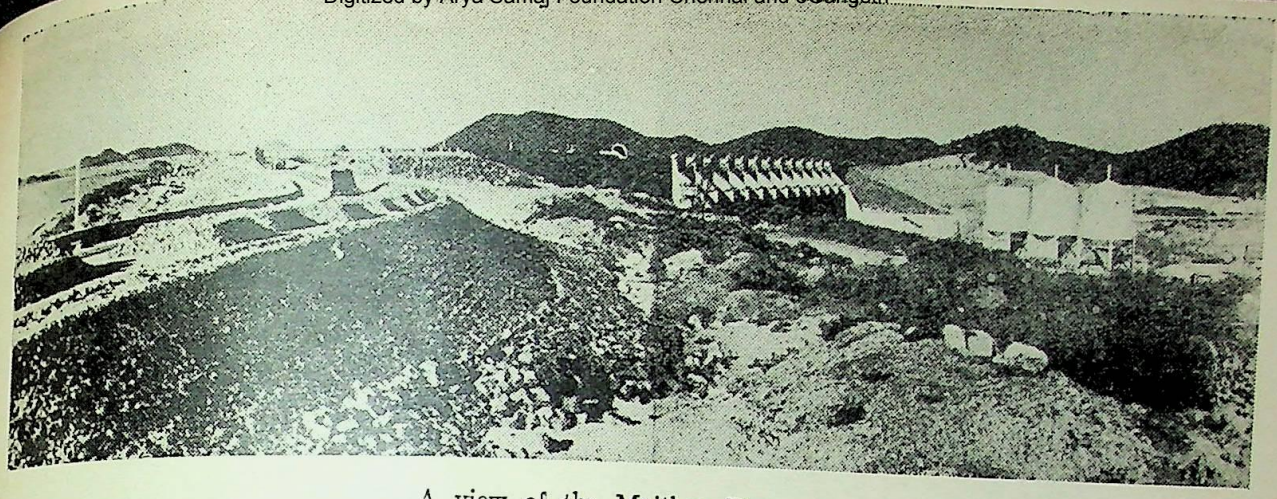
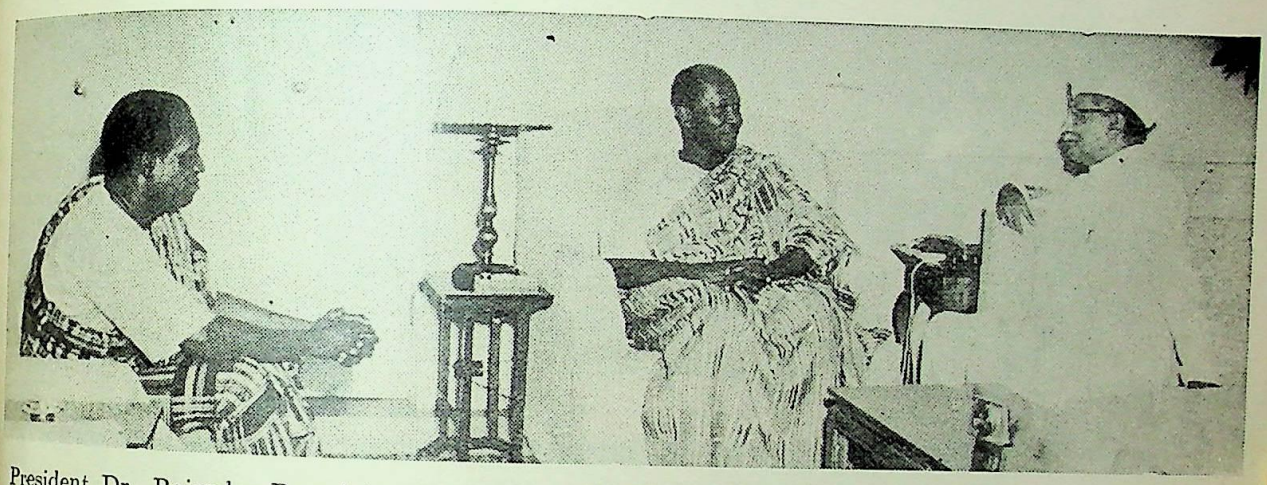
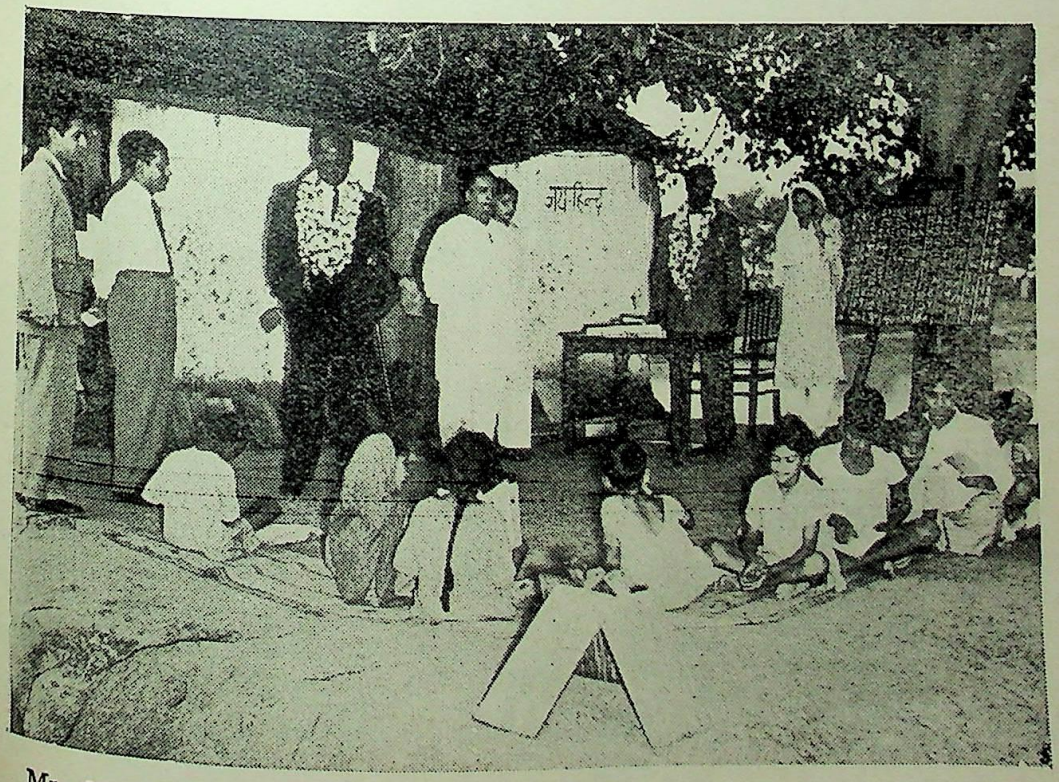


A view of the Maithon Dam



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad in conversation with H. E. Mr. Gbedemah, Minister for Finance and H. E. Mr. Nylander, Minister for Education of Ghana at Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi on September 6, 1957



Mr. Gbedemah and Mr. Nylander, Ministers of Ghana for Finance and Education respectively, visited Shamaspur, a village in the Gurgaon Community Development Block near Delhi on September 6, 1957

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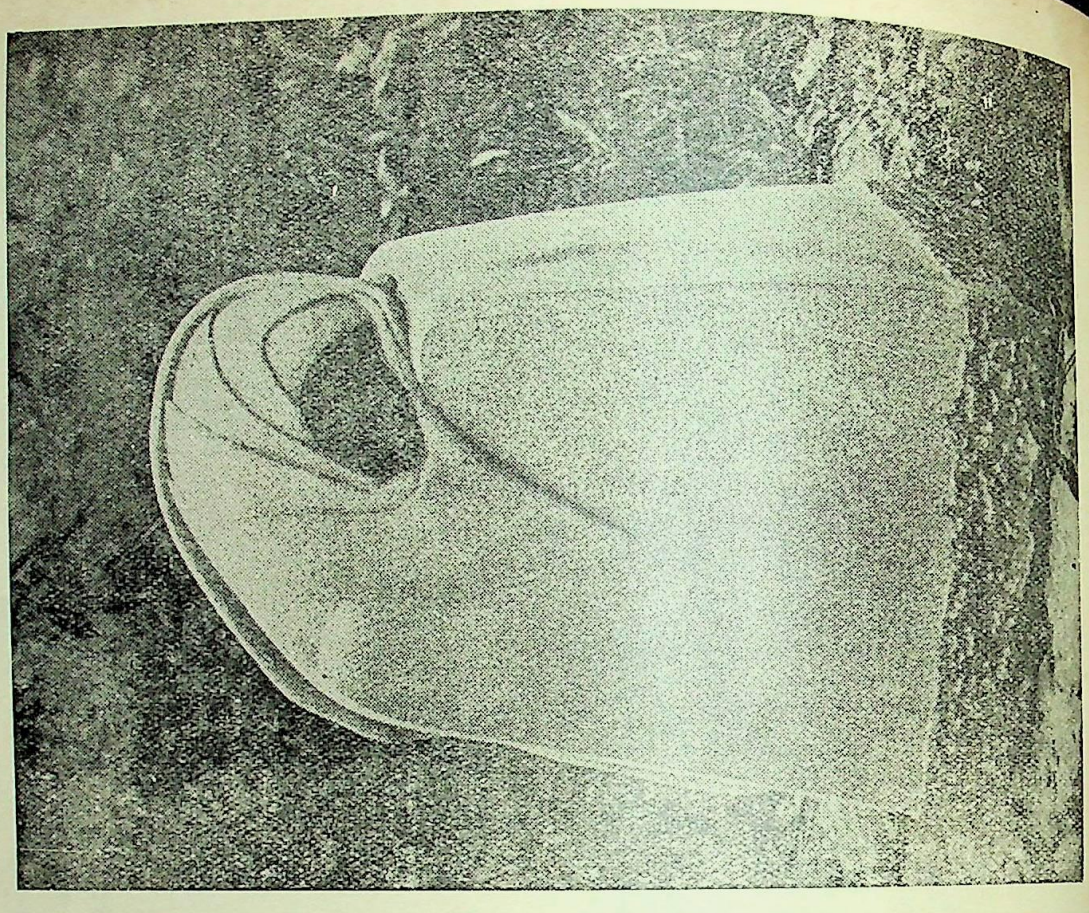

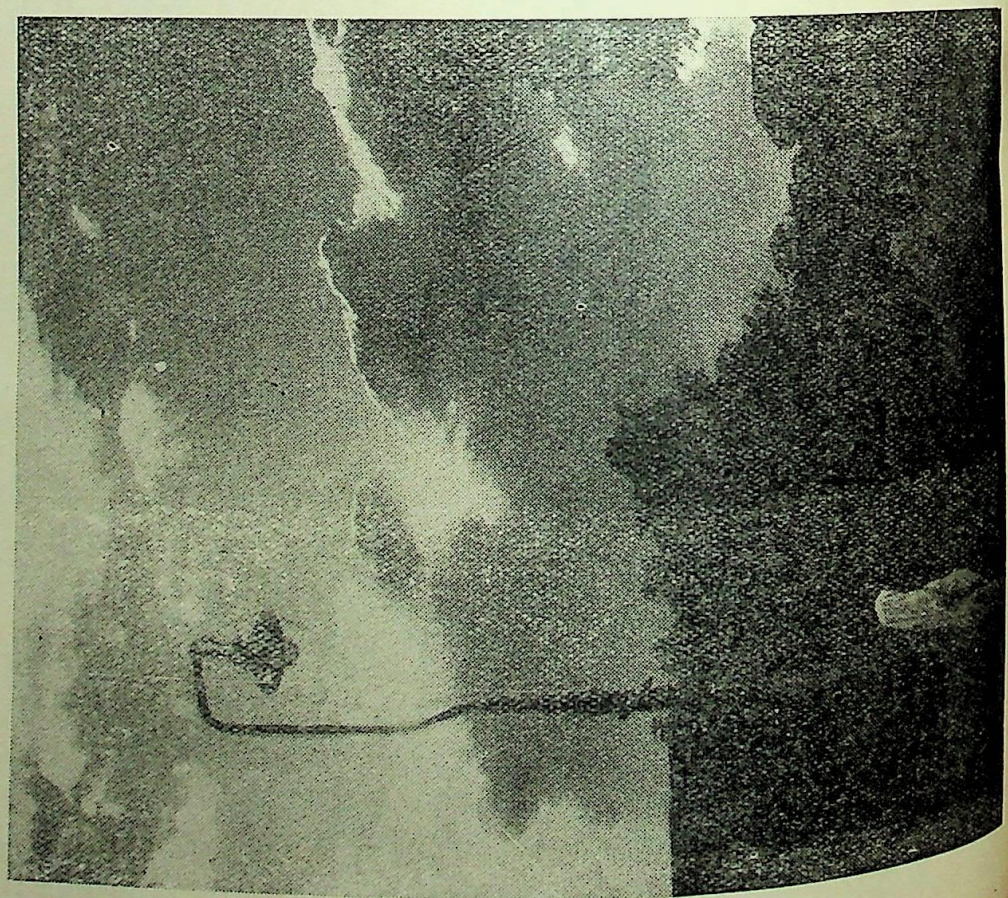

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as above, with reference to Article 29(1) and Article 30(1) of the Constitution:

"Where . . . a minority like the Anglo-Indian community, which is based, *inter alia*, on religion and language, has the fundamental right to conserve its language, script and culture under Article 29(1) and has the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice under Article 30(1), surely then there must be implicit in such fundamental right the right to impart instruction in their own institutions to the children of their own Community in their own language. To hold otherwise will be to deprive Article 29(1) and Article 30(1) of the greater part of their contents. Such being the fundamental right, the police power[45] of the State to determine the medium of instruction must yield to this fundamental right to the extent it is necessary to give effect to it and cannot be permitted to run counter to it."[46]

The upshot of the foregoing discussion[47] was that the appeals[48] made by the State of Bombay against the judgment and order of the Bombay High Court were dismissed by the Supreme Court, and that the State of Bombay was directed "to pay the costs of the respondents."

In our next article in this series we propose to deal with the nature and extent of our Fundamental Right to Property.

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45. The doctrine of police power of the State is entirely American doctrine. In *Barbier* v. *Connolly* (113 U.S. 27), the Supreme Court of the United States defined the police power of the State as its power "to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education, and good order of the people; and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the State, develop its resources, and add to its wealth and prosperity."—See Fenn, *The Development of the Constitution*, 1948, p. 210.

According to Professor Willis, "the police power is the legal capacity of government to control the conduct and liberty of individuals for the protection of the general interests (or common good) of the people who have created such government . . . There are two main requirements for a proper exercise of the police power: (1) there must be a social interest to be protected which is more important than the social interest in individual liberty, and (2) there must be, as a means to the accomplishment of this end, something which bears a substantial relation thereto."—(Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, pp. 224 and 225).

It may be noted here that in *Mayer* v. *Nebraska* (262 U.S. 390) the Supreme Court held: "Determination by the legislature of what constitutes (a) proper exercise of police power is not final or conclusive but is subject to revision by the courts."

The doctrine of police power of the State does not appear to have received *much* encouragement or support from the judiciary in India. And we also quote from the judgment of Patanjali Sastri, C.J. (Supreme Court of India) in *The State of West Bengal* v. *Subodh Gopal Bose and Others*, dated 17th December, 1953.

"The American doctrine of police power as a distinct and specific legislative power is not recognised in our Constitution."—See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1954, Vol. V, Parts VI & VII; June and July, 1954, p. 606; also p. 669. Das J., of the Supreme Court, however, thinks otherwise and there is a good deal of force in what he says on this point.—See *ibid.*, pp. 638-56.

46. This declaration was made by the Supreme Court with reference to the following contention of the Attorney-General (for India) on behalf of the State of Bombay:

"Although any section of the citizens having (a) distinct language, script or culture of its own, has under Article 29(1) the right to conserve the same, and although all minorities, whether based on religion or language, have, under Article 30(1), the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice, nevertheless such sections or minorities cannot question the power of the State to make reasonable regulations for all Schools, including a requirement that they should give instruction in a particular language which is regarded as the national language, or to prescribe a curriculum for institutions which it supports."

—See *ibid.*, pp. 584-85.

47. We have not referred in this article to that portion of the judgment of the Supreme Court in *The State of Bombay* v. *Bombay Education Society & Others*, which deals with the bearing of Proviso 2 to Article 337 of the Constitution on this case as it is not very relevant to our purpose in the article. The interested reader may refer to pages 586-88 of *The Supreme Court Reports*, Part II. February, 1955, in this connexion.

48. See foot-note 36 above.

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FOOD FACTS IN INDIA

By Dr. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

VI

Conclusion

We have discussed at length the progress made by us in the science of nutrition[1] and the truth of the statement that the food in the country is short by so many calories would seem to be doubtful. The very talk of quantitative analysis and that too on the basis of caloric requirements would seem to be quite wrong. De Castro does not make any mention of 'hunger of carbohydrates' in any part of the world. The *Diet Survey Reports* for the period 1935-48 conducted by the Indian Council of Medical Research confirm that the cereal consumption of the people in the country has been more than what is required on the basis of nutritive levels.[2] The findings of experts like Sir John Boyd Orr are not different.[3]

Along with this lack of knowledge on nutrition, our information about the flora and fauna of India is all the more incomplete. We hardly know what people, in the remote corners of the country, are used to consuming. According to Max Sorre, "there are some 2 million known species of animals, but only 50 have been domesticated and contribute to our food supply." Similarly out of the world's 350,000 vegetable species, only 600 are cultivated by men.[4] India which in every sense of the term is a big continent in itself and is inhabited by people of various races in the remotest corners of the country, abounds in natural mushroom growth, which is consumed by the local people. Many of them have been declared by our experts as 'famine foods.' There are root crops like the much-neglected 'taro,' which yields starch as good as potato, but both protein and starch content is high. A. K. Yegna Narayana Aiyar gives a list of as many as 84 so-called famine foods being consumed by people, all rich in nutrients.[5] Our village-folk have, however, been living on them for centuries and keeping themselves quite fit.

Mrs. Wiser who made a comprehensive study of the foods of a Hindu village—Karimpur in U.P.—said:

> "The village looks to its trees as a special source of variety in the diet. And the trees have something to suffer during most of the year. Some of the fruits like the *neem* and *peepul* berries, we would never consider as human food, and in government publications they are listed as famine foods. But the children eat them in large quantities and farmers munch them on their way to and from the fields."[6]

She further added that

> "The children also gather and eat the blossoms of the Mahwa tree, and forage for wild plums."[7]

There is no lack of such other unknown foods in other parts of the country as well. The late Mr. Sivaswami of the Servants of India Society gives details of the food habits of two of the aboriginal tribes of Malabar—the Paniyans and Arandans. According to him the staple food of the Arandans for a great part of the year consists of wild roots, the common out of them being Katiyange, Valli Kroano, Noore, Kelenge and Kavale.[8]

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1. It would be interesting to note in this connection that literature on the science of nutrition is extensive. The 5th volume of the *Science of Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews* (1935-36) published 4,762 abstracts of scientific papers and books on various aspects of the subject and the flood appears to be increasing rather than diminishing.—(Aykroyd, *Human Nutrition, op. cit.*, pp. 11-12).

2. Indian Council of Medical Research, Report on the Result of Diet Surveys in India (1935-48).

3. Quoted in *The Modern Review*, February, 1952, p. 114. Also see the League of Nations, *Nutrition*, 1935, p. 9.

4. De Castro, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

5. Paper read by him on 'Subsidiary Foods' at Symposium on Food and Population at the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore, May, 1951, pp. 117 to 124.

6. Charlotte Viall Wiser: *The Foods of a Village of North India, Bureau of Statistics and Economic Research, UP Bulletin No. 2*, July 1936, p.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

8. K. G. Sivaswami and others, *Food Control Nutrition Surveys—Malabar and South Kanara*. There are many more cases of other rural studies which have to the dietary habits of rural India. We may mention in this connection the Hon. James W. Best's *Life in India*, London, p. 122) who, while describing the food of Baiga farmer of Madhya Pradesh, says: "There are wild fruits in plenty, some very nourishing roots, honey for the taking by brave men, and [illegible] that are delicious . . . One of the meals I have enjoyed consists of fish, venison with wild [illegible]

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aboriginal and tribal people who number as many as 19 millions in India are living on most of such ignored foods and are yet keeping more than fit.

Wild varieties in India are innumerable. And the missing constituents of food are supplied by these. Again, to quote Mrs. Wiser,

"The children are the ones who let their physical needs direct their foraging. None of the edible fruits miss them. The wild ones which they eat, we know little about. But we feel sure that they must supply some vitamin C, and calories, and perhaps some of the iron which they need. The gum from the gum acacia tree of which they are particularly fond, must add calories, if nothing more."[9]

Dr. Dube in his description of a South Indian Village, says that in the rainy season almost everyone grows some vegetables and flowers, and these are in most cases the only vegetables regularly eaten in any part of the year.[10] Hunting is done regularly by a very limited number of people. Although surrounding of the village afford very few opportunities for the collection of wild food, mango, jack, tender leaves and berries are eagerly collected.[11] Then there are innumerable festivals celebrated throughout rural India when special dishes are cooked in every house.[12]

We have adapted ourselves to the variety of foods through centuries.[13] According to Dr. Aykroyd, a diet containing just two items, a whole cereal (*e.g.*, oatmeal) and skimmed milk, would be reasonably adequate in nutritive value. We cannot under the circumstances say with certainty that our food is quite unwholesome. If at all we are keen to improve our food, let us not look to science more and ridicule ourselves in the eyes of the world. We will automatically be able to add more of milk, fish and many other things, if the poor and the middle classes are promised a better share of the national income. There is, in fact, no reason to believe that we are the most underfed country in the world or that we are and have been suffering from even those foods which supply fuel, —cereals—to the body.

VII

Coming to the relation between acreage under foodgrains and the increase in population it may be added that historical series for acreage and yield of various crops are not available, and it would seem to be rather ridiculous to make any comparative study in their absence. During the 'forties' when most of the work was done by eminent scholars like Dr. Gyan Chand, no statistics worth the name were available from areas known as Princely States. This being the case, they restricted their study to British India only. Even if it is accepted that the figures for acreage and production of various crops were correct for British India, we will not be justified to make any categorical statement for the whole of India. Particularly, when we know that the States were intermixed with the rest of India and covered an area of as much as 592,330 square miles, a little less than half of the present area of the Union which is about 12 lakh square miles. This vast territory was inhabited only by 92.8 million people. This, in other words, mean that States which covered as much as 47 per cent of the total area, had only to support a population of 26 per cent of the total.[14] Certainly the then British India was

truffles as I dared to eat, mango food from the fruit, and honey for the desert."

grain, this is not peculiar to Madhya Pradesh or Bhagas. W. Burns (*Sons of the Soil—Studies of the Indian Cultivator*, New Delhi, 1941) gives pen-pictures the cultivator all over India by those who had and knowledge of the habits of peasants. Not speak of the northern cultivator of the Punjab or even the Madras cultivator (pp. 2-3), the Bencultivator (pp. 32 and 34) and the Berar cultivator 78-79), consumes food which cannot certainly be to be lacking in quantity at least.

9. Wiser, *ibid.*, p. 60.
10. S. C. Dube, *Indian Village*, 1955, p. 80.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-130.
13. H. H. Mitchell, Division of Animal Nutrition, Illinois University in an article in the *Journal of American Dietetic Association* (20) 8, September 1944 mentions a number of instances of adjustments of the human body to a reduced intake of protein, calcium and vitamins. According to him, every human being is endowed with what is known as 'Adaptation Energy'. It is this energy, according to him, which is responsible for the survival of the people of South-East Asia in spite of diet considered as poor by Western nations. His conclusion is, "It probably accounts for the ability of you and me to eschew with impunity such protective foods as milk, spinach, turnip greens or the like if we do not like them. It is an important phase of that capacity of the human race to survive and thrive in all climates and regions of the world."

14. All figures for States are from White Paper on States.

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depending for its food supply upon many of these States. Increases-decreases in acreage in this half of the country must also be taken into consideration, if any correct conclusion is to be arrived at. As this is not possible, this method of approach to the problem has got to be rejected outright.

VIII

Production Statistics

While agreeing in principle with Dr. Thomas that conclusions based on acreage statistics are most unsatisfactory, and do not reflect the improvements in land and other conditions factors, we have to admit that the production statistics for the country have been still worse. There may be some grain or reliability in the data relating to acreage, but even that much is missing with regard to production. This is the main reason which has led to many contradictory conclusions. The findings of Dr. Thomas, Sir Meek and Prof. Karve already referred to that food production had been keeping pace or even going ahead of population increase, cannot be relied upon on this basis. In fact, the whole of the discussion based on acreage or production has to be discarded and conclusions, if any, are to be drawn from other sources.

IX

Trade Pattern

Having failed to establish their theory on the basis of nutritive levels or acreage and production figures, the last mainstay with the votaries of the shortage school rests on the trade pattern. The data with regard to import and export of foodgrains is most reliable and as already explained, efforts have been made by Mr. Gopalaswami to prove his thesis on this basis.

Examining the position for the period 1920-21 to 1936-37, it would be wrong to deal with India and Burma separately when they formed one political unit. A study of Table I would reveal that even if we ignore Burma's exports to other countries, India was a net exporter of foodgrains. Adam Smith pointed out some two centuries back:

> "It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family, never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy."[15]

No wonder then if these imports into Burma were in response to this normal principle of economics.

But even if we are to treat Burma and India as separate units, increasing imports of rice and decreasing exports of wheat did not necessarily represent any real shortage at home. Some other factors would seem to be responsible for the phenomena. Let us then analyse the country's import and export position of food which largely consisted of rice and wheat.

Rice Import

Before separation in 1937, India was getting her supplies of rice mainly from Burma. This will be explicit from Table I which gives the pattern of food trade in India from 1920-21 to 1936-37. (See Table I).

This shows that rice imports from Burma did not follow a steady pace. From one million tons in 1921-22, they fell to nearly half a million tons both in 1923-24 and 1924-25. They reached the peak of 2.2 million tons in 1930-35 to be followed by a sharp decline to 1.3 and 1.6 million tons in the two following years. This downward trend in imports continued in the first two years after separation.

Many factors were responsible for these fluctuations in rice imports from Burma. One was that the Burma rice was of a relatively low quality[16] and the cheapest variety. It catered to the taste of poor South India whose favourite dish was 'Kchichri' (a preparation of rice and pulses).

Further a study of the price differences of low grade rice in India and Burma would show that Burma rice was invariably cheaper than the coarse varieties of Madras and Bombay. While the price per maund of such coarse varieties in Burma varied between Rs. 2-1-0 and Rs. 1-3-5 in the year 1934-35 (Table II

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15. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Ed., W. R. Scott, 1925), Vol. I, p. 457.

16. *Report on the Marketing of Rice in India and Burma*, 1941, p. 71, says: "The great bulk of the rice imported into this country, consists of relatively low qualities, such as, Big and Small Mills Specials, raw rices milled in Burma chiefly from the Nga-yin and Lotywezin paddies."

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 564 to 567.

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TABLE I

Trade in Foodgrains (United India including Burma) 1920-21 to 1936-37

(In thousand tons)

Year	Imports		Exports	Net Export (—) Imports (+)	Index
	All foodgrains	*Rice imports from Burma*	*All foodgrains* (excl. Burma)		
1920-21	237	1,055	611	—374	—100
1921-22	741	1,003	422	+319	+ 85.3
1922-23	262	703	783	—521	—139.3
1923-24	298	541	611	—313	— 84.0
1924-25	205	629	2,457	—2,252	—602.1
1925-26	212	1,016	875	—663	—177.3
1926-27	205	723	766	—561	—150.0
1927-28	816	1,103	1,009	—193	— 51.6
1928-29	966	1,253	885	— 81	— 21.7
1929-30	573	1,089	603	— 30	— 8.0
1930-31	423	986	765	—342	— 91.4
1931-32	337	1,255	618	—281	— 75.1
1932-33	295	1,046	520	—225	— 60.2
1933-34	300	1,789	466	—166	— 44.4
1934-35	582	2,200	488	+ 94	+ 25.3
1935-36	768	1,747	422	—346	— 92.5
1936-37	345	1,620	720	—375	—100.3

SOURCE: Columns 2 and 4 adapted from Appendices to Part 1-B, *Census Report*, 1951, p. 312 and column 3 from the *Report on the Marketing of Rice in India and Burma*, 1941, p. 63, and is the total of rice and paddy.

average price of a coarse variety like uma' in Madras and 'Pattani' in Bombay Rs. 3-5-4 and Rs. 3-15-2 per maund res-tively in 1934-35.[18] (See Table II).

The Burma rice was being sold at . 3-5-6 per maund, in the city of Madras. hereas local rice would cost Rs. 4-5 per aund.[19] As for the imports from other coun-ies they also consisted mainly of broken rice f the cheapest variety.[20]

Since the supplies of cheap rice were ailable from outside, the Crop Planning b-Committee (1934) recommended that no ore area should be brought under rice.[21] arious provinces, therefore, made every effort encourage cash crops.[22] But the area under ch crops improved only slightly, while that der rice remained practically stationary. In the absence of any alternative demand for cash crops, the cultivator found it very difficult to reduce cultivation of rice when the prices were falling and particularly when there was no appreciable demand for any competitive crop.

World Demand: From the years 1909-13 to 1936-37, the average world production of rice (excluding China) rose from 50.4 to 64.4 million tons, *i.e.*, by about 28 per cent.[23] The countries mainly responsible for the increases were India, Burma, Siam, Japan and Korea. Rice is consumed mainly by the countries in Asia. In Europe, France was the chief importer of rice, that too from Indo-China. The world market in rice being thus tight, the Government of India made efforts to find market for Burma rice in India. It imposed a protective duty of twelve annas per maund on all foreign imports of rice with effect from April, 1, 1935,[24] with the result that the imports of broken rice,

18. *Ibid.*, p. 543.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
21. Dr. Baljit Singh, *Population and Food Planning in India*, Bombay, 1947, p. 97.
22. Brij Narain, *India Before and Since the Crisis*, Vol. II, 1939, p. 385.
23. *Rice Report, op. cit*, p. 2.
24. G. B. Jather and S. G. Beri, *Indian Economics*, Vol. I, 1949, p. 137.

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TABLE II

Comparative Prices of Various Burma Varieties (82-2-7 lb. in Rs. As.). Prices are per maund of various varieties

Year	Big Mills	Small Mills	Milchar	Broken No. 3	Nagasein Paddy
1933	1 12 3	1 13 11	2 0 11	1 2 8	.. .. ..
1934	1 13 9	1 14 10	2 3 1	1 3 5	1 4 0
1935	2 7 5	2 8 8	2 11 7	2 0 8	1 11 0
1936	2 3 11	2 7 2	2 9 5	5 12 1	1 10 0
1937	2 8 3	2 9 10	2 11 4	1 14 6	1 12 0

chiefly from Thailand. steadily declined from 283,000 tons in 1934-35 to 18,000 tons in 1935-36.[25]

THE REAL POSITION

Rice imports as we have already seen did not maintain any set level. The area under rice varied only from 80.3 to 84.9 million acres for India including Burma and 70 to 72 million acres for India alone during the period 1920-21 to 1936-37.[26] This absence of any relationship between rice imports and the area under rice would show that though India depended on Burma for the supply of cheap rice, it would not be correct to say that she could not produce at home her normal requirements or that the increasing pressure of population was in any way responsible for these imports.

The real position on the other hand appears to be that Burma had a large exportable surplus of rice for which there was no world demand. Cost of production in Burma was low because of cheap labour. Moreover, the land there was not fit for the cultivation of any other crop. When it formed part of India there were no trade restrictions between the two areas. As most of the Burma business was in the hands of Indians, they found it convenient to trade with India. Consequently, half of the Burma trade, both import and export, was with India. It would, thus, be no wonder if it were presumed that India was rather obliged to get her rice supplies from Burma to adjust the economy of the country as a whole. Table I would otherwise show that though importing rice from Burma from 1920-21 to 1936-37, undivided India was a net exporter of foodgrains. The position does not alter even when the survey is restricted to exports from India excluding Burma. Rice imports from Burma in that case are to be treated as internal trade.

WHEAT POSITION

Just as India's food imports consisted mainly of rice, her chief exports were of wheat, although she was also importing wheat mainly from Australia. Table III gives details of India's wheat trade.

TABLE III

Wheat Trade of India

Year	Production	Exports from India	Imports into India	Net Exports
	Wheat* Flour (In thousand tons)			
1920-21	6.7	238	61	.. 299
1921-22	9.8	81	64	440 —295
1922-23	10.0	220	50	19 251
1923-24	9.7	638	57	12 683
1924-25	8.9	1,112	78	4 1,186
1925-26	8.8	212	67	35 244
1926-27	9.1	176	59	40 195
1927-28	7.9	300	60	69 291
1928-29	8.7	115	54	562 —393
1929-30	10.7	17	51	357 —289
1930-31	9.5	197	47	232 12
1931-32	9.2	22	43	111 —86
1932-33	9.6	2	21	33 —10
1933-34	9.6	2	13	18 —8
1934-35	9.9	11	12	7 16
1935-36	9.7	10	18	13 15

NOTE.—Imports of wheat flour were negligible.

* For the years from 1920-21 to 1924-25 from *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India*, from 1925-26 to 1934-35 from *Report on the Marketing and Wheat in India*, 1939, p. 367 and for 1935-36 from *Statistics*, 1948, p. 29.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Rice Report* (p. 100) after a careful consideration of the point also concluded that "taking India as a whole there is no evidence of any definite or consistent trend either towards an expansion or contraction of the area under rice."

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Table III shows fluctuations in the imports and exports of wheat from year to year. Wheat imports were maximum for the years 1921-22 and 1928-29, while exports after touching the million mark in 1924-25 continued to fall. This fall is said to be the result of increasing demand for wheat at home. But abnormally heavy imports were ascribed to poor crops in the preceding years.[27] Following the same logic, however, it remains unexplained how the bumper crop of 1929-30 failed to slash down imports to near about the pre-1928 level. Imports or exports of wheat would not, therefore, appear to bear any relation to its production at home. Let us then examine the factors which governed wheat trade during this period.

Imports

A study of wheat market during the 'thirties' and 'forties' shows that the home market was much depressed and the position with regard to foreign imports became so alarming that the Government was forced to impose a special duty of Rs. 2 per cwt. on wheat and Rs. 2-8 per cwt. on wheat flour with effect from April, 1931 in the interests of the growers.[28] When even this failed to improve the situation, imports of wheat were banned under the Wheat Act of 1931. This, too, could not check the downward movement of prices.[29]

The price per candy (656 lb) of Australian wheat in the United Kingdom (C.I.F. Liverpool and/or London) in the years 1933-34, 1934-35 and 1935-36 was Rs. 19, Rs. 20 and Rs. 20.6 respectively. The corresponding quotations at Karachi (ex-store) were Rs. 23.6, Rs. 21.8 and Rs. 23.8 respectively.[30] This difference in prices becomes greater when it is realised that it was cheaper to ship wheat from Australia to Calcutta or Bombay than to transport it from Punjab or UP.[31] According to the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, freight per maund of wheat from Australia to Calcutta was annas 6 while the railway freight from Lyallpur to Calcutta was Rs. 1-3-3.[32] This explains why Australian imports continued in spite of the import duty levied by India, though there was an exportable surplus in India herself. Wheat imports in India would thus seem to be directly attributable to the low price of Australian wheat rather than to any effective demand at home.

Exports

India's export trade in wheat with the Western countries dates back from the year 1870. Starting from 3.9 thousand tons in the year 1869-70 it touched the million mark within a short period of about one year. It, however, showed wide fluctuations from year to year, resulting in its drying up by 1935-36.

Purchasing Power: It is, however, said that these exports did not represent any real surplus but owed their existence to the poverty of the people who could not buy their normal food requirements.[33] This contention seems plausible on the face of it and most of the early writers were led away by it.

A deep study of the question, however, disproves this conclusion. Opinions have been expressed by experts like Bowley and Robertson that "In India, as in the rest if the world, there has apparently been, in recent years, an 'overproduction' of agricultural as compared with manufactured goods . . . The food-producing village, and even the food-producing family is a self-contained unit; and in some cases, whatever its privations in other respects, its consumption of food has probably increased in consequence of the fall in prices."[34]

That these exports were not merely due to

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27. *Report on the Marketing of Wheat, op. cit.*, p. 40.

28. An estimated Index Number of domestic prices of wheat in the Punjab (Lyallpur)—Base 1929-30 = 100—was

Season	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34
May	100	74	37	43	63
November Harvest time	100	45	49	67	52
(Adapted from G. I. Kovoor, *Rural Reconstruction through Production and Marketing of Wheat in India*, Simla, 1934).	100	55	63	67	52

29. Jather and Beri, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

30. Adapted from the *Report on the Marketing of Wheat, op. cit.*, p. 381.

31. Dr. A. I. Qureshi, *The Present Food Situation in India*, pp. 8-9.

32. Dr. A. I. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 9. He also refers to the fruitless requests and protests made in those days to the North-Western Railway against the freight policy.

33. Dr. Gyan Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 298; B. T. Ranadive, *Population Problem of India*, 1930, p. 126; and Chowdhry Mukhtar Singh, *Rural India—Peasants' Poverty, Its Causes and Cure*, Allahabad, p. xiii.

34. *A Scheme for an Economic Census of India*, 1934, p. 68.

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the lack of purchasing power of the cultivator has also been shown by Voelcker. He reached the conclusion that such exports were real in the sense that this extra production would not have been there, if the foreign demand had been removed.[35] Entirely different varieties were grown according to him for home consumption and the foreign market.

The Price Differential: The *Report on the Marketing of Wheat* has given the explanation that our exports increased in those years when the price difference between wheat and barley or wheat and gram was the greatest so that the poorer people could release more of wheat for export. This can only be regarded as one of the contributing factors. All the same more cogent reasons have to be sought for this unsteady movement of exports.

Though the price of wheat in India was the lowest, it could not compete with the large exporting countries of the world. According to the *Report on the Marketing of Wheat*,[36] "In recent years price considerations have prevented export on any appreciable scale for in spite of a preference, under the terms of the Ottawa Agreement of 2 shillings per quarter (480 lbs.) Indian wheat has very rarely been cheaper than Australian, Canadian and Argentine wheats in the United Kingdom markets." The Wheat Conference held at Simla in May, 1934, also pointed out that "there is no export because for some years our prices have been above world parity."[37]

During 1933, for example, the price quotation of Indian wheat in London was Rs. 1-14 per maund f.o.r. Karachi Railway Station—a price far below the lowest figure ever reached during the depression. Against this low quotation, the price of wheat in the harvest season of that year at Lyallpur was Rs. 2-2 per maund.[38] Even if all incidental expenses are ignored, the Punjab wheat at Karachi could not be delivered at less than Rs. 2-13-8 per maund as the Railway freight from Lyallpur to Karachi was Rs. 0-11-8 per maund. Naturally the question of exporting any wheat to London, the chief importer of Indian wheat did not arise under the circumstances. The result was that wheat exports during 1932-33 and 1933-34 fell to the lowest figure of two thousand tons annually.

Price parity it seems was playing an important role even in the case of inter-State trade. Calcutta market had been the natural and practically the only outlet for the export of wheat from the United Provinces. In the years of slack European demand for Indian wheat, the Calcutta market was captured by the Punjab to the detriment of U.P. With the coming of Australian wheat even Punjab was ousted from the Calcutta market.[39] This would mean that the responsibility for the fall in the Indian wheat exports lay more than anything else in her inability to compete in the world wheat market.

Wheat Conference: In the presence of such a world situation, India during the period was faced with the problem of encouraging more consumption of wheat at home. Mr. Jenkins while speaking at the Wheat Conference of 1934 pointed out that one of the reasons militating against an increased consumption of wheat in India was the large quantity of cheap rice which was being imported from Burma.[40] In his concluding remarks, he again emphasized that the only solution of the problem lay in fostering increase in home consumption and that could be done by a general and indiscriminatory reduction in freight rates and by starting a publicity campaign on "Eat more wheat."

The Hon'ble Mr. D. J. Boyde could see only two possible ways out. One was the increase in the international demand for wheat

35. John Augustus Voelcker, *Report on the Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, 1893, pp. 29-95. The same is the opinion of Albert Howard and Gabrialle L. C. Howard (*Wheat in India, Its Production Varieties and Improvements*, 1909, p. 45) when they say, "The amount of wheat exported from India every year is small in comparison with the total production . . . it is only the surplus which is shipped to Europe." Also Kovoor, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

36. *Report, op. cit.*, p. 44.

37. *Proceedings*, p. 1. Also *Supplement to the Report on the Marketing of Wheat in India*, 1946, p. 9; and Jather and Beri, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

38. Kovoor, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

39. Bulletin No. 4 of the Bureau of Statistics and Economic Research, United Provinces, quoted in *the United Provinces Wheat in 1938-39 and Days to Come*, J. K. Pande, 1939, p. 7.

40. *Proceedings*, *op. cit.*, p. 5. We cannot say how far this is true because people are rather orthodox about their food habits. A wheat-eating Punjabi, for instance, would hardly like rice however cheap it may be.

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and the other was of prohibiting any increase in area under wheat.[41] The Chairman suggested that the Punjab should consider the possibility of diverting 5 per cent of its irrigated area under wheat to oil seeds.[42] The problem was practically of all-India importance. The Central Provinces' representative confirmed that there was a great deal of wheat in his Province and that production and consumption balanced with a 10½-anna crop and an acreage of 40,000.[43] He urged that nothing should be done which may result in the Central Provinces' wheat being displaced in the local markets by the Punjab or Sind wheat.[44]

Again, to achieve the same end, the Crop Planning Conference (1934-35) decided that no attempt should be made to produce more than 9½ million tons of wheat in the country and that there should be no stimulus to increase the area under wheat. The future of the crop thus depended on world supplies and on India's policy regarding wheat.[45]

Conclusion

Our analysis in the preceding pages is sufficient to refute the accepted theory that India's emergence as a net importer of foodgrains was merely due to the pressure of population. As we have discussed at length, imports and exports of foodgrains were governed by factors other than production or consumption in India.

If population was increasing, production was also increasing which cannot, of course, be established on the basis of existing data. We know that the irrigated area during the first thirty years of the century had increased by nearly 50 per cent. Various land improvement schemes launched by the Government must have also added to the existing food resources to some extent. But the general depression of the thirties' placed the Indian peasant in doldrums. It being uneconomical for the Indian peasant to grow more food just for the sake of dumping it in his *kacha* store-house, he lost all incentive to put his heart and soul in agriculture. If the marginal food requirements of certain parts of the country were met by imported supplies, it does not mean that they were dictated by the existence of a 'food problem' as such within the country. The position, on the other hand, was that home potential could not be exploited fully because of the lack of an effective demand.

41. *Report, op. cit.*, p. 12.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
43. *Report*, p. 7.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
45. Quoted by W. Burns, *Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India*, p. 56.

X

Separation of Burma and Thereafter

That was the position before the separation of Burma. When Burma was separated in 1937, we find that our imports from Burma fell from an average of 1.8 million tons in the preceding years to 1.3 in 1937-38 and 1.4 million tons in 1938-39. This looks strange when we find that the home production of rice had also fallen from 30 million tons in 1936-37 to 28.8 million tons in 1937-38 and 26.1 million tons in 1938-39.[46] The only possible explanation for this fall may be the result of an effort on the part of India to restrict rice imports in response to the public opinion in the country to set our own economy right, by reducing imports as much as possible. Then with the war clouds hovering the prices of the commodities were rising and Burma rice was certainly not cheaper to compete with the Indian produce. In the following year 1939-40, imports of Burma rice touched the peak of 2 million tons, a little below the 1934-35 mark. This was possibly due to the break-out of the war and the effort of every Government to pile up stocks.

After this year, the imports showed a downward trend so much so that after 1942-43, they completely dried up for about 3 to 4 years. India was, on the other hand, a net exporter in rice, a commodity in which shortage is said to have been increasing during the last 20 years. True, this was due to our inability to procure rice from Burma and other South-East Asian countries. The fact, however, remains that these were the years when the pressure on food was the maximum due to the presence of foreign troops, wastages under war conditions and other allied factors.

In spite of all this, the country did not face any food crisis. The Bengal Famine of 1943, no doubt the most gruesome, was certainly not due to any real food shortage in the country. The verdict of the Famine Enquiry Commission on Bengal is that there was sufficient food lying in

46. *The Food Statistics of India, op. cit.*, p. 29.

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Bengal itself to avert the tragedy. The remarks made by Sir Jawala Prasad Srivastava in his opening address to the Fourth Food Conference are apt in this respect. He said:

"Is it right that Punjab should have all the stuff lying hoarded when the rest of India badly needed it? There are really to my mind, two parties to this drama; this food debacle if I may so call it. They are the Punjab and Bengal. If these two parties are brought together, the rest of the problem would be easy."

Soon after the war, when the import position became a little easy, we found the whole pattern of trade in foodgrains changed. We had in the past been importing rice and exporting wheat. During the war years, rice imports stopped and wheat imports started increasing from 2.5 lakh tons in 1943-44 to 12.6 lakh tons in 1946-47. Efforts were no doubt made to induce people to take more wheat instead of rice, but orthodox as the people are in their food habits, it is not possible that they could have changed over to wheat from rice all of a sudden. The phenomenon remains unexplained particularly for the years before 1947, when the country was split into two.

Even after partition, accepting that India lost the wheat areas in West Punjab and was hard hit in the matter of food supplies, it was more so with regard to rice. The cry in Pakistan was 'Eat more rice and less wheat' meaning thereby that Pakistan had a surplus of rice. Rice imports never reached the pre-war figures while wheat imports went on increasing, reaching the 4-million peak in 1951, the year by which we had pledged self-sufficiency.

How do we then account for these increasing imports every year, in spite of the best efforts to grow more food at home? This is explained by the Government itself in their policy statement of July 19, 1949, which reads:

"The quantity of imports is, therefore, not related to the total population of the country or on any all-India production and consumption figures, but is based on the specific demands of deficit Provinces and States for meeting their rationing commitments for a specific number of persons."

This in other words means that the Government having committed itself to feed a vulnerable portion of the population was duty-bound to have a stock of a specific amount of foodgrains to supply rations to those to whom ration cards had been issued throughout the length and breadth of the country. Immediately after the introduction of controlled distribution, the Government launched a scheme for the procurement of foodgrains. Because of uneconomic procurement prices and many other causes, the peasant was not, however, prepared to part with his produce. The result was that the surplus States under-estimated their declared surpluses and the deficit ones exaggerated their deficits. The shortfalls had to be made good by imports.

From the reports on the marketing of Rice, Wheat and Millets, we find that the marketable surplus of these grains is of the order of 40 per cent.[47] As a result of War there was a definite movement of the people towards the cities. Urban population in 1951 increased to 17.3 per cent from 12.78 per cent in 194[illegible] During the war a large number of people from the villages were called to the Army. All these should have released more of foodgrains for the non-producing areas. Assuming that the increased purchasing power with the peasant improved his retentive capacity so as to balance the last two factors—recruitment in the army and urbanization—village retention should not under any circumstances have exceeded 60 per cent. Giving another 20 per cent for the rural non-producers, a minimum of 20 per cent of the total production should have been made available for the urban population most of which was under statutory rationing. Actual procurements, however, were invariably below 10 per cent. Hence, the need for imports.

This explains how we were forced to import food during all these years. Food was decontrolled in 1952 and after full two years of decontrol, we found that instead of any import the country was in a position to export. Although the country faced the worst floods and drought both in 1954 and 1955, food prices still turned down and the various State Governments were faced with the problem of price support policies and the disposal of surpluses during the two years. No doubt food prices have

47. Also *cf.*, *The Standard of Living in India and Pakistan*, R. C. Desai, p. 120.

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upward tendency during the last few months, they cannot in any way be related to any scarcity of the commodity in the country. All this should be sufficient to explain that emergence of India as a net importer of foodgrains during the previous three decades is not due to any real food shortage. It was result of entirely different factors which, as already discussed, varied from period to period.

XI

We have examined the food problem in all from all its aspects and find that a ver- of the nature as given by Mr. Gopalaswami his Census Report is rather hard to swallow. For the future it would seem to be all the e vague when we know that not only agri- re but the whole of the economic develop- of our country has been stifled and stunted er a century. Our yields at present bear no arison with those of our neighbours like a, Japan and Egypt. Our experiments with Japanese method of rice cultivation hardly for two years have astonished the whole world, and we have been able to wipe off the so-called chronic rice shortage for good. The First Five-Year Plan has already exceeded its targets. Every villager is being acclimatised to the improved methods of cultivation under the Community Projects which are going to cover the whole of the country during the Second Five-Year Plan. There is no reason why we may not be able to at least double our existing food supply as a result of normal efforts at intensive and extensive cultivation.[48] All those prophets who predict a 'D-Day' for 1969 or a 'Dooms-Day' for 1981 are likely to go the way of their predecessors who have been raising Malthusian 'Scarecrows' for about a century. We can thus look to the future with confidence without fear of any such food problem cropping up.

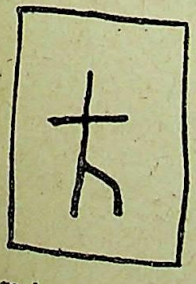
(Concluded)

48. This has been worked out by the author himself in his article "Future Food Supply," *Commerce Annual Number*, 1954, p. 119 and "India's Food Potential," *Rural India*, Bombay, May 1956; pp. 192-195.

LABYRINTH

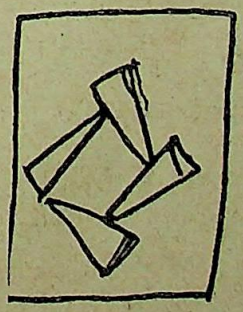
By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

dictionary meaning of Labyrinth is a cated irregular structure full of inextric- indings; or an arrangement of tortuous es in which it is hard to find your way h or about, without guidance; or a hall ted by intricate passages.



Hieroglyphics of Egypt

t is interesting to note when and where, the rinth" came to be so called. Civilisation in the Middle East, first in Egypt with recorded in hieroglyphics on Papyrus from about 4000 years B.C., or even earlier. Then the centre shifted to Babylon, about 20 or 30 centuries B.C., where wedge-shaped letters drawn by nails on clay tablets give a record of the times. There were early trading activities off the coast of Asia Minor and about 2000 years B.C., the chain of islands between Asia Minor and Greece were occupied and the occupation extended to Greece proper in Mycene and other places, whence curious Greek farmers of the Indo-European Nordic



Cuneiforms of Babylon

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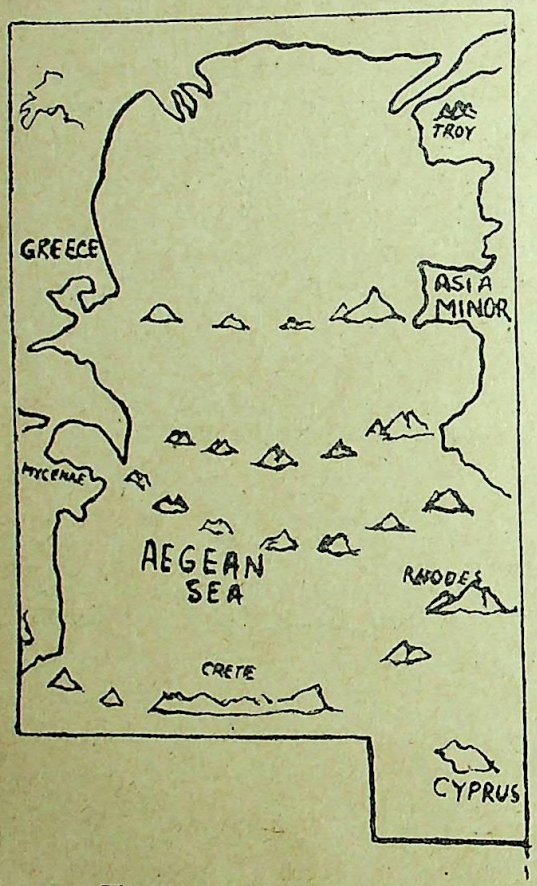
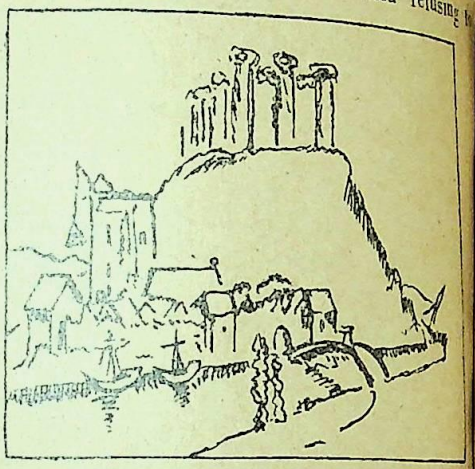
bands had moved down to settle earlier, learned the use of metal swords and spears and used them against their teachers to exterminate them. When one tribe conquered another, extermination followed in olden times, invariably.



The Aegean Chains of Islands

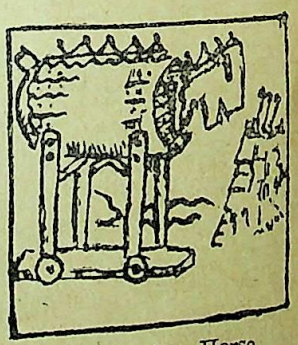
In one of the Aegean chains of islands from Rhodes, famous for the gigantic old bronze figure at the opening of the harbour, the most important of the cities was Knossus in the island of Crete. It is not very far from Cyprus which has come lately into prominence by the abduction of the Archbishop, who preferred a Greek Dominion to a British Colony.

Crete is the natural stepping-stone between Asia, Europe and Africa, and is considered to be the most southernly point of Europe. It has a population of a third of a million, mostly Christians, with some Moslems and hostile Greeks. The Christians are however declining in number. As to its old history, this is the Candia or Heracleon of antiquity, the stage of a number of most interesting myths and legends. It was a part of the old Byzantine Empire, except for 137 years from 823 to 960 A.D., when it was under the Saracens. It was sold to the Venetians in 1206. In 1645, the Turks conquered a discontented Crete, the capital surrendering after a siege of 24 years, the longest on record. Misrule resulted in constant revolts, the great powers Britain, France and Russia refusing to



A Greek or a Mediaeval city

intervene, time and again; sometimes even actively helping the Turks. It was annexed to Greece in 1912. Crete, it may be remembered, was occupied by air-borne troops during the last war in the teeth of opposition of the British Navy and Air-craft.



The Trojan Horse

In the Northern part of Crete lies the important city of Knossus, where ... modern examples of drainage with ... bath-tubs and other comforts like stoves, ... well as exquisite vases and statuettes, je... work in gold, silver, ivory, textiles, etc., ... been unearthed. The Palace with its ... staircases and large banquet halls, under... cellars to store wine, grains and olive ... so vast that it gave rise to the name of ... rinth, because of innumerable complicated ... sages, which made it impossible to find ... out, once the front door was entered. ... eigners and slaves lived outside the Pala...

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at the base of this structure. Old Greek and Mediaeval cities were built in this fashion with a temple or a fort at the top, and surrounded by a wall and sometimes by a moat. The siege of Troy immortalised by Homer dates later than the 10th century B.C., and under the ruins of Troy has been found another city with relics similar to the above.

But we need not look to the antiquity for examples of a labyrinth. Try the Ballygunge Gardens in South Calcutta. You will find a series of parallel and cross roads bearing numbers of holdings, most confusing to one entering the place for the first time. For example, holding No. 21 may be followed by P. 134 and next perhaps by 1 |D| 509, without rhyme or reason. Entrance to the Gardens presents no difficulty, but once you are in, you are apt to lose your bearings, your destination becomes a problem and finally you dont know where you are landed when you come out. It becomes as puzzling a case as entering a labyrinth of the above dictionary meaning. This has been going on for years. One wonders when our city-fathers will take notice of the difficulties of a stranger in the above state of complications.

PERSONALITY AND THE ART OF DWIJEN SEN

By H. D. BHATT 'SHAILESH',
The Doon School, Dehra Dun

In the realm of Indian painting the artists of Santiniketan have founded a new school for the expression of the soul and the aspiration of man. The formal traditions of Abanindra Nath Tagore and Nandalal Bose have laid special stress on original recollections and human outlook. Glancing at the Kala Kendra of Dwijen Sen, who was associated with this very school, it becomes crystal clear that this sculptor-artist worshipped at the altar of Art for years in order to transform into realities the dreams of Gurudeva. Consequently, the different forms of his art bear the imprint of his personality.

Eternal Youth

Dignity of Labour

The fountain of art is life. Art is the external aspect of personality, it is the transformation

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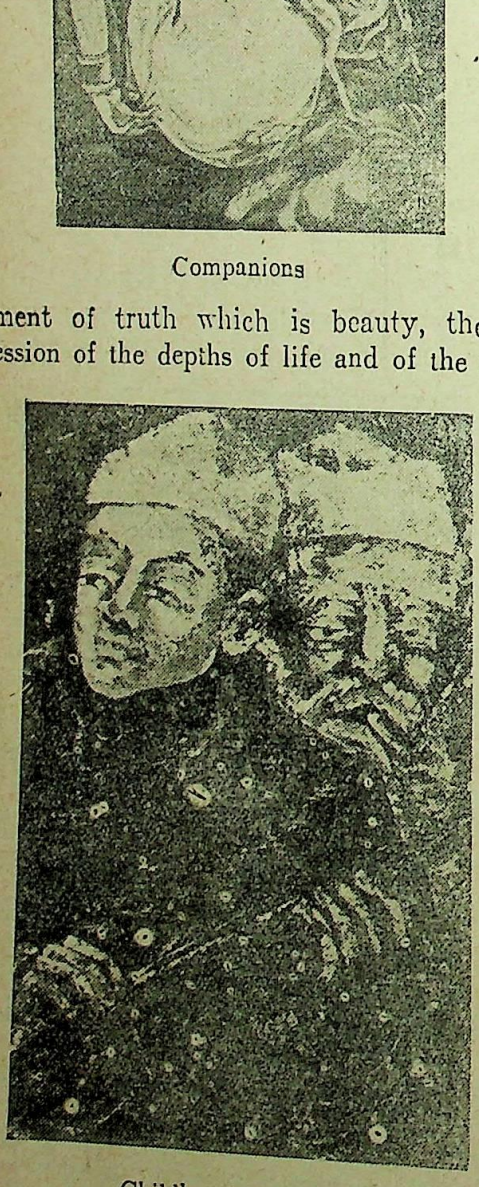
of the inner light of man. "Be light unto thyself." It is only when personality is possessed of potency and power that art is great and supreme. Inasmuch as art is the living em-

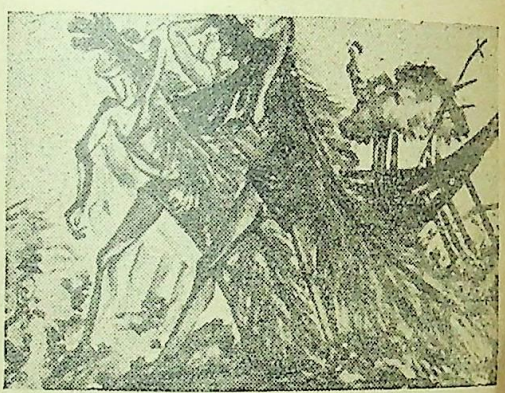
Companions

bodiment of truth which is beauty, the fine expression of the depths of life and of the inner-



Childhood and Age

most chambers of the mind is art. If behind those works which are the creations of labour and constant practice there is no life-giving power of inspiration, they cannot be placed in the category of the great and the immortal creations. Hence for the creation of art the development of life—the development of personality—is indispensable. Personality stands on a higher plane than art because art is the resultant factor of personality and power. It is true that the artist expresses the experiences, recollections and desires of mankind, but it is his personality which furnishes the background of the representations. In this way the personality of the artist is to be judged by his art and his art by the expression of his philosophy of life and of his personality.



Fishermen

By extending even a cursory glance over Dwijen Sen and his various forms of art one can see the reflection of his striking personality. The development of Dwijen Sen's personality has been through his staunch worship and dedication. Dwijen Sen hears with his inner ears the palpitating minute under-tones of the cry of the innermost corners of the human heart and gives to them a concrete shape and form. That is why in the art of Dwijen Sen there is the wilderness of egoism and the imprint of personality.

Byron remarked that he did not love man less but that he loved Nature more; but Dwijen Sen loves man more as compared to Nature. Being his companion in weal and woe he advances with him step by step. In his art man speaks more when compared to Nature. The varying aspects of man are to be found there either laughing or weeping; dancing or singing and drinking the pleasures of life. If his personality and art is considered thoughtfully the simplicity and kindness of a true and successful artist would

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found in it. Now remains the problem of the beauty of the form. Dwijen Sen is a painter in the realm of the soul and feelings. In his opinion external beauty is subject to destruction, only internal beauty is imperishable, immortal and everlasting. It is on account of this that in his outline pictures, oil-paintings, statues, engravings on stones and other artistic forms there are glimpses of the innermost chambers of the mind and of the depth of feelings.

There are many peculiarities in the personality of Dwijen Sen. He is a deep thinker, possessed of the capacity for diving deep into things and he is a singer of life. Once a friend of mine who happens to be the editor of some paper came to see Dwijen Sen, who was sitting in his Kala Kendra at Dehra Dun. Both of us went in, but Dwijen sat meditating in front of us. We kept on looking, about fifteen or twenty minutes rolled by, but his attention was not diverted. Thinking that it would not be proper to interrupt his chain of thoughts we came back. Later on we laughed at this absent-mindedness, but it is a peculiarity of his character that sometimes for hours he appears to be lost in meditations and study.

The paintings of Dwijen Sen's Kala Kendra are the embodiments of the problems of life and social conditions. From the hut to the palace

The author and the artist

these paintings appear to be speaking the truth. After looking at all his paintings it may be said that in the composition of colours, in the selection of the subject, in the sketching of the pictures and in the finishing touch, we get a glimpse of his originality and personality.

———:O:———

SOULS OF THE PAST

By S. B.

TRUTHS of the past lie enshrined for all times in books that give us a glimpse into the secrets of different ages and reveal the wisdom of the distant past. The soul of man works upon these materials that beguile our hearts and bring in bright sunshine in the bleak stretches of our life. The horizon of man's mind is widened by education that unfolds the intelligence of people to go deep into the nature of things. "Whatsoever things were written aforetime," says a proverb, "were written for your learning."

In connection with the Centenary Exhibition of the Calcutta University all the Universities of India lent their publications to make the book exhibition a success. The rare books exhibited in the Asutosh Building drew special attention of a large number of visitors. Out of the book-stock of three lakhs, the Central Library of the University of Calcutta displayed thirty-nine rare books, some of which are being explained here.

Sri Karunanidhan-Bilas by Kavi Jayanarayana Ghosal, a *kavya* on divine love of Sri Krishna written during 1825 presents elaborate materials on social education of Bengal during the late 18th century. Rudimentary influence of English education on Bengali literature is first traced in this *kavya*. In the Persian translation of the Vedas entitled *Sirr-i-Akbar* by Prince Dara Shikoh written in beautiful hand, the beginnings and the ends of the various chapters are highly ornamented and well decorated, and each line in each page is written within golden line. This manuscript is not dated, but it appears to be a copy of the time of Dara Shikoh himself. The facsimile reprint of *Ritusamhara* by Kalidasa, Calcutta, 1792, which is the first Sanskrit book in print in Bengali character and a rare book, *viz.*, Thomas Carlyle's *Past and Present* with the signature put in by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India, one time a student of this University, adding "Eshan

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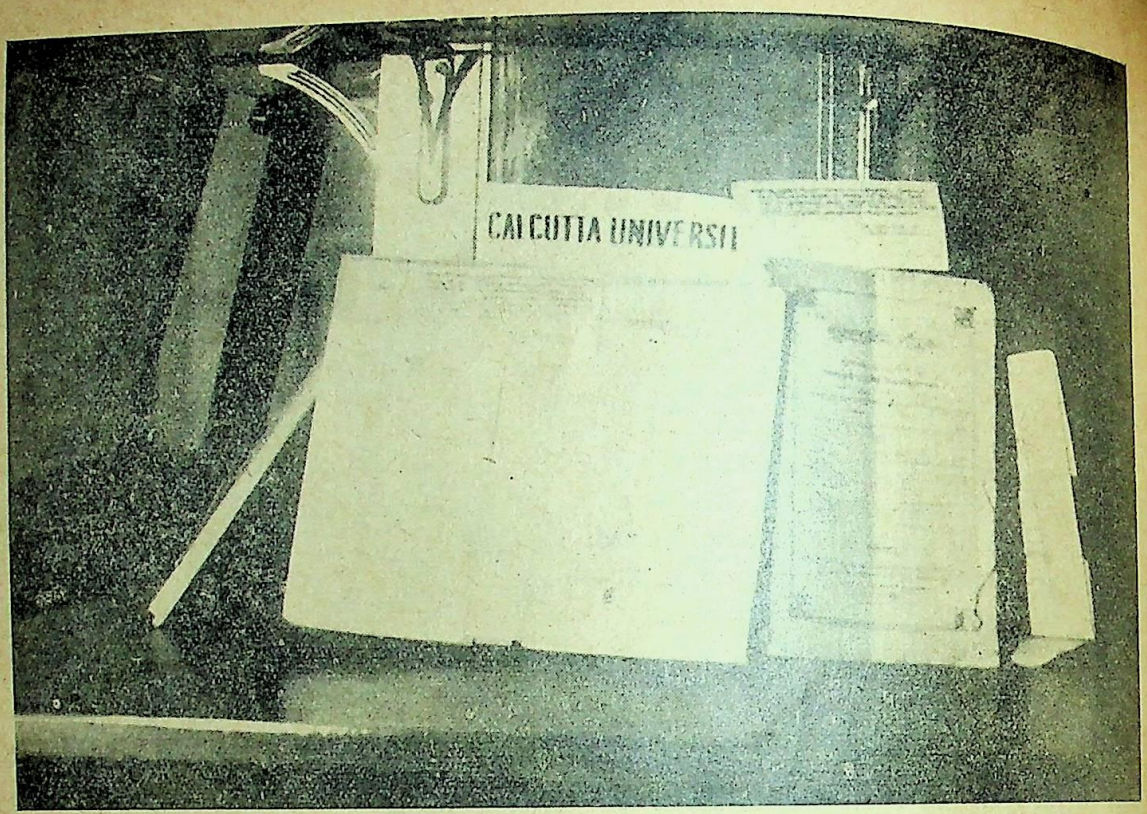

Calcutta University Centenary Exhibition

Courtesy: *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*

Scholar" to his name were among the exhibits. A grammar of Bengali language by William Carey printed in 1805 from Serampore and the first Bengali monthly, *viz.*, *Digdarshan* (1818-1820) edited by John Clarke Marshman were of immense interest to the scholars.

Like the rare book display of Calcutta University Library important rare exhibits lent by courtesy of Sudhir Brahmo were also informative. The collection from 'Brahmo Family' of Akrur Dutt Lane threw a flood of light on the history of this University from its very inception. No age could be properly understood unless the past stands are revealed to the eye. The achievements of our forefathers stand like landmarks of the past and open vast fields for research.

The imprint of the book entitled *Landmarks of History: Ancient History from the Earliest Times to the Christian Era* showed that Thacker Spink & Co. in the year 1862 held the privilege to be the publishers for books prescribed by the Senate for various examinations. The selected English courses of this University for Entrance Examination of 1872, I.A. Examination of December 1875. and B.A. Examination of January, 1878, indicate that Thacker Spink & Co. were the first publishers to this University. In the year 1877, the University Book Press was set up at the Manicktola area of Calcutta and printed a book, *viz.*, *An Analysis of Sir W... Hamilton: Lectures on Metaphysics* which was duly exhibited along with undermentioned books that rouse curiosity of many visitors.

(i) *Manual of Practical Chemistry*: Published by the Medical College, Calcutta, 1837.

(ii) *The English Reader* . . . adapted to improve the younger classes of learners in reading by the progressive arrangement of the lessons, Calcutta, School Book Society's Press, 1857.

(iii) *Ontology being a Translation of Tattwa Vidya, a Bengali Work* by Dwijendra Nath Tagore, Calcutta Central Press, 1871.

During the period of formation of University of Calcutta, students had to pursue their studies with the aid of books published and printed at London. The undermentioned few books were read with interest by the predecessors of 'Brahmo Family' who were stu...

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this University and valuable notes written them along with their signatures are seen in pages of these books:

1. *The Conduct of the Understanding*: By John Locke. (Size $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ cm.), 1813.
2. *The Students' Manual*: By Rev. John Todd. (Size $5 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ cm.), 1835.
3. *The Season and Castle of Indolence*: By James Thomson. (Size $4\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ cm.), MDCCCXLVI.
4. *Don Quixote*: By De La Mancha. (Size $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ cm.), 1809.

Leaving aside the contents of these books. e make an analytical study on size, printing, e face, binding, design, etc., from the diffe- dates of publications, the evolution of the ical aspect of the book, *i.e.*, the history of production, as a whole, could be under- d.

The printing press came into use for the time in Calcutta in the last quarter of the entury. Printers and publishers had to face sition both from the so-called society and overnment, for printing was not in the first e recognised as a medium for the diffu- knowledge. Ignoring these obstacles the mritalal Brahmo printed and published oks and journals from his printing press, andard Press of Akrur Dutt Lane, Cal- A few pages of these century-old publi- in English and Bengali were also ex- . In the capacity of printer and publisher book entitled *Speeches by the Marquis of orne, Viceroy and Governor-General of* 1888-94, Amritalal Brahmo wrote in 1895 eface as follows:

". . . It goes without saying that, with spread of education, with the growing itical aspirations of the people, with the itary activity of a great European power the North-West Frontier Province, with growth of expenditure in every department administration and with the ever-falling ee, the task of governing India is becom- more and more difficult every day. The eches will afford an interesting study as to w Lord Lansdowne tried to cope with the erous and growing difficulties. . . . These some of the considerations that have uated the publisher to undertake the pub- ion."

The letter of appreciation from the then Viceroy's Palace, 'Belvedere', Calcutta, sent to Amritlal Brahmo in 1905 was also displayed along with the opinions of newspapers:

The Hindoo Patriot: "The publisher has done a public service by bringing out Lord Lansdowne's speeches and we are sure the public will accord to him that patronage which his venture will entitle to."

The Englishman: "The book is well-bound and carefully edited and should prove valuable as a book of reference in the study of Indian affairs."

A Bengali journal, *viz.*, *Bama Bodhini* printed from the Standard Press in 1893 revealed the elegance of early type faces in Bengali. Sanskrit and English. If we compare Bengali and Sanskrit types of today with types used in *Bama Bodhini*, we will find that no substantial improvement has yet been attained in respect of fineness and variety of the type faces.

The original M.B. Diploma awarded to Buddynath Bromo (Baidyanath Brahmo) in 1847 from the Medical College of Bengal established in 1835, was an interesting item among the exhibits. The diploma is in parchment and carry the golden seal of the Examiner of Bengal Government and signatures of all the Professors of the Medical College. A comparative study of this diploma with the certificates awarded now will show the various changes which the University of Calcutta has effected in respect of form, seal, size and colour of paper. It is found from the *Hundred Years of the Calcutta University*, Vol. I, that Dr. Baidyanath Brahmo's name is associated with the introduction of vaccination system in Calcutta.

At the bottom of this diploma, the Entrance Certificates of his son and grandson, Babu Amrita Lal Brahmo and Asutosh Brahmo were exhibited with two original seals of the University of Calcutta. The University seal was imprinted in the white Entrance certificate of 1899 but in 1873-74 certificate there was no seal and it was in blue paper of 7×6 ins. in size.

Thanks are due to the Calcutta University for organising such a unique display of rare and antiquarian books which help to open the windows of the dark past and make known the unknown. Exhibitions of this type, if organised from time to time, will prove to be a liaison between the past and the present.

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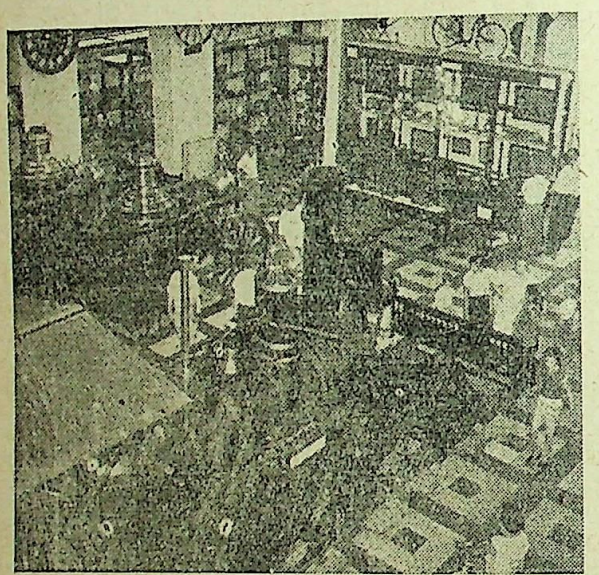
THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON

THE Smithsonian Institution here has been called Mother America's attic, where her children may romp on rainy afternoons. The Smithsonian buildings, a sharp contrast to the magnificent solemnity of the great nearby monuments to Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, combine more affection and amusement than probably any other group of buildings in this city.



A group of early transportation exhibits on display at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington

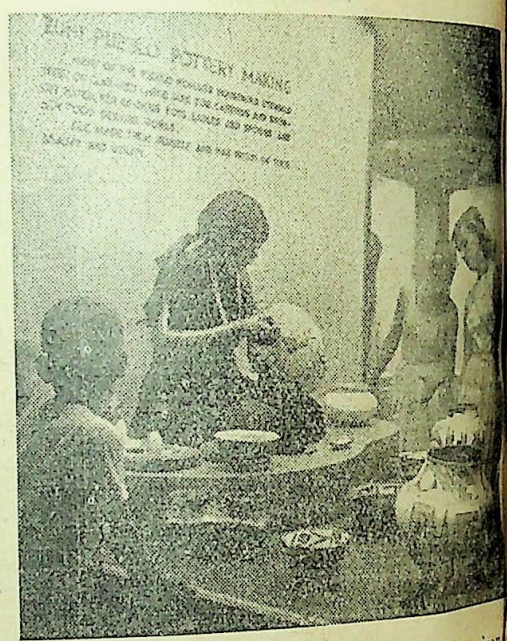
Obsolete airplanes hang suspended from the ceiling: the early experiment of the Wright brothers, Langley's planes, Lindbergh's "Spirit of St. Louis," Wiley Post's neat little "Winnie Mae."

Exhibits are many and varied—an old fire engine, the first horseless carriage, Elias Howe's first sewing machine, George Washington's shaving mug and eyeglasses, and wax statuettes of Presidents' wives wearing Inaugural Ball gowns.

"Browsing here," it has been observed, "is as wistful as looking through a faded yellow magazine."

The Smithsonian Institution was given to the American people by an English scientist named James Smithson. Specifically, Smithson left his fortune of $550 000 to the United States when he died in 1829 "to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." From it has grown one of the leading American scientific, cultural and educational centers.

In its early days—the U.S. Congress formally accepted the gift in 1846—the institution was responsible for conducting practically all scientific research required by the Federal Government.



One of the life-size exhibits of North American Indians, depicting Indian customs and culture

Much of this was pioneering work. From 1849 to 1870 it began and carried on the weather service which later became the U.S. Weather Bureau. For the next 18 years it conducted investigations of fisheries which now are those of the Fish and Wildlife Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. It laid the groundwork for much of the work now done by the U.S. Geological Survey. It co-operates with the states and researches of any interested Federal bureau.

The institution has sponsored or taken part in more than 1,500 scientific expeditions in North America and on every other continent, on most of the world's larger islands, and on many of the smaller ones. It has provided financial aid for the use of costly apparatus and other equipment for many scientific investigators.

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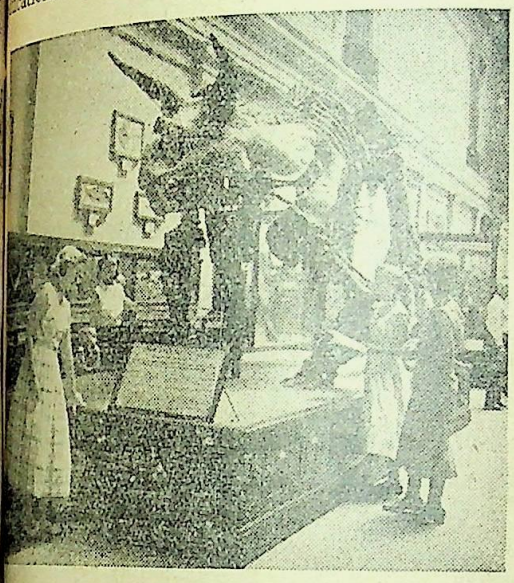
It offers all its facilities freely to a daily ...rage of 100 scientists and scholars from all ...rts of the world; answers hundreds of technical ...estions yearly; sponsors lectures on science ...d art; takes part in radio and television ...ucational programs; issues popular science



A view of one of the exhibition galleries of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington

releases to the press, and publishes an ... survey of scientific progress. It also ...s a Bio-Sciences Information Exchange ... provides a number of organizations with ...ation on current research in biology, ...ine and related fields.

The Smithsonian issues 14 series of scientific ...ications which are distributed free to ...ries, learned societies, and educational insti... throughout the world. It maintains a ...ry of more than 900,000 volumes, mainly ...sactions of learned societies and scientific ...odicals.

The vast institution manages ten major ...ches and in 1956 a new one was authorized ... Smithsonian Museum of History and ...nology, to be erected near other Smithsonian ...ings. The ten are : the National Museum, National Gallery of Art, the National ...ection of Fine Arts, the Freer Gallery of ... the International Exchange Service, the ...eau of American Ethnology, the National ...logical Park, the Astrophysical Observatory, ...National Air Museum, and the Canal Zone ...logical Area.

The National Museum has such valuables as more than 35,302,000 catalogued specimens of minerals; many early American relics; fossils 400 million years old; Egyptian mummies; life-size groups showing the culture of American Indians and of primitive peoples of Africa, Asia and the Pacific Islands; displays of ancient writing methods, exhibits showing development of the graphic arts and the progress made in health and medicine.

The National Gallery of Art, of rose-white marble, is one of the most beautiful buildings in Washington. It houses the great art collection of Andrew W. Mellon, a former Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, who also gave $15,000,000 for a building and a large endowment fund. The gallery has since acquired hundreds of objets d'art including priceless works in the Kress, Widener, Dale, Rosenwald and other art collec-

A meteorite being displayed in the Division of Mineralogy and Petrology of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington

tions. The National Collection of Fine Arts also contains numerous important art works from masters throughout the world. The Freer Gallery of Art has rich collections of Chinese and Japanese art as well as a few American paintings and etchings, and the collection of 2,250 art objects left by Charles Lang Freer, an industrialist.

The International Exchange Service gives free assistance to other learned bodies in the

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United States that wish to distribute their publications abroad, either as gifts or exchanges. The Service also receives shipments of scientific publications from abroad and exchanges official documents of the Federal Government with those of other national governments.

The Bureau of American Ethnology has since 1879 been gathering, recording and publishing information on the American Indians, their ceremonies, languages, culture, history, customs and myths. It also studies prehistoric remains of ancient tribes of American Indians and has amassed large collections of manuscripts and photographs.

The National Zoological Park, established in 1889 to provide a site where the American bison and other animals of interest could be preserved and shown in natural surroundings, now has more than 3,000 animals including rare and particularly interesting ones from all parts of the world.

The Astrophysical Observatory, established in 1890 to study the sun and other heavenly bodies, operates two high-altitude solar observing stations in Chile and California. Since 1929 it has made a special study of the part played by sunlight in the maintenance of life on the earth.

The National Air Museum contains the ships of America's airflight pioneers as well as many other aeronautical exhibits. The Canal Zone Biological Area consists of a primitive tropical forest and clearing where laboratories and other facilities enable scientists to study the tropical territory. More than 600 books and articles on tropical biology, physiology, medicine and forestry have been published.

In addition to the Museum of History and Technology for even wider "diffusion of knowledge among men," the institution's expansion plans include a Smithsonian Gallery of Art to house the National Collection of Fine Arts, a planetarium, and a new and far more spacious National Air Museum to keep pace with man's ever-increasing knowledge and mastery of the air.

GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL

His Life and Method

By Dr. S. K. NANDI, M.A., L.L.B., D.PHIL.

Once a Frenchman asked a German philosopher to state his philosophy in one sentence and the philosopher's reply was contained in ten books,[1] brilliantly written and widely read. This philosopher is Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. He was born on August 27th, 1770 at Stuttgart in an upper middle class family. He is the greatest German philosopher since Kant and has been described in some quarters as 'probably the most self-confident philosopher who ever lived.' Opinions to the contrary are not wanting. There are people who thought Hegel guilty of undue mystification and obscure style. Hegel was accused of serving pure non-sense. He stuffed together, it was alleged, 'senseless and extravagant mazes of words which behoved lunatics to utter in mad-houses. His works have been characterised as a 'monument of German stupidity.' However, in spite of indiscreet compliments and spiteful criticism,[2] Hegel stands as a monument of scientific knowledge and classic wisdom. He was awfully painstaking in matters of intellectual undertakings. His rise to fame was slow and this was due to this thoroughness. As a student he was less promising than Schelling, his contemporary. He attended the gymnasium in his native city when he was a teen-ager.

1. *Science of Logic, Phenomenology of Spirit, Aesthetics, Philosophy of Religion, Philosophy of Art, Philosophy of Mind, Philosophy of Right, Philosophy of History, History of Philosophy and Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Science.*

2. Caird, *Hegel* in the Blackwood Philosophical classics, pp. 5-8. (Caird here discusses Schopenhauer's assesment of Hegel).

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eighteenth year he entered the University of Tubingen to study theology. As a student he attracted no particular attention; it was Schelling who here at the time outshone all his contemporaries although Hegel was older than Schelling by five years. His student career was not remarkable. He was just an average student and nobody could foresee the fact that this shy and unimpressive boy would one day be heard with respect all the world over for his profundity and depth of wisdom. After leaving University, he served as a modest private tutor in Berne and Frankfort-on-the-Main during the years 1793-1800. While in Frankfort-on-the-Main the plan of his future system was taking definite shape. In 1801 Hegel came to Jena as an instructor. He ranked at first as an adherent and supporter of the philosophy of Schelling. He collaborated with Schelling in support of the latter's philosophical position and Schelling in return also helped him in many ways. In company with Schelling he edited in 1802-1803 the *Kritisches Journal der Philosophie*. In 1803 Schelling went to Wurzberg but Hegel stayed back at Jena to get a professorship in 1805. He had but small success as an academic teacher. During this time he was eager to come out of the sphere of Schelling's influence. He ridiculed Schelling when he gave his own views to the world in his noted book *Phenomenology of Mind*. Many look upon *Phenomenology* as Hegel's best book although he was compelled to write the latter half of this work in a great hurry as there were political agitations and national crisis. The battle of Jena broke out in 1806.

From Jena Hegel went to Bamberg and was looking for a suitable employment. He had to edit the local political journal for two years and thus somehow earned his livelihood. In the autumn of 1808 he became the gymnasial rector of the academy at Nuremberg where he taught philosophy in the higher classess. His lectures there are printed in the eighteenth volume of his works, under the title *Propaedeutic*. While at Nuremberg he got married and his noted book *Logic* was published. His fame was spreading to the four corners of the country. He was being recognised as a thinker of outstanding ability, 'with a flare for originality'. In 1816 he was called as professor of philosophy to Hiedelberg. Here in 1817 he got published his *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences* in which he expounded for the first time the whole of his system. The fullness of his fame and activity, however, properly dates only from his call to Berlin in 1818. He was considered as 'the one man who could fill with credit the chair of philosophy that had been vacant since the date of Fichte.' In Berlin there rose up around him a numerous, widely extended and in a scientific point of view, exceedingly active school. While at Berlin he published his *Philosophy of Right* and delivered several extended series of lectures in which he applied his method to the interpretation of history, the fine arts and religion. Here he acquired from his connection with the Prussian bureaucracy, as well political influence for himself as the credit for his system of a State-Philosophy not always to the advantage of the inner freedom of his philosophy or of its moral worth. When the Prussian State transcended all the rights of the individual and showed abject contempt for all forms of personal and individual liberties Hegel thought that he was witnessing the highest form of 'Community' life. The State was considered by Hegel to be the 'better self' of man and as such every man was under a manifest obligation to serve his State, however exacting that service might be. The culmination of this type of philosophy was the embodiment of a charter of absolute support to the Prussian King in all his oppressive measures. Hegel looked a conservative in every inch of his existence and repelled all attempts at a democratic form of Governments. He branded the British Constitution as an 'Ungodly jungle' and he liked it to be replaced by the 'rational institutions' of Prussia. This outlook was not the whole of Hegel. Here he might have been influenced by his concept of the 'Four stages of history' wherein he depicts the last stage of the Germanic world in which "the idea of Freedom will reach its highest expression." Where he could rise above the Tenton in him he could pronounce judgement of abiding influence. We should not only remember that he inspired such autocrats as the Austrian Metternich and Russian Czars but also take into account the fact that Karl Marx's class struggle theory sprang from Hegel's doctrine of the dialectics. In his *Moral and Political Philosophy*

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he demands popular representation, liberty of the press, open law-courts, trial by jury and administrative independency of corporations. His deep and profound thoughts on the various problems of civilised life were widely respected.

Hegel's personality was unusal in some respects. He was remarkably objective. He liked to relax in social intercourse with plain and unofficial people. He had no liking to shine in salons. He did not preach like Fichte nor lost himself in pleasing vagaries like Schelling and other Romanticists. His sole concern was to understand the world as it is and to explain everything logically. His Berlin lectures were remarkable for their insight into the aspects of life which are largely emotional, such as art, poetry and religion. He could not have understood these so well as he did if he had not experienced the feelings of other men. But this is not apparent in his writings. His objective outlook on life gave him the right perspective and the proper detachment so essential to understand life in all its bearings. He describes the inner experiences of the soul as dispassionately as a descriptive scientist might do. Another phase of Hegel's personality was his fondness for paradoxes. Since his boyhood he delighted others with his dry humour calling their attention to truths and facts which seem to be inconsistent, yet which must be accepted and in some way reconciled. This process of reconciliation is known as the Hegelian dialectic. He wanted to explain experience and the presuppositions or hypotheses of all experience with the help of this dialectical method and he developed literally a great fondness for this his 'procrastean bed.' We readily agree with James Hutchison Stirling when he remarks :

"Open where we may, in short, it is always the dialectic we encounter and that dialectic is always the same; whatever element it may be in act to transform. Nay, there is also a peculiar dialect to which this dialectic has led and which renders it impossible for Hegel to escape into general and current speech, even when employed on matters that are not esoteric."[3]

Thus he has made philosophy too technical and it has been rightly said against him that what disheartens the student of Hegel is, firstly, the impossibility of reading in Hegel and secondly the difficulty of attaining, in his regard, to a general conclusion.

According to Hegel, scepticism must be the necessary prelude to metaphysics. Like Descartes, he starts doubting everything that could be doubted while Descartes considered the very act of doubting to be above all possible doubts, Hegel goes further and doubts the very act of doubting. Descartes' famous pronouncement *Cogito ergo sum* did not satisfy Hegel. Hegel's starting point in metaphysics was not the doubter but "Something or some being which can never be doubted." This being is the most abstract and most indeterminate. As a concept it has the least determination. The all-inclusive conception in Hegel's system is this Absolute Idea often referred to briefly as the Absolute or the Idea. The Absolute Idea includes or rather is, all reality or the universe. Nothing is so real for him as the Idea. The Absolute for Hegel is not being but process, explicitation of differences and antithesis, which, however, are not independent or self-subsistently opposed to the Absolute but constitute, individually and collectively, only moments within the self-evolution of the Absolute. This necessitates a demonstration then that the Absolute is possessed within itself of a principle of progress from difference to difference. These differences still form only moments within it. Thus all reality is full of contradiction, and yet it is looked upon as rational. The contradiction is not that which is entirely alogical but it is a spur to further thinking. It must not be annulled but 'sublated,' *i.e.*, at once negated and conserved.

It is not we who are to bring differences into the Absolute but it is Absolute itself which must produce them; whilst they for their part must again resolve themselves into the whole and demonstrate themselves as mere moments. That it is the object of the Hegelian method to make good.

The Absolute, according to Hegel, pass-

3. We should bear in mind that the concept of the dialectical movement was not new. It was foreshadowed by Empedocles and embodied in the 'golden mean' of Aristotle whose teaching was that 'the knowledge of opposites is one.' (See Will Durant's *Story of Philosophy*, p. 295).

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through a dialectic of many triads—each of which has its own thesis, antithesis and synthesis. Hegel's dialectical movement of thought proceeds through a process of unfoldment. The starting point of reflective thought is 'being' and this 'being' develops out of itself the concept of 'non-being,' its opposite. But we cannot rest content with mere non-being. In the thesis a certain aspect of reality is revealed, in the antithesis a contrasting aspect appears and the two are then *aufgehoven* in a higher synthesis. But the synthesis is not a final one; the play begins anew; again an opposition makes its appearance, which in turn seeks to be overcome. Each separate concept is one-sided, defective, represents only a part of the truth. It needs to be supplemented by its contrary and by its union with this, its complement, yields a higher concept, which comes nearer to the whole truth, but still does not quite reach it. Even the last and the richest concept—the Absolute Idea—is by itself alone not the full truth; the result implies the whole development through which it has been attained. It is only at the end of such a dialectic of concepts that philosophy reaches complete correspondence with the living reality, which it has to comprehend. The speculative progress of thought is no capricious sporting with concepts on the part of the thinking subject, but the adequate expression of the movement of the matter itself. Since the world and its ground is development, it can only be known through a development of concepts. The law which this follows, in little as in great, is the advance from position to opposition and thence to combination. A moves on to not-A and thereby produces a synthesis in B. B again in turn moves on to not-B and the two together produce a higher synthesis in C. So the movement goes higher and still higher up. Now the question may be asked 'Why this movement?' Hegel's answer is that everything contains within itself its own opposite. "It is impossible to conceive of anything without conceiving at the same time of its opposite. We cannot think of Finiteness without thinking of infinity or of time without thinking of timelessness. A cow is a cow and is at the same time not a cat. A thing is itself only because at the same time it is not something else. Every thesis for an argument has its anti-thesis. Life has death and love has hate. Day has night and youth has age. Hegel does not stop at that and goes a step forward to declare that everything is its own opposite. Life is a struggle of opposing forces attempting to combine with one another into a higher unity. This Hegelian dialectic is thoroughly objective. It is the actual order which the thought of Absolute follows. Hegel tries to prove this by a logical deduction of every member in the system from the preceding one. The dialectic begins with the most abstract conception of pure logic—that of mere being—and terminates with the most concrete phase of thought, the philosophy of the Absolute Mind in its full comprehensiveness and concreteness. The order of the dialectic is purely logical. However, events in time conform to it to a considerable extent, as Hegel attempts to show by illustrations from human history in the fields of politics, philosophy, and religion. The most general trial has logic as thesis, Nature as antithesis and Mind or spirit (as *Geist* is variously translated) as synthesis. The Absolute Idea in itself (*an sich*) as pure reason, apart from the world, is the categories of Logic. From these the Idea advances for itself (*fur sich*) or as we are tempted to say, out of itself, into the external world of Nature, as revealed in the natural sciences. The Idea then returns to itself in a synthesis of Logic and Nature as Mind, and in human experience becomes self-conscious of its own activity. Thus the Absolute or the logical idea exists first as a system of antemundane concepts, then it descends into the unconscious sphere of nature, awakens to self-consciousness in man, realises its content in social institutions, in order, finally, in art, religion and science to return to itself enriched and completed *i.e.*, to attain a higher absoluteness than that of the beginning. So, according to Hegel, there is at first immediate unity, then divergence of opposites and finally, reconciliation of opposites and this is the universal law of all development.

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TAGORE, THE POET OF HUMAN VALUE

By JOGES C. BOSE

III

ANALOGUS to *Urvashi* and *Patita* but of different hue and texture is Rabindranath's poem *Bramhan*. It typifies as much his uninhibited outlook in bold relief to the Victorian morals, which gripped a section of our intelligentsia to the length of prudery. In a manner, it is an appraisement of a social question of great complexity in terms of its human value.

Bramhan: Seated on his divan, Rishi Goutama was discussing with his pupils the day's lessons on the mysteries of Bramha, the Supreme Being. A young stranger came that way and begged of him for admission into his tutelage. "But my child," asked the master, "tell me what clan you belong to; because you know that none but a Bramhin has the right to this branch of study." "I myself do not know," said the boy in reply, "but should it please you, sir, I would ask my mother and bring you the information tomorrow." "Yes, do it by all means," Goutama suggested.

The boy besought his mother to tell him his father's name and their clan. "I had been to Rishi Goutama," he explained, "for study on God and His ways. He asked me all about my clan; because, a Brahmin alone has the right to the initiation." "My child," the mother said in perfect candour, "in poor, straitened circumstances in my youth, I had to serve many a master; unto me, were you then born."

The next day, the boy went to the Rishi and reported verbatim as he was told. Instantly there was a flutter all around, as though, a stone-chip was into a beehive thrown. There were laughters in derision and audible whispers to match—'what a cheek!' But Rishi Goutama, not the least perturbed, got up and embraced the boy Satyakama with the signet of his blessing—"You must be a Bramhin of Bramhins. Who else could have spoken out truth like this?" Rishi Goutama is at once set apart; and Rabindranath is never to be lost in the crowd.

He told Einstein, as they met in July, 1930, that man is the foundation of everything; without him there is no truth, no beauty. In fact, with Rabindranath even a fine work of art loses much of its significance if it has no human appeal. Conversely, Tajmahal, as in his poem *Shajehan*, has its value augmented, because the purpose of its creation is invested with the glory of a husband's sigh. It is this, which abides as a pleasurable echo in million hearts.

Shajehan: Rabindranath in one of his itineraries goes to Agra to see Tajmahal. From Agra he goes to Allahabad and has before his vision from out of the window of the hotel where he was putting up, the grey ruins of the Fort, another relic of Moghul splendour, that has long crumbled down. The difference between the two, namely, that the Fort has no human appeal touches him in sharp contrast. And in its background, he writes the poem *Shajehan*, in which Tajmahal endures like

> One long-drawn sigh saturating the
> atmosphere earth to sky;
> Like one drop of tear of speckless
> white on the cheek of time.

Shajehan the artist and emperor is Shajehan the man speaking in whispers to his wife Momtaj, rarefied into a twilight memory of dream and reality—

Jyotsna rat-e nibhrita mandir-e preyasir-e
J-e nam-e dakit-e dhir-e dhir-e,
Sei kan-e kan-e daka rekh-e gel-e
oikhan-e ananter kan-e
Premer komalata phutila ta soundaryer
prasanta pashar-e
H-e samrat kabi ei taba hridayer chhabi;
Ei taba naba meghdoot, apurba, adbhut,
Chhand-e gan-e uthiachh-e alakshyer pan-e
Jetha taba birahinee priya raechh-e mishia
Prabhater arun abhash-e, klanta
Sandhya diganter karun niswash-e;

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Purnimai deha-heen chamelir labanya bilash-e;
Bhashar ateet teer-e kangal nayan jatha
Dwar hot-e ash-e phir-e phir-e.
Tomar saundarya-doot yug-yug dhari
Eraia kaler prahari chaliachh-e bakyahara ei barta nia
'Bhuli nai, bhuli nai, bhuli nai priya'.

A blend of sound and colour gives the poem texture, which does not yield to alien alphabets. Any way—

On moon-lit nights in the tingling quiet of thy room, the pet name Taj that thou whispered into the ears of thy beloved partner is to the ear of eternity bequeathed. The soft mellow splendour of thy love unfolds itself in flower-bunches, embossed as they are in placid marble. Thou poet of an emperor, the Tajmahal is the picture of thy inward self; it is thy new cloud-messenger* unique and fascinatingly strange, as it wafts far into the sky in rhymes and songs dedicated to thy wife. Smitten with the pangs of separation, she lives in the red glow of dawn; in the plaintive sighs of tired Eve sinking low down the horizon; in the disembodied grandeur of *chameli*, bathed in full-moon rays; in that bourne, no language can reach and from whose portals the beggar-ears come back disappointed. As thy ode to beauty, the Tajmahal has for ages eluded the relentless Time's watchman stern and stands for thy message, words do but faintly express thy love! 'No, no, I have not forgotten thee, my love!'

One line of epitaphic significance applying symbolizingly on the poet himself is—

Thou great, the world, resonant with the swelling notes of the sea all around, fails as signally to contain thee. Hence, dost thou cast it away with sublime unconcern, earthen pitcher as it were, when life's banquet ends.

The world compared to an earthen pitcher is not suggestive of any ennui in life or 'otherworldliness. It leads to the imagery that the chariot of life is on endless move. This dynamism of the 'thrust and go of life' is still more eloquently expatiated in the far deeper *Jheelum Nadir Teer-e*, (On the bank of the river Jheelum), where—

The day is fast losing itself in the tide of night. The stars are like so many flowers floating on the bosom of the river Jheelum, verily as she looks like a sabre sheathed. The poet is for a moment struck mute with the wild abandon of space. As he recovers his calm, he invokes the Power unseen to yield him the one supreme satisfaction that he may not confound the fact of breathing with the fact of being alive and just revolve round the same old grind. He looks down the dark precipice; looks up into the sky beyond the snow-capped peaks in the glorious conglutination of *deodars*. He cannot resist being seized with a longing to fly over invisible stretch into the future unborn listening, as he flies, to the inspiration of the mighty choral of *hangsabalaka*, the swans on the wings of exhalation and keep to their tune—'No, not here, definitely not here, but elsewhere, elsewhere in some other place.'

I have no quarrel with those, who seek to trace Rabindranath's this 'thrust and go of life' to Bergson's current *Elan Vital*, which makes our yearnings the better of us. I would rather have it that Bergson does but confirm from the angle of a philosopher-scientist, the five thousand years old Hindu conception of one unconquerable urge, emanent in man birth to birth, directing and propelling him to achieve the achievable in a chain of unending creativeness. I feel the more encouraged to say this, because Bergson himself holds that 'there is nothing to prevent our imagining that the evolution of life might have taken place in one single individual by means of a series of transformations, spread over thousands of ages.'—*Creative Evolution*. One test of a man's greatness, as Rabindranath has it, is his capacity to leave behind his achievements dear with perfect nonchalance, because, he is ceaselessly in pursuit of something greater still.

Shajehan is one of the few poems in the post-Nobel period, where Rabindranath warms up with the shine of the old flint and would suffer no impulse to flag or a line to wear thin. Could it be that Shajehan, the artist of a prince, seeking to perpetuate his wife's memory, thrilled on the fine, sensitive chord of the prince artist's inner being? Is this how a sentiment,

* *Meghdoot*, Cloud-messenger is the name of a poem of Kalidasa depicting the bites of separation.

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too deep for expression, is canalised? In what setting, however, he consecrates the memory of his wife in *Smaran-e*, In Memoriam—

> So I do realise today that all pursuits and this running after what men call honour turn out like bundles of straw, if there is not behind all these preparations one ray of smile to enliven thee; if as the evening light is lit, and thou returnest home after the strenuous labours of the day, there is not one dear soul, to whose loving care thou art in a position to commit thy tired self.

In the phantasy *Swarga Hoit-e Bidaya*, Adieu Heaven, he tells the gods on the eve of his departure that he is going back to the earth, which is albeit no heaven but motherland and not a whit less prized. There on the outskirt of a village, his wife, born in one of the poorest of hamlets under the shade of a spreading banian tree, grows to nurse deep affection for him with all the fostering, which belongs to her maiden breast. Each morning she makes clay image of god Siva to worship and pray that she may in wedlock be tied to him.

In his poem *Manasa-sundari*, The Phantom of My Desire, he celebrates the moment of their first meeting:

> What a festive joy was there in my world as thou first came unto me a life's partner ever and ever more. Clad in scarlet bright and in the coy bloom of thy face, thou came in a chariot, bedecked with flowers and as the flute was playing *sahana*, the tune of joy joyfully serene.

In *Urvashi*, we have the completely free woman, who owns no tie to anybody. Her anatomy is the cliche of art; her appeal does not go beyond the reach of flesh. Arjuna, as we have it in the *Mahabharata*, refused to submit to her wiles on the ground that she is in frequent concubinge with his father Indra, the King of gods. Urvashi cursed him to the loss of mascuilinity for some years. The story is possibly illustrative of her unabashed contempt of social conventions.

In *Swarga Hoit-e Bidaya*, we are vouchsafed a glimpse of what fully developes into a concrete figure in *Smaran-e*—the woman, who by the quality of understanding and appreciation acquires the gift of sublimating even the trite and the trivial over the lengthening track of a man's life.*

Beatrice, by the way, is a strain; Gretchen a vulgarity. Prurient curiosity ran its febrile course and did not spare Rabindranath the probe. His austerity of refinement has, however, made it an idle game. Pedestrian as it is to make the wedded partner worth all the vintage for Bengal's one-time Shelley, it is illuminative that Rabindranath acknowledges with an eloquent brevity—the fewer said the better—that he owes so much of his resilience to his wife's contributions of mind and body. But to pursue the old thread.

In Rabindranath's drama *Prakritir Pratisodh*, Nature's Revenge, we have the clash of two forces—one ascetic, shy of worldly attachment and the other rooted deep in the affection of human breast. Written at the age of twenty-one, he gives us the story of a hermit, who stole away from human habitations for undisturbed contemplation of God. One day he happened to stumble upon a small young girl on the footway hovering between life and death. He succoured her back to life and could not afford to leave her to the freaks of Nature. In the process he realised, Rabindranath says, that one concrete attribute of the Infinite is his faculty of rest for the finite. The hermit is thus made to exclaim:

> With eyes shut and all worldly things left out
> Where really had I gone in search of thee, oh my lord

The same thesis is brought home still more strikingly in his small poem *Bairagya*, Renunciation.

A man wakes up at dead of night, when the rest of the house is fast asleep. What racks him is that in the stress of day to day engrossment in family affairs, he has not been devoting a thought upon God. He, therefore, makes up his mind:

> In quest of my adored deity I shall [illegible] family renounce. Who are these to have me forget Thee, oh my God? God says—
>
> He hearkens not. The little child nestles on the mother's breast, and the mother sleeps

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* The idea of this conflict is taken from one of Rabindranath's letters to the novelist Pramatha Mookherjea.

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in assured satisfaction sting him as a comedy of infinite illusion. In smothered anguish his heart cries out:

'Who are these to have held me down in gossamer threads of entanglement?'
The Lord again says—'I'.

But it slips by flat as before. His inner being screams in mute agony of despair:

'Where art thou oh my Lord?'
'Definitely here,' the Lord replies to be slighted as before.

The child cries suddenly, as children do in a dream, and the mother draws it still closer. All these, however, do not touch him now and he walks out with the consciousness of a crucial dedication. Here and now God sighs the eternal sigh of bewilderment—

'And so my devotee forsakes me at last; and where, possibly, can he find me out?'

* * *

Rabindranath's poem *Sonar Taree*, The Craft of Gold, was at one time assailed for what unfriendly critics called its vagueness, symbolism and inexplicability. The Visva-Bharati once invited readers to select two hundred poems of Rabindranath in order of merit. *Sonar Taree* was the easy first, *Nirjharer Swapna Bhanga* and *Puratan Bhritya* were bracketed second, and *Shajehan* was just behind, six votes less. To what extent the highest acclaim for *Sonar Taree* is a reply to the aforesaid gassy denominations is more than I can hazard a guess for.

The poet is seated on the bank of a swiftly-flowing river waiting for the boat to come and pick him up. The boat comes and takes all right of the harvest, he has gathered with a devout assiduity. When, however, it is his turn to be taken in, it slides past on the plea that it has no further room.

Etokal nadee kul-e jaha loy-e chhinu bhul-e
Sakali dilam tul-e thar-e bithar-e,
Ekhon amar-e laha karuna kor-e.
Thai nai, thai nai chhota sh-e taree
Amari sonar dhan'e giacch-e bhari.

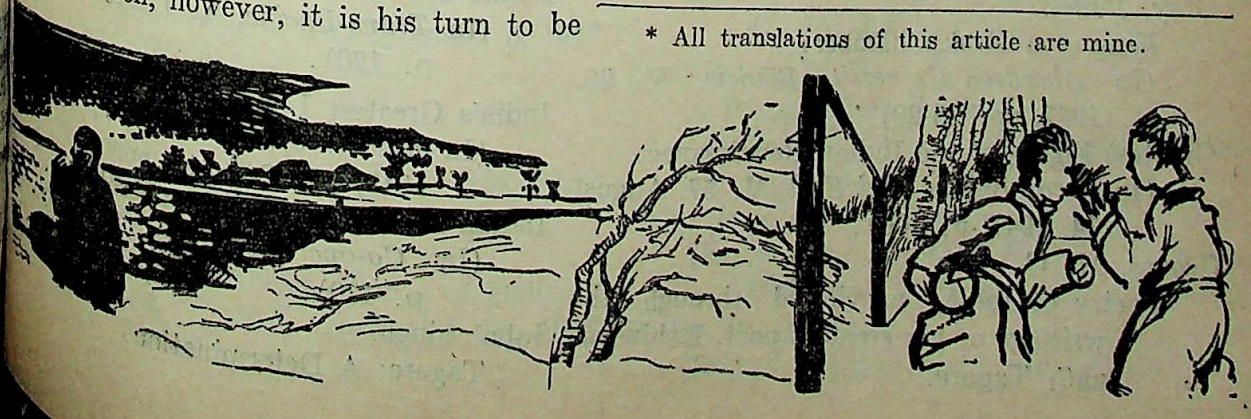
I make over in piles what on this river-bank I have so long devoted myself to. 'Now, do in grace take me in,' I implored. 'Alas, no room is left. The boat is small and with thy golden harvest full,' came the reply.

Srabon gagan ghir-e ghana megh ghur-e
phir-e
Sunya nadeer tir-e rahinoo pari.

Dense clouds wend their way over the monsoon sky; and as the river frowns by, I am left all to myself.*

Sonar Taree has a spell of diction, born of onomatopoetic, alliterative monosyllables breaking into a liquid cadence. The frantic race between the reaper reaping and the monsoon-flood trying to overtake him has the vividness of a motion-picture. The poem's one appeal is its note of piercing frustration, created by a longed-for thing slithering past. But to me its greatest appeal is that it symbolises what is obviously so common, *e.g.*, that we have no consideration for the man, who in the teeth of pitiless elements makes the earth abound with crops; what, in fact, we care for so mightily is his harvest. To the dilettante the poem breathes a note of pessimism, but to the discerning, it is human value writ large as the touchstone of all values.

* All translations of this article are mine.



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PRINCIPLES OF LITERARY CRITICISM

By G. S. FRASER*

Over the past 30 or 40 years, in the Anglo-Saxon world, there has been something like a complete revolution in the theory and practice of literary criticism. For a famous critic of the late Victorian age, like George Saintsbury, literary criticism was essentially an informal mixture of several quite different disciplines: history, biography, summary description, and subjective appreciation. And, in fact, in many universities the teaching of literature is still conducted on Saintsbury's lines of the informal panoramic survey.

Most younger teachers of literature, however, are opposed to this method. Since Mr. T. S. Eliot's famous essay on *Tradition and the Individual Talent* and since Dr. I. A. Richard's *Practical Criticism*, there has been a tendency among critics to move away from concentration on the poet, his life, times, and inner history, to concentration on the poem as an object: and among teachers to concentrate rather on close examination of individual poems than on wide and perhaps shallow reading, and easy generalisation from it. How a given text works is one of the central themes of modern criticism; at the same time, however, scholarly "background" studies in the climate of ideas of a poet's age, his reading, clues in his work to his personal psychology, and so on, are in a much more advanced and specialised state than they were in Saintsbury's time.

The young student of English literature is therefore often bewildered by a multitude of specialised approaches, when he tries to grasp the central truth about some writer he admires. There is no modern book, for instance, which attempts to grasp Shakespeare as a whole, as Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy* did: and how is the young foreign student going to relate to each other, say, Professor Dover Wilson's work on text and sources, Mr. Wilson Knight's work on symbolic patterns, and other attempts to clarify Shakespeare's intention through such diverse disciplines as psycho-analysis and the study of Elizabethan moral theology?

Broad Approach

For students, particularly, Mr. David Daiches has performed an inestimable service by not only providing, in his *Critical Approaches to Literature*, a clear summary, with useful long quotations, of some of the main revolutionary achievements in modern English and American criticism, but by relating that criticism to its past. He begins with Plato's attack on poetry for being an imitation of an imitation (God has an idea of the tree, actual trees imitate this idea, and the artist who paints a tree imitates the imitation). He shows how Aristotle gets round Plato's dilemma by agreeing that poetry is an imitation, but "an imitation of an action," high, noble, and serious. It deals not with mere facts but with "the probable and the necessary." "Hence poetry is something more philosophic and of graver import than history, since its statements are of the nature rather of universals, whereas those of history are singulars." He traces the influence of these ideas throughout English literary history.

Thus, Sir Philip Sidney in his essentially moralistic *Defence of Poesie* makes the point against Plato that Plato himself is a poet: his dialogues are fictitious, and have all the ornaments of rhetoric, and to convey the highest moral truths Plato himself uses not dialectic but fables. Shelley, a Platonist by nature, turns Plato's arguments against himself: the true poet is not imitating the imitation, he is in touch with the source. And Dr. Johnson, defending Shakespeare against the charge of breaking the unities, is really using Aristotelian common-sense to undermine pseudo-Aristotelian pedantry. With Aristotle, Dr. Daiches feels, criticism grew up. He stated, even if sketchily, most of the fundamental problems.

This broad historical approach enables Daiches to see the revolution in modern critical in fairly calm perspective. Agreeing that the analytical approach, typified by Mr. Empson, has quickened our response to the subtleties of the individual poem, he nevertheless points out that it is also useless for the purposes of comparison, and that it tends to run into blunders through despising the historical approach. Biography and history, a feeling for the setting, for the period, can still contribute much to the understanding of poetry, though they are critically out of fashion.

Flexibility of Approach

Nevertheless, Dr. Daiches rejects the critic

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relativism of Dr. Pottle, for whom anything is poetry that a sufficiently educated reader of its time took for poetry; we must accept the idiom of a given age as a poetic medium—it was an error of Arnold's flatly to reject the Augustan medium for instance—but we still have to make absolute, not relative, critical judgments about the ends for which the medium was used, and how successfully it was used by different poets in different poems. The critic cannot abdicate; fashion cannot do his judging for him. Again, Dr. Daiches agrees, as against the extreme position of Dr. Leavis and some of his followers, that the critic's taste should be catholic; but he sees that, as often in Hazlitt, for instance, there is an extreme catholicity, a general enthusiasm for everything, which amounts in practice to refusal to discriminate.

The most refreshing feature of Dr. Daiches' book is, perhaps, its lack of a doctrinaire quality; he does not believe either that any one critical approach or method can be adequate in all circumstances, or that any of the approaches or methods he treats with respect might not be useful up to a point, in some circumstances. He encourages a wise flexibility of approach; and insists that literature is larger and richer than literary criticism, that literary criticism is not an end in itself, but an aid to the appreciation of literature. His admirably chosen quotations form a very useful anthology of key critical texts, from Plato and Aristotle to John Crowe Ransom and William Empson, and his later chapters contain some excellent suggestions for critical exercises, and for further reading.

Critical Approaches to Literature would make a first-rate hand-book for anybody conducting a seminar—with special reference to the modern English and American achievement and its antecedents on the history and principles of literary criticism. The book has, indeed, a certain text-book quality; Dr. Daiches' own personality is held somewhat in reserve, and the value of *Critical Approaches to Literature* is more that of a source of discussion-material than of a book to be read right through for pleasure. But, as a manual for the teacher or for the reasonably resourceful student, the book could hardly be bettered.

* Author of *The Modern Writer and His World*, editor of the contemporary anthology *Poetry Now*, and a regular broadcaster and contributor to London literary journals.

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SANSKRITIC STUDIES IN MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES

By Prof. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A useful and valuable work is being done in different languages of modern India on philology, especially on old Sanskritic texts. These have translations as well as critical studies of many an important Sanskrit and Prakrit work in the various provincial languages of the country. Not only popular books like poetical works but works of purely scholarly interest also have been covered. It is, however, a pity that these productions have been given scanty publicity. As a result, works published in one language are little known to people—nay, even scholars—beyond the area served by the language in question. How many people outside the Hindi-speaking regions, for instance, have any idea about the Hindi translations of works like the *Kavyamimamsa* of Rajasekhara or studies in Hindi on the *Harsacharita* or the *Mricchakatika?* Similarly there are a good many works of the same type in Bengali which are almost unknown to non-Bengali people though some of them may be of interest and help to them. This is not the place to give a list of works of this type in Bengali or in any other language, though there are quite a good number in almost all the major languages of the country. Necessary steps need be taken to bring these works to the notice of the scholarly world through reviews in reputed journals, carefully compiled bibliographies as well as through other means. As matters stand few bibliographies make any systematic note of these publications. For the present I shall refer to a few recent works copies of which have been received for review in these pages.

Dr. R. G. Basak whose contribution on ancient Indian history are well-known has now set

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himself to the task of translating and interpreting in Bengali reputed Sanskrit and Prakrit texts. His translation of the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya has brought the work within easy reach of the average Bengali reader. His latest work is the annotated translation of the *Gathasaptasati*[1] of Hala which will be helpful to students of literature in making aquaintance with beautiful specimens of ancient poetry of our country. The translation is accompanied by the Prakrit text with select variants and its *Chhaya* or Sanskritised form.

The appearance of the *Meghaduta* of Kalidasa with a modern Rajasthani version deserves special mention, owing to the comparative paucity of published literature in the language. Sri Narayan Sinha Bhati's metrical translation[2] of the work has undergone a second edition within two years of its first publication. This is a clear indication of the nature of reception it has had at the hands of its readers. The translation is accompanied by an introduction and a short summary of every verse both in Hindi.

Sudraka[3] of Chandravali Pande is an interesting study in Hindi of the life and works of the celebrated poet of the same name. The learned author seeks to identify the poet with King Vasisthiputra Pulumayi and trace similarities between Sudraka's *Mricchakatika* and the famous Tamil classic, the *Silappadikaram* in the composition of which the Satavahana king is supposed to have had some hand. It is the king-poet who is further supposed to have found it necessary to revise the *Charudatta* composed at his instance by his court-poet Bhasa and he gave it a finished form in his *Mricchakatika*. The suppositions of the learned author are indeed ingenious if not always convincing. His analysis of the characters of the drama, the social condition of the period and its composition as reflected in it and the characteristic features of the poet's composition will be read with interest and profit by the general reader.

1. General Printers and Publishers Limited, 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta.
2. Pithal Prakasana, Kacheri Road, Jodhpur.
3. Motilal Banarasi Das, Banaras.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIA AS I SEE HER: *By S. R. Sharma. Published by Lakshmi Narayan Agarwal, Agra. 1956. Pp. 251. Price Rs. 8.50.*

This is an excellent work from the pen of a veteran college Professor of Indian history and author of a number of notable works on the subject. The author's aim, as he tells us in his Preface, is to describe with strict regard to truth and within the shortest compass all the vital aspects of India's civilisation from the earliest times to the present, in a balanced and harmonious combination. In particular he seeks (p. 1) to bring home to the reader "the subjective unity" underlying India's "objective diversity" wherein lies "the uniqueness of her ... tive idealism." A perusal of this work ... that the author's attempt on the whole ... thoroughly successful. He combines well-... erudition with a spirit of sympathy and ... tive insight into the processes of Indian ... While suppressing unnecessary details ... centrates on the story of development of ... genius in the most important spheres of ... this we have to add his singularly ... style which grips the reader's attention ... beginning to end. His pronouncements ... increased weight from apt quotations ... original texts in the ancient times and ... ments by authoritative writers in ... periods.

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Without detracting from the high merits of this work, we may be permitted to make a few remarks. The author has fought shy of the much discussed question of the "constitutional" or "limited" character of Ancient Indian monarchy, nor has he made sufficient allowance for the limited operation of the Ancient self-governing village assemblies both in space and time. He allows himself instead to make the bold generalisation (p. 131) about Ancient Indian kings and peoples that "they were essentially democratic without being doctrinaire democrats, they were spontaneously social without being socialists, and fraternally community-conscious without being communists." We have to mention in this connection that the author's bald references (pp. 126-7) to the popular election of Harshavardhana of Thanesvar and Gopala of Bengal are a little off the mark, because not to speak of our complete ignorance of the persons and classes figuring in these elections, they did not help to make any change in the general pattern in the constitutions of these two States. In his account of Indian social life through the centuries, the author overlooks the dark sides of the picture such as those involved in some aspects of the position of women and still more in the condition of the depressed classes and of castes. Some of the author's statements are quite unauthenticated, such that the seven Rathas in Mamallapuram were "dedicated to the Pandavas" (p. 128), that Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan *savants* "mastered Pali" along with Sanskrit and that the ancient inscriptions in their countries "contain verses in the classical Sanskrit of the Gupta Age" (p. 139), that Afghanistan up to the Hindu Kush was ruled by the Indians "from c. 300 B.C. to 1000 A.D." (p. 144), and that Husain Shah of Bengal "founded" the Satya-pir cult (p. 161). The complete absence of diacritical marks and the want of an Index as well as the uncorrected printing mistakes are to be regretted.

U. N. GHOSHAL

An INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS: *By P. C. Chatterji. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad and Bombay. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The book under review presents philosophical problems in a very clear and definite language. The author took great care for precision throughout the book and his discussion is quite elaborate and polemics convincing. The book, though meant for uninitiated, will undoubtelly help the initiated appreciate the intricacies of long-standing philosophical problems. The author confesses that his spiritual home is Cambridge and he has been immensely influenced by such stalwarts as Moore, Russell and Broad. Occasional reference to Keynes, Wittgenstein have made the book interesting.

The book has been divided into twelve chapters. They deal with such metaphysical problems as Substance, Mind and Body, Universals, Truth, Value and Perception. It is not quite easy to deliver the goods in any metaphysical treatise and this has been ably recognised by the author. The 'critical philosophers' recognised the fact that philosophy does not give us the Truth but it helps clarity of thought. The book betrays a mission of the author tuned to the pitch of the critical philosophers. There is always a need for such books. Our propensity for hero-worship has not completely died down. Philosophy was looked upon by most of us as the pulpit whereon Sermons of the wise were given to the ignorant world. Our Upanishadic *rishis* or system-builders like Kapila and Kanada might have been replaced by Bradley and Hegel. But that is not a step forward. We must know and remember that the study of philosophy is an intellectual exercise and, the book under review reminds us of this pleasing reality over and over again.

The book is not without defects. We invite the attention of the author at least to one fact of omission. At page 20 he gives us the impression that Empirical arguments, the prop of Epistemological Idealism, may be divided into two classes: "Those that are based on relativity of perception and others." In the next few pages he states and examines the arguments based on 'the relativity of perception.' He, however, omits to explain the other types of arguments referred to by him as 'others.' This 'others' obviously did not mean the logical arguments next discussed. His straightaway plunge into the 'logical arguments' fails to meet a gap created by his own commitment. We would suggest a rectification in the next edition, which, we are sure, will come out ere long. The publishers deserve a word of praise for the neat printing and nice get-up.

SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI

HINDU RASHTRA: *By Balraj Madhok. Swastik Prakashan, 27-1-B, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1.*

The author, a prominent Jana Sangha leader, is at pains to show—not very convincingly, however—that India was a nation from days of yore and that the Indian National

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Congress is responsible for the partition of the country. History has been misread and misinterpreted at places to support the author's thesis.

The author's indictment of some aspects of the Congress policy before and after independence, however, contains elements of truth. He points out and rightly at that that the foundations of a nation cannot be laid on the quicksands of appeasement and compromise. "The growing linguism and provincialism" are, according to Shri Madhok, "the result of the failure of the rulers of India to emphasize the fundamental, geographical and cultural unity of the country." Communalism, casteism, separatism and the whole gamut of them still flourish in India. The disturbances over a large part of the country in mid-1956 following the publication of a book by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, the agitation for a Punjabi-speaking State, the controversies and the ugly disturbances that preceded and followed the reorganisation of the States, and the general elections of 1957 prove the contention. Separatism in all forms and varieties, the author rightly concludes, must be rooted out. "The most urgent problem of Indian nationalism" is to develop a genuine national consciousness transcending "group consciousness as members of different religious communities." Hinduism and Islam, the principal religions of India, Sir J. N. Sarkar also points out in another context, "must die and be born again. Each of these creeds must pass through a rigorous vigil and penance, each must be purified and rejuvenated under the sway of reason and science. That such a re-birth of Islam is not impossible, has been demonstrated in our own days by the conqueror of Smyrna" (*History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 494). Hindu as well as Muslim and Sikh communalists will do well to read and re-read these words of wisdom of the great savant.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

BHOODAN YAJNA (Land-Gift Mission): *By Vinoba Bhave. Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 134. Price As. 14.*

First publisred in 1953, the book under review is the second reprint out in March this year. The Navajivan Publishing House is here caught napping. They have served old fare in a new dish. Bhoodan has covered much new ground since 1953. It is no longer Land-gift Mission. It is now Gramdan Mission heading towards Firkadan. BIRENDRANATH GUHA

PRICE MOVEMENTS IN INDIA (1924-1957): *By Dr. Lakshmi Narain, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Shri Prakashan, Meerut. Pp. 310. Price Rs. 12.50.*

This treatise is the thesis of the author approved for the Ph.D. Degree of the Delhi University. The period of study covers two extremes, *viz.*, the Great Depression and Great wartime and post-war inflations. The price policies of the first and Second Five-Year Plans are also critically examined.

The author discusses this important subject in twenty-one chapters detailing the entire scheme in the Introductory, as price constitutes the central problem of economy as is found to-day. Price affects all classes in society—producers, distributors and consumers—who have to make these decisions in their economic behaviour. The study of prices, therefore, is of extreme importance. The Great Depression (1929) which swept almost all the countries of the world affected India most and Indian economy suffered from it till sometime after the outbreak of the Second World War (Sept. 1939). During wartime India suffered terribly from inflation, particularly due to financing Allied operations in the East. Price control was more successful in U.S.A. and U.K., but in India black-market prices had to be paid by the poorest people. The author presents a detailed study of the causes of depression, prices during War (Aug. 1939-Aug. 1945), monetary factors in price situation, war-time inflation in India (1942-45), effects of war-time inflation, price trends in India and other countries, post-war prices, revaluation and prices, effect of Korean war, post-war inflation in India, prices from May 1951 to December 1956, prices and planning and price mechanism. A review of the Movement from 1929 to 1956, has been given in a separate chapter. The treatise is concluded with chapters on price policy for the Second Five-Year Plan and deficit financing and prices.

It is an interesting study and the causes of price rise and fall have been carefully and scientifically scrutinized and presented. The observation in regard to price behaviour during the First Five-Year Plan and the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan will be helpful to the planners and students of Economics.

A. B. D.

PRACTICAL HINTS ON FRUIT GARDENING: *By B. L. Choudhri. Published by the Western Book Depot, Nagpur. First Edition 1955. Price Rs. 6-12.*

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The book contains at the outset a foreword by Sri S. K. Misra, Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture, Nagpur University, who felt pleasure in recommending this book to those interested in fruit industry. But the reviewer holds a different opinion as this book contains numerous scientific inaccuracies and printing mistakes. We also expect a better type of printing and get-up when we are going to pay the price. A few mistakes are pointed out below:

At page 108, "Roughing—Removal of diseased plants" is written. Roughing means the removal of those plants which are found other than actually desired. At page 110, one should read pollination instead of "fertilization" and at page 111, reproductive instead of "productive." At page 125, under Banana he has written, "A pound of this fruit contains more nutriment than three pounds of meat while as a food it is, in every sense, superior to the best wheaten bread." Is it true? I leave the above statement to the readers for judgment. At page 126, he has described Banana as large drupe. It is not so; it is a berry. At page 136, he writes, "There is a common belief that plants raised by sowing the whole fruits give better results." In a scientific treatise the belief of the people should not be incorporated. Besides, in Nature when mature fruits drop down, seeds come out finally and germinate in proper season. Besides in this Kok plum there are no varieties. He should have written that two *types* exist giving descriptions of fruits of each type.

Such instances can be multiplied. The author should carefully read scientific facts and treatises to correct this book for the next edition. He should not rush to print with so many fundamental mistakes.

R. M. DATTA

TENALI RAMA: *By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S. Orient Publishing Co., Madras. Pp. 124. Price Rs. 3.*

This little book gives us in English the Telegu humour of Tenali Rama, the court-jester of Krishna Deva Raya (c. 1530) of Vijayanagar. We in Bengal are familiar with the humour and little pranks of Gopal Bhanr, a courtier of Maharaja Krishna Chandra of Nadia (c. 1760); and of Raja Birbal, said to be one of the nine jewels of the court of Akbar (c. 1580). Tenali Rama, one of the *ashtadiggajas* of Krishna Deva Raya, compares favourably with them, and in some of the stories even excels them. Several of the stories have parallels in the humour of Gopal Bhanr and of Raja Birbal. One must read the stories himself to appreciate fully the humour of Tenali Rama. The translator and editor has done well in giving a short sketch of the life and times of Tenali Rama, which we hope will be more exhaustive and detailed in future editions. Without such a background it becomes difficult sometimes to appreciate Tenali Rama. The price of the book seems to be a little high.

J. M. DATTA

THE FIRST DECADE, August 15, 1947. (A symposium commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of Indian Independence): *Edited by Clifford Manshardt and with a Preface by the Hon. Ellsworth Bunker, Ambassador of the United States of America to India. Published by the United States Information Service, India, August 12, 1957, for selected circulation.*

This is a nice little book of about two hundred pages brought out by the United States Information Service to commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of Indian Freedom. There are nine articles, all written up by Indian scholars and statesmen, each distinguished in his own field, depicting the progress and problems of various aspects of Indian life. It is not usual to find a Government of a country publishing a book on another country wholly written up by officials and officially related scholars of the latter for public distribution. But, then, here is such a book. It is not the ordinary information bureau stuff but is a book worthy of the shelves of any good library. The book is a fine gesture of American friendship for India and the persons responsible for its publication deserve our congratulations and thanks.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKAR

VAISHNABA LYRICS: *By Dr. Matilal Das. Bharat Samskriti Parishat. Block K, Plot 467, New Alipore, Calcutta-33. Price Rs. 3.*

The Vaishnaba lyrics have not only lived through centuries; they have still been inspiring our poets. The author has presented herein some of the best of them in commendable English rendering. The spirit of the original poems have been retained to a considerable extent.

SONG SUBLIME: *By Prafullakumar Lahiri. Published by the author at 57, Monoharpukur Road, Calcutta-29. Price Re. 1.*

A translation of the Gita in poor English verse.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

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HINDI

AYE-KAR VIDHAN EVAM HISAB LEKHE: *By C. B. Gupta. Rama Prasad and Sons, Agra. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 5.*

Income-tax Law and Accounts,—the subject of the book,—is a complicated affair, which baffles many an intelligent person, nay even the "high-brows." The author, a professor of the College of Commerce, Delhi University, has, therefore, attempted a lucid presentation thereof which will be welcomed not only by would-be commerce graduates but also by the general Hindi-knowing businessman. It is, indeed, a painstaking as well as praiseworthy treatment of a puzzling problem and procedure.

G.M.

GUJARATI

APOORVA MILAN: *By Ratilal Girdharlal Shah, M.A., LL.B., Rajkot. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay. Printed at the Nav Prabhat Printers Press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 456. Price Rs. 5.*

It is a novel written entirely in the modern style and depicts the love incidents occurring in the lives of young boys and girls of the present age. It is full of noble thoughts and sentiments. The author has striven to demonstrate by his talented pen and rich imagination that Nature, Art and Artist are one: there is unity amongst them and not diversity.

SAMAJNA PRASHNA (Problems of Society): *By Swami Madhav Tirtha. Published by Vedant Ashram, Post Valad. Printed at the Vir-Vijaya Press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Illustrated. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 159. Price Re. 1-8.*

Swami Madhavtirtha has to his credit about twenty books written and published till now. They are all of a meditative and deductive and advisory character. Some of these have passed into four editions. This book as the title denotes deals with social problems, such as, Present Times, Man of Tomorrow or The Coming Man and Perfect Science. One has to go through its pages to follow the wide range of observation and comment displayed in it by the Swami. Vedanta, Sankhya, Vivarta-Vad, nothing is ignored.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Nature and Man

Problems of Co-Existence

In an article in *The Aryan Path,* Roy Bridger offers food for serious thought upon the danger of "neglect of the life sciences in favour of the death sciences," a danger which bids fair to be increasingly brought home to the most complacent and the most superficial:

Under the threat of atomic warfare the world is trying to think in terms of co-existence, by which is implied co-existence between East and West. Ancient habits of thought, such as the comfortable resolve that if points are to be conceded in a dispute they must be the other side's, can be dangerous survivals in a guided-missile age. Yet behind human politics looms an even more formidable necessity—that of stabilizing co-existence between man and Nature. Although Nature managed well enough before man's arrival, and could presumably make do after his departure, we like to think we shall remain in the picture. But it can never be the other way round. Nature cannot be overthrown except at the cost of our own suicide.

The reason for this is that, although it is possible to make a mental distinction between man and his natural environment, the conception is quite illusory. Man, in isolation, simply does not exist. The individual does not exist. There is only mankind, or the individual, plus an intricate assortment of environmental props. We go through life with a strong supporting cast. Pay them off—and the Prince of Denmark has made his positively farewell appearance.

Trees, for instance, are one of the key groups in all Nature's kingdoms; in many things which are matters of life and death to us—soil erosion, shelter, humus formation, water circulation, and so on—trees are found to be inextricably woven into the pattern. But trees, too, are in the same fix as ourselves. They can't exist—in isolation. Their entourage includes mammals, birds, insects, worms, shrubs, herbs, grasses, ferns, mosses, lichens, algæ, fungi, mycorrhizas, bacteria and protozoa. A forest is not simply a group of trees; it is a complete social organization. We may form a notion of wresting trees from Nature's control and managing them ourselves—but who on earth is going to manage the rest of the crowd? In fact, the latest teachings of silviculture are that the highest level of management is reached in the natural forest, and that everywhere man's interference is disrupting the great natural cycles —of water, of nitrogen compounds, of carbon dioxide and of plant foods.

Apart from cultivated plants, domesticated livestock and various forms of life over which we exercise some sort of control, numerous animal, plant and insect species are recognized as indispenable to human existence—spiders and insect-eating birds for keeping down the numbers of those small but prolific organisms which if unchecked would eat us right off the planet, and termites for running the "dead wood department" in the tropical cycle of life, not forgetting the bacteria and protozoa but for whose presence in the human stomach itself digestion could not take place.

The Martians in Wells's story *The War of the Worlds* would seem to have had a fair chance of success when, with "intellects vast and cool and unsympathetic," they regarded this earth with envious eyes and from across the gulf of space "slowly and surely drew their plans against us." Yet the irony of their failure to conquer the earth was that no effective resistance was offered from without. They had all before them, but they collapsed before completing their conquest. They were slain from within, slain by the disease and putrefactive bacteria against which their systems were unprepared, for Martian life had developed without bacteria.

We are not so entirely self-possessed today as to be free ourselves from gloomy conjectures as to the outcome of our bid to dominate the planet. But the end, if end there is to be, is usually visualized as some spectacular cataclysm on the "Twilight of the Gods" scale. Man is such an important person that even his passing must be magnificent. Yet for all we know, we too may be brought down by the tiniest of living things. We are in any case only nominal owner-occupiers of our own bodies; multitudes of bacteria swarm within our domains, in fact practically running the whole show. The entire human army marches at the pace and on the

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terms of its stomach bacteria—which today are being heavily harassed by sterilizing influences of all kinds, such as refined foods, drugs, sleeping tablets, tonics, alcohol, tobacco, caffeine and so on. The latest threat is the obsession with cleanliness. The scholarly Fowler defines cleanliness as "freedom from dirt." But being an indoor person, he wouldn't know. A certain amount of good honest dirt is good for you, essential and imperative for you. The dirty old byres of the world have nourished some of the healthiest and toughest of peoples. But today everything must be spotlessly clean. Some of the newer techniques for securing cleanliness remove dirt (*i.e.*, life) so thoroughly that the opposite pole is reached. Extreme cleanliness, like extreme dirt, means death.

We have not made a scrap of progress since the time of King Ine of Wessex.

The futurist steel and concrete landscape we are contriving is thus suitable only for a species which has not yet had time to appear. Man's own most suitable environment is one not very different in essentials from the one he first inherited. Yet every day more jungle is cleared, more wilderness opened up. Hitherto Nature's machinery has been well taken care of but with new developments in exploitation and communications more and more of it is falling into our hands. A terrifying situation can be glimpsed: man will find that his attempt to take over has brought him the responsibility of running the whole thing. Farm land, forests, national parks, nature reserves, it will all have to fall within a single integrated command.

The world of Nature, moreover, is something like an iceberg. The base of it is out of sight. The key to the cultivated plants and domesticated livestock on which we depend is the soil. The key to the forest life with which we dare not dispense is also the soil, though this is only now being realized. In every cubic yard of good soil some 200,000 living creatures are juggling with its nitrogen and phosphate percentages. They require their nutrients to be in organic form. They were conditioned that way millions of years ago, and have never got out of the way of it. With the flight of labour from the land, many agricultural operations are having to be skimped, and ironically enough the one which matters most—the feeding of the soil with properly prepared organic residues—is skimped most of all. It may be counted a triumph of human ingenuity to have invented processes for making synthetic manures, but mineral salts merely provide a temporary stimulus to growth by burning up humus reserves, like a man swallowing a double brandy. The new mechanized composting techniques offer an opportunity of redressing the balance—one of the few examples we have so far devised whereby mechanization and Nature's way of life can run parallel.

In most other directions mechanization is proving to have been very dearly bought. Some of the most elaborate machinery we have is to be found in the food-refining industries. That the products of it upset our digestion is unfortunate, for so much capital is tied up, the livelihood of so many people is involved, so many unthinkable international repercussions are threatened if any hitch occurs, that the set-up is pratically unstoppable.

But the most immediately urgent manifestation of the vast conundrum posed by mechanical progress is the appearance of a race of demoniac earth-destroyers. Though still conventionally classified as military weapons, the new gods of war have in fact outsoared any trifling little quarrel that men can engage in. The quarrels are now of no consequence, and those who engage in them are of no consequence. Only the destroyers are left in the picture now, gaining in stature day by day, acquiring their finishing touches, poised for the last logical outcome of

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man's fatal neglect of the life sciences in favour of the death sciences.

The Martian fighting machines in *The War of the Worlds* were like giant men of steel, but the beings operating the switches inside them were small and vulnerable. For a few days after they had died their mechanized communicating devices cried on, a sort of high-pitched "Ulla, ulla, ulla, ulla," until abruptly it ceased. It was cut off—and who knows but one day man's own all-penetrating machine voice will be cut off abruptly all over the earth, its mortal operator stricken in his tracks by a Nature he could no longer control?

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India's Taxation Policy

P. C. Jain writes in *Careers and Courses*:

The main object of the Indian Government's taxation policy at the present moment is to raise additional revenue for the Second Five-Year Plan. In his 1957-58 Budget, the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Krishnamachari, levied fresh taxes on the common man, the middle class and the rich people and on companies to raise an additional revenue of Rs. 88 crores in a full year.

The Second Plan provided for deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 1,200 crores in a period of five years, but the Government subsequently came to the conclusion that this amount of deficit financing would prove inflationary and might push up the price level unduly. This has induced the Finance Minister to raise more revenue for the Plan through additional taxation rather than through deficit financing. It is expected that taxation would not prove inflationary while deficit financing would, and that the rise in prices now would not be as great as would otherwise have been the case.

Another consideration which has weighed with the Finance Minister is that in order to release physical resources for the Plan the people's consumption will have to be reduced, and increased taxation is one of the best ways of reducing consumption. Apart from this, it is necessary to get people's full co-operation for the success of the Plan. People should realize the intensity of the problem facing the country and should be willing to make sacrifices for it. The prick of taxation, in Mr. Krishnamachari's view, would make people Plan-conscious and would encourage them to produce more and save more. Finally tax evasion in India is a serious problem. Mr. Krishnamachari's taxation proposals, especially so far as companies are concerned, are motivated by his desire to prevent tax evasion.

There is no doubt that the Finance Minister's Budget proposals would bring more revenue for financing the Plan, but it is not at all sure that they would enable us to achieve the objectives of the Second Plan. The Finance Minister has considered only the revenue aspect of his Budget proposals and not their total effect on Indian economy. A very depressing picture emerges if we do so, and take into account the effect of the Budget proposals on people's will to work and save, the incentives to the entrepreneurs, the cost of production of industry and the price level.

In the peculiar conditions prevailing in India it is wrong to argue that taxation is not inflationary. The only difference is that deficit financing pushes up the price level by increasing people's incomes more than the supply of goods in the market, while additional taxation pushes up the price level by increasing the costs of production. The price of postal articles and the "price" of railway tickets has increased by the recent taxation measures. Traders have increased the price of their goods by the full amount of the increase in the sales taxes and excise duties and in some cases by a larger amount. The Government has directly increased the prices of steel, cement and coal and this is expected to lead to still higher prices of all kinds of goods.

The fact that additional taxation pushes up the price level is demonstrated by the fact that the general index of wholesale prices increased from 376 in January, 1956, to 387.3 in March 1956, and a high level of 423.5 at the end of April, 1957, as a result of the additional taxes imposed by the Central and State Governments in their 1956-57 Budgets. The index number increased from 422.8 in the beginning of March 1957, to 438 at the end of May and 440 in the beginning of June, 1957, as a result of the additional taxes imposed in the 1957-58 Budget.

Rising Prices

The increase in retail prices has been of still greater magnitude and the rise in these prices continues unabated. It is reasonable to hope that in the near future the inflationary pressure would still further increase as a direct result of additional taxation. Central Government employees, including some categories of Posts and Telegraphs employees, have demanded an increase in their emoluments as they consider their claim justified in view of the increased revenue of the Government. Prices in India and the

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of living of these categories of Government employees were high for quite some time, but the nation-wide demand for higher emoluments has been the direct result of Mr. Krishnamachari's budget proposals. As the demand of these Government employees is met, industrial workers, office clerks and others employed in the private sector are likely to put forward a similar demand. If all these demands are granted the Government's expenditure and the cost of production of industry would increase, and this would result in still greater increase in the price level. Once this process begins there is no knowing where the vicious spiral of rising prices and rising costs would end. There is nothing much to choose between higher prices brought about by additional taxation and higher prices resulting from deficit financing. The net effect of both on the people is much the same.

The most adverse effect of Government's taxation policy, however, would be to curtail seriously both output and savings. Mr. Krishnamachari has given some relief from income-tax to persons in the lower income-groups, but this cannot be expected to increase their savings as this advantage has been more than counterbalanced by the increase in indirect taxes and the rise in their cost of living. Even people in this category cut down their standard of living, their present incomes would not suffice to meet their current expenses. It might not be possible for any of them to make any savings at all.

Savings

So far as people in the higher income groups are concerned, the Finance Minister has relied upon his reducing the combined maximum rate of income and super taxes from 91.8 per cent to 77 per cent in the case of unearned incomes and 66 per cent for earned incomes to increase people's savings. But the good effect of this income concession in income-tax has been more than lost because of the expenditure tax and the wealth tax which have been levied on these people, who will not have the incentive to increase their wealth if it means paying more taxes. In theory, the expenditure tax encourages savings but it would not do so in India. In order that the expenditure tax should increase savings the Government should reduce the combined maximum rate of income and super taxes, as recommended by Mr. Kaldor, to seven annas in the rupee or 45 per cent, and should reduce indirect taxes in the shape of excise duties, sales taxes, etc., paid by these people. But as the Government of India is not in a position to do so, the tax burden on people in the higher income groups would exceed their taxable capacity and, in spite of their high level of income, they would not be able to save more.

Moreover, if they have to pay a wealth tax on their accumulated savings the inducement to save would be reduced still further. It is an established fact that in the last analysis the rate of economic growth is determined by the rate of national savings. Whether use the method of deficit financing or not, ultimate economic progress depends on savings and they should increase to the level of national investment. But the Government's taxation policy is calculated to reduce savings and would in this way not only upset the working of the Second Five-Year Plan but retard also the economic development of India.

This retardation of our economic progress would get further momentum by the hardships and difficulties created by the Government's taxation policy for private enterprise in India. There is a public sector and a private sector in the Indian economy. While raising more revenue for the Second Plan, the Finance Minister thought only of the public sector. The company taxation in the 1957-58 Budget would stifle the working of joint stock enterprise and the private sector would be prevented from playing its due role in India's economic development. There is a strange situation in India under which companies are taxed if they declare a dividend in excess of 6 per cent and they are also taxed in the case of Section 23A companies, if they do not declare a dividend. The dividends tax is linked not with the total capital invested in a company, which alone can show its earning capacity, but with the paid-up capital. The consequence is that companies are subjected to an inequitable tax burden and have no inducement to produce more and earn more profits.

The worst feature of the Government's taxation policy is the levy of the wealth tax on companies. It is a direct tax on the capital of a company and has to be paid whether a company is in production or not and whether it makes a profit or a loss. This would not only discourage the flotation of new companies in which the entrepreneur has to wait for a considerable time before profits begin to accrue but would encourage the winding up of some of the existing companies belonging to this category. How can the Government's taxation policy help the fulfilment of the objectives of the Second Plan if in the process, it stifles private enterprise and redu-

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ces output, investment and savings in the private sector?

The ultimate aim of economic planning is to increase the people's standard of living and to increase their economic welfare. It is true that to secure a high standard of living and a high level of economic welfare, the people have to make sacrifices. But such sacrifices should not be beyond the people's taxable capacity; otherwise, the very basis of planning is destroyed and the advantages which might flow from increased economic development cease to have any meaning.

Adverse Effects

Under the Government's taxation policy this is precisely what might happen in India. The Finance Minister has levied fresh direct and indirect taxes on the plea that as yet the Government takes away only 8½ per cent of the national income as revenue as against 16 to 18 per cent in some other countries of the world. But the Finance Minister has not taken into account the fact that a vast majority of the people in India do not have sufficient income to meet their bare necessities. How, then, can they have any taxable capacity left after all the indirect taxes which have been levied by the Finance Minister during the past few years? The only result of the taxes levied in the 1957-58 Budget would be to make their lot unbearable. As a result of the additional taxation in the 1956-57 and 1957-58 Budgets the cost of living of people in the lower income groups increased by about 15 per cent and of those in the higher income groups by about 10 per cent. This increase in the cost of living of the Indian people has forced them to forgo some of the necessities of life and has reduced their health and vitality and their resistance against disease.

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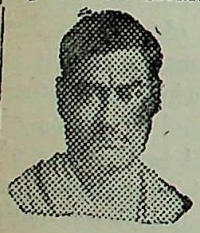

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Max Muller Bhavan Opened in Delhi

Indo-German Cultural Centre in India

The German Reading Room "Max Muller Bhavan" (Mercantile Bank Building, E-Block, Connaught Place, New Delhi) was inaugurated by the Hon. Minister for Transport, Shri Humayun Kabir, who said that

"Germany is a great country with achievements in many fields, but her greatest contribution is in the field of philosophy, literature and art."

India owed a lot to a band of devoted and distinguished scholars of the West who discovered India both for India and for the West. The name of Max Muller stood out like a beacon among them.

The library, comprising of approximately 1000 books is to become the meeting-place of all those interested in Germany. Apart from books, the visitors will find journals, newspapers, and other informative literature, to keep them up-to-date with various problems of Germany. Moreover, there will be facilities to learn the German language. Beside these German language-courses and lectures, conversation-courses will also be held.

The Reading Room bears its name after the famous German Indologist Max Muller. There is perhaps no better name which could be given to the German Reading Room, even if one cannot expect it to do justice to the great name it bears. Max Muller was the most important of all the German Sanskritists, one of the greatest among those who discovered India spiritually and who helped Indians to discover their own past.

Friedrich Max Muller, son of the phil-Hellenic poet Wilhelm Muller, was born at Dessau in the Duchy of Anhalt on December 6, 1823. In Leipzig, Max Muller became a Sanskritist, in Berlin, where the famous founder of the Indo-Germanic studies, Franz Bopp, was his professor, he turned to comparative philology.

In Berlin, Max Muller met the philosopher Schelling, who inspired him to discover the realms of metaphysical speculations. Finally, in Paris, as a student of Burnouf, Max Muller started learning Zend, the holy language of the Parsis.

In 1846, the philologist who by then had gained much fame in the whole world, came to England. Oxford at this time had become the centre of Indological studies, ever since Sir William Jones had discovered Sanskrit for Europe. This great centre of Indology cordially welcomed the foremost European authority in Sanskritology. The combination proved extremely fruitful to both, and to India. In 1849, the first volume of the Rig-Veda was published, the sixth and last volume in 1874.

The publication of the Rig-Veda initiated a new era in Sanskrit studies in Europe and even in India. For Max Muller gave the Hindus their own holy Scriptures. One of the far-reaching consequences of the first printing of the Veda was the foundation of the reform movement of Arya Samaj in 1875 by the Kathiawar Brahman Mula Shankara, better known by his monk name Davanand Saraswati. And in the end—the Max Muller edition of the Rig-Veda, the first of its kind, became the accepted text of the holy scriptures of Hinduism.

Naturally, Max Muller was very proud of the success of his Rig-Veda edition. He observed with satisfaction that it caused in India the same great stir as in Europe. He himself wrote late:

> "After all, this was their (the Hindus') Bible, which so far during the three to four thousand years of its existence had never yet been edited. Attempts were made in various places to set a religious ban on my Veda, alleging that it had been written by a *mleccha* with cow's blood. But the book proved stronger than its enemies; it was indispensable, and eventually those who had at first sought to ban it acknowledged it. The late Dr. Haug sent me a detailed account of a Brahmin meeting at Poona at which the Brahmins at first had a non-Brahmin read out my edition of the Veda as they did not want to touch the book, but in the end all of them corrected their manuscripts according to my text, which had been fixed at the far-distant University of Oxford."

Lack of space restricts us to point out here all of the innumerable works of this eminent German scholar in the field of Sanskritology and Indology. We may mention here only some of the works he wrote: *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, *Chips from a German Workshop*, *Comparative Mythology*, *India: What Can it Teach Us?*, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, *Three Lectures on Vedanta*, *The Science of Religion*, *Anthropological Religion*, etc.

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Many and varied as were his works, he has been the real interpreter of the Indian soul to the West. When in 1875 he resigned from his professorship, he took up the task of editing the "Sacred Books of the East," 51 volumes, all but three appeared under his expert supervision. Here the most ardent impulses of his activity are seen. India was always the centre of his thoughts. Once Swami Vivekananda confessed:

> "And what love he (Max Muller) bears towards India! I wish I had a hundred part of that love for my own motherland!"

When on October 28th, 1900, Max Muller died, the world lost an extraordinary and intensely active scholar who worked for harmony between Occident and Orient. The depth and range of his vision will impress not only our generation, but all others to come. All his work deals with the panorama of human development. In his *Last Essays* he said:

> "If history is to teach us anything, it must teach us that there is a continuity which binds together the present and the past, the East and the West."

Here Max Muller is prophet and admonisher at the same time, and our generation bears the responsibility of his heritage.—*Bulletin* of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi.

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Bhakra-Nangal Project

K. K. Duggal writes in the *American Reporter*, August 28, 1957:

Bhakra (Punjab).—Meekly obeying the push-button, a big silvery crane swings a huge bucket of concrete. The bucket drifts down the heights and empties itself on a rising, sloping wall. Every other minute, day and night, a similar bucket containing eight tons of concrete is lowered to a narrow gorge between high hills. In this gorge is rising a great wall which will dam the swirling Sutlej and harness its waters to generate more power—which will mean more food and more prosperity for millions.

This wall of stone, sand and steel, already 250 feet high, is the gigantic Bhakra Dam, to be the highest straight gravity dam in the world when it reaches its full height of 740 feet. (Hoover Dam in Nevada, U.S.A., now the highest, is 720 feet high). Here on the Rs. 170 crore Bhakra-Nangal project are working a hand-picked team of 30 U.S. technicians headed by M. Harvey Slocum, 300 Indian engineers and 7,000 workers—all toiling to complete by March, 1960 India's biggest river valley project.

"Our target date stands," said General Manager S. D. Khungar. "We are keeping up with our schedules and are confident of accomplishing the job on time."

Mr. Khungar attributes the tempo of progress to three factors—Mr. Slocum, the zeal of Indian engineers and sound planning. Mr. Slocum, whom Mr. Khungar termed "a whole army in himself," is the most important factor. "But for him we could not have stuck to our schedules," Mr. Khungar said, adding: "By and large, the whole American team is useful. From them our engineers have fully profited. Dam construction was new to us and without American guidance we could not have gone so far in so short a time."

Stupendous Work

I had a glimpse of the stupendous work going on at Bhakra when I spent a day at the worksite recently, driving over roads and pathways carved out of the mountains. At one end of the project a 4-1|2-mile-long belt conveyor hauls tons of stone and sand from the nearby Fatehwal quarry to the screening plant. Here the stones are graded and washed and pushed on to the cooling plant where they are chilled to a temperature of 38 degrees F. Cement is pumped up from the silos to the batching and mixing plant to be made into concrete. Pre-

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button devices automatically weigh and mix the ingredients. This plant (the first in Asia) is modelled on those used at Shasta Dam in California and Grand Coulee in the State of Washington. Huge buckets of concrete are carried in rail-cars to the cranes to be lowered to the dam.

Machines do the work. This mechanization, a hallmark of the American method, is fascinating and the spectator wonders how man has made machines which will blast rocks and excavate formidable terrain.

Bhakra-Nangal's potential for prosperity was pinpointed by Mr. Khungar when he predicted that three States—Punjab, Rajasthan and Delhi —will get a thorough face-lifting. "An additional 6.5 million acres will get water, bringing the total irrigated area benefiting from this project to 10 million acres. This will yield 850,000 more tons of food than is produced now, 590,000 more bales of cotton, 150,000 more tons of sugarcane and 36,000 more tons of pulses and oil-seeds. No other river valley project anywhere is the world has that food potential," Mr. Khungar said.

"The firm power available from Bhakra-Nangal will be 365,000 kw. This will give rise to many major industries in towns and new cottage industries in villages. Nangal Fertilizers and Chemicals Ltd., a State venture already under way, alone will consume 160,000 kw. Tubewells in Punjab are already run on Nangal power released from two power houses at Ganguwal and Kotla (total capacity: 96,000 kw.)." he added.

Public Relations Officer, Nirbhai Singh, summed up: "The extra food from Bhakra will be enough to provide one full meal daily to every Indian mouth. The power generated will be sufficient to put one bulb in every Indian home. In ten years Bhakra will pay for itself. Imagine the prosperity resulting from food alone."

New Prosperity

A glimpse of the new prosperity is reflected in the 148-mile-long Nangal-Bhakra canal (longest lined canal in the world), which feeds the two power houses at Ganguwal and Kotla. The seemingly unending grid of wires that runs

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above the rolling farmlands of Punjab carries the power generated by these two units. The new fields of wheat and cotton fed by the canal seem to prove that Nirbhai Singh knows what he is saying.

The Bhakra-Nangal project began as an idea in the brain of Sir Louis Dane, Lt.-Governor of Punjab, in 1908, when he strayed into this wilderness on a tiger hunt. But it remained a mere idea until Sir Chhotu Ram, Punjab Minister, took it up in earnest in the early 40's.

Such top U.S. dam engineers as Dr. John L. Savage, A. J. Wiley and F. A. Nickell were associated with the project before the Slocum team came here. Dr. Savage prepared the design, which resembles an army ammunition boot and is patterned on Grand Coulee Dam, also designed by Dr. Savage. A board of consultants comprising distinguished U.S. engineers still advises on the complex problems which arise.

The actual work started in 1948 with the excavation of two tunnels to divert the Sutlej waters. The original river bed had to be dried to dig the dam foundations. (The diversion tunnels, each half a mile long and 50 feet in diameter, are the biggest in the world). Simultaneously the rocks flanking the Bhakra gorge were injected with big doses of cement to make them impregnable against water pressures. The first concrete achievement was the 95-foot-high Nangal Barrage, completed in 1950, which gave birth to the hydel canal and provided the first irrigation facilities to the arid lands of Punjab.

Beyond the dam lies the vista of the 64-square-mile reservoir, to be called Gobind Sagar, where picnic parties will come to boat and fish. Along the top of the dam will run a 1,700-foot long, 30-foot-wide road where tourists will park their cars and have a panoramic view of this amazing feat of engineering. (Already 500 people a day visit the dam). And many a tourist, gazing down from the height, will recall Prime Minister Nehru's words:

"Bhakra-Nangal project is something tremendous, something stupendous and something which shakes you up when you see it. Bhakra today is the symbol of India's progress. The gigantic work they have undertaken at Bhakra symbolizes the people's faith and determination to march ahead."

Japan's Excellent Radio and T.V. Technique

JAPAN has 14,070,311 radio and 461,475 T.V. receiving sets as of May 10, 1957. It is not too much to say that this remarkable progress of radio and T.V. activities in Japan owes its present development and the large number of excellent sets to the untiring efforts of the Technical Research Laboratory of NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation).

The Laboratory celebrates its 27th anniversary of establishment today, June, 1, 1957. In order to celebrate the anniversary and for the purpose of acquainting the general public with the ever-developing technique of radio and T.V., the Laboratory was thrown open to public inspection on May 25-26. More than 20,000 people who visited the institution were pleasantly amazed to see the wonderful achievement of the Laboratory, which included, among others, trial telecast of color television, FM broadcast receiving sets, demonstration of transistorized walkie-lookie, and the process of making electronic music, etc.

The Laboratory boasts itself as being the only of its kind in the Far East which handles radio and T.V. in the same institution and one of the first class such laboratories throughout the world.

In passing, the first conference of Asian Region Broadcasting Stations will be held in Tokyo between July 1 and July 8 under the sponsorship of NHK. Invitations have already been sent to 22 countries in Asia and Africa and its outcomes watched with keen interest by all the parties concerned.—*Information Bulletin*, Embassy of Japan, New Delhi, June 15, 1957.

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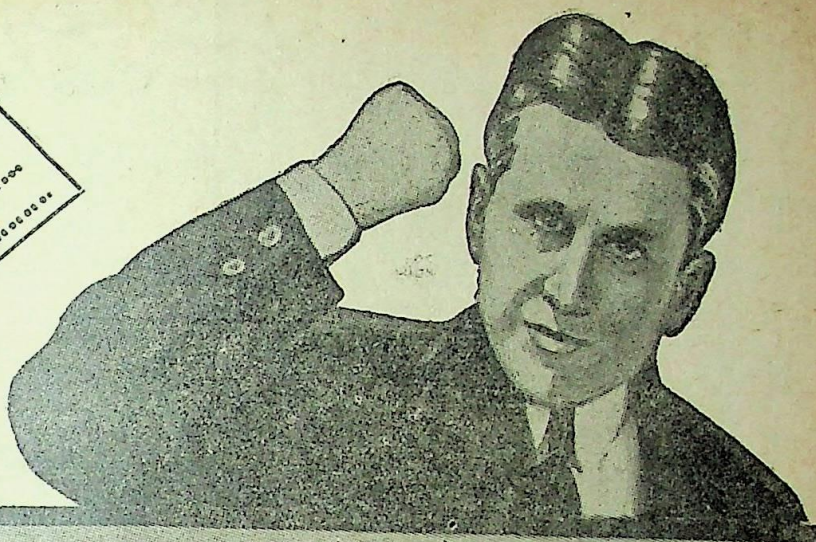

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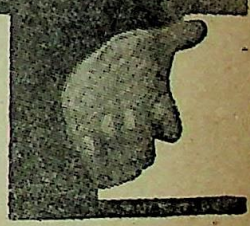

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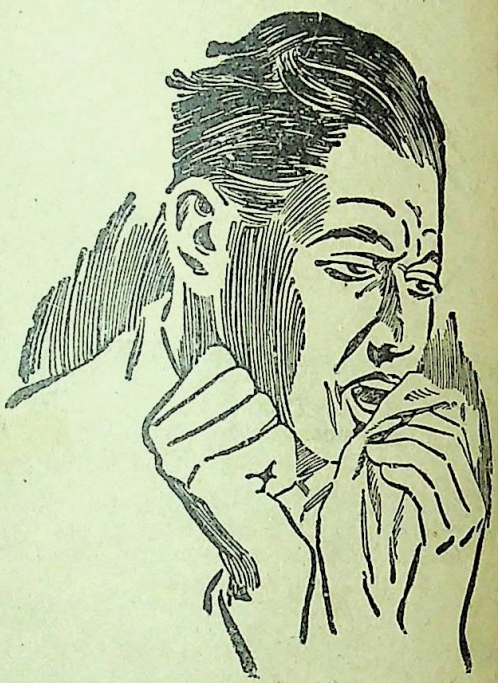

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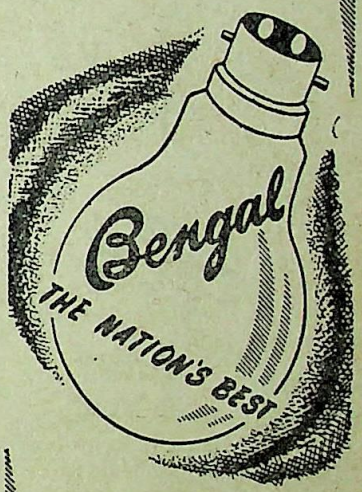

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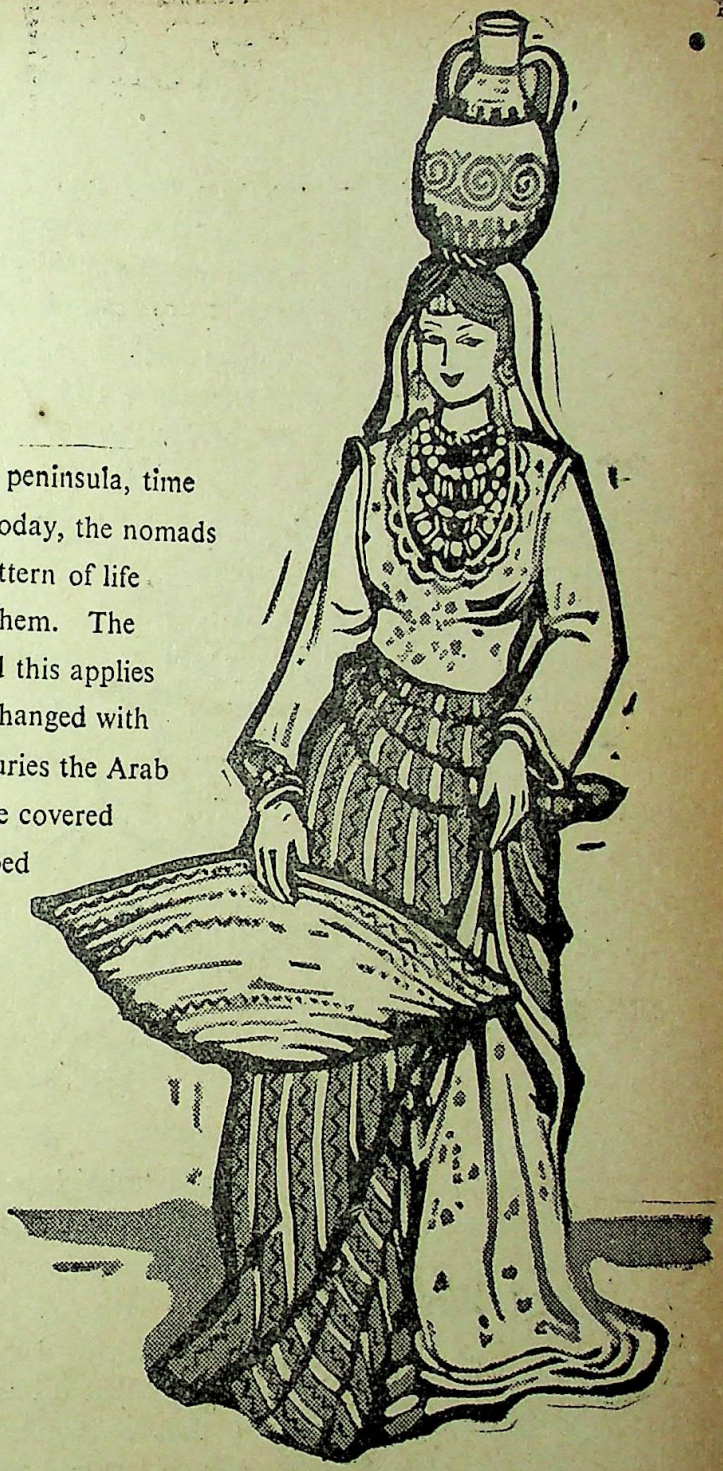

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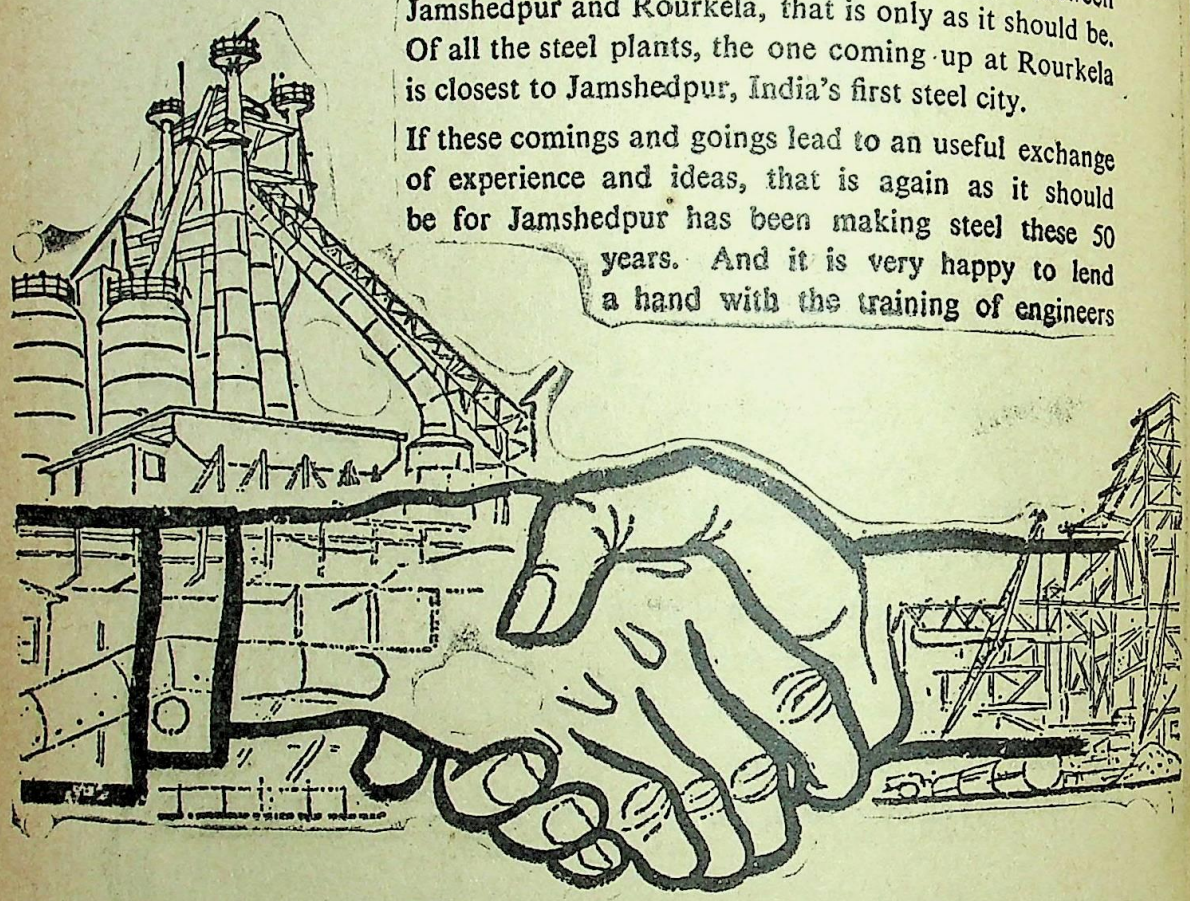

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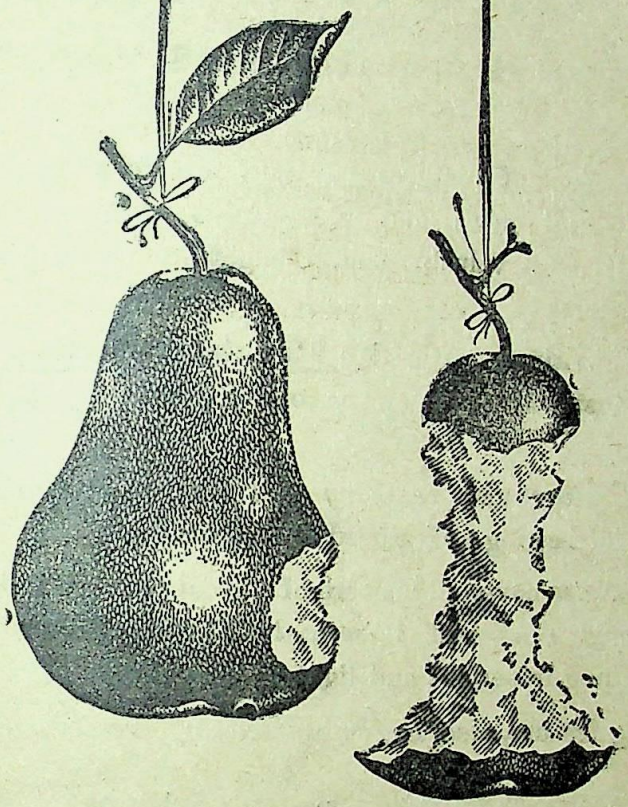

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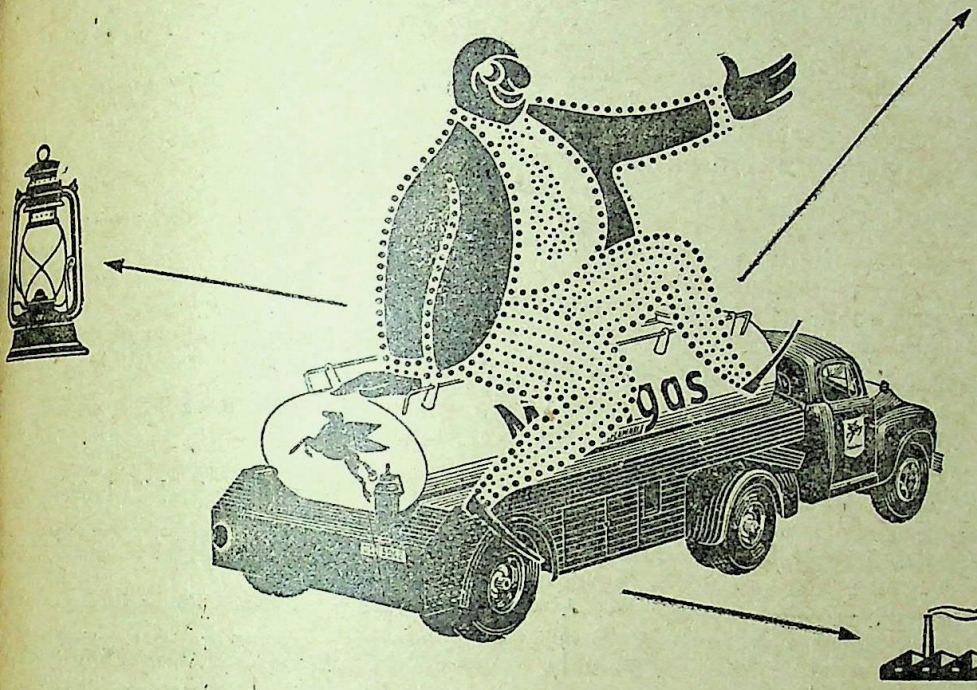

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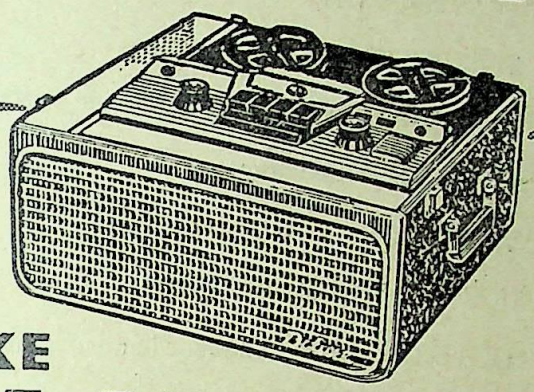

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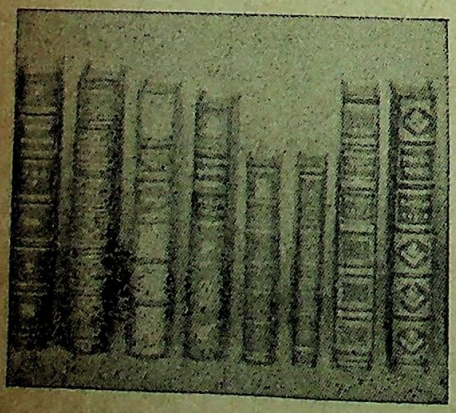

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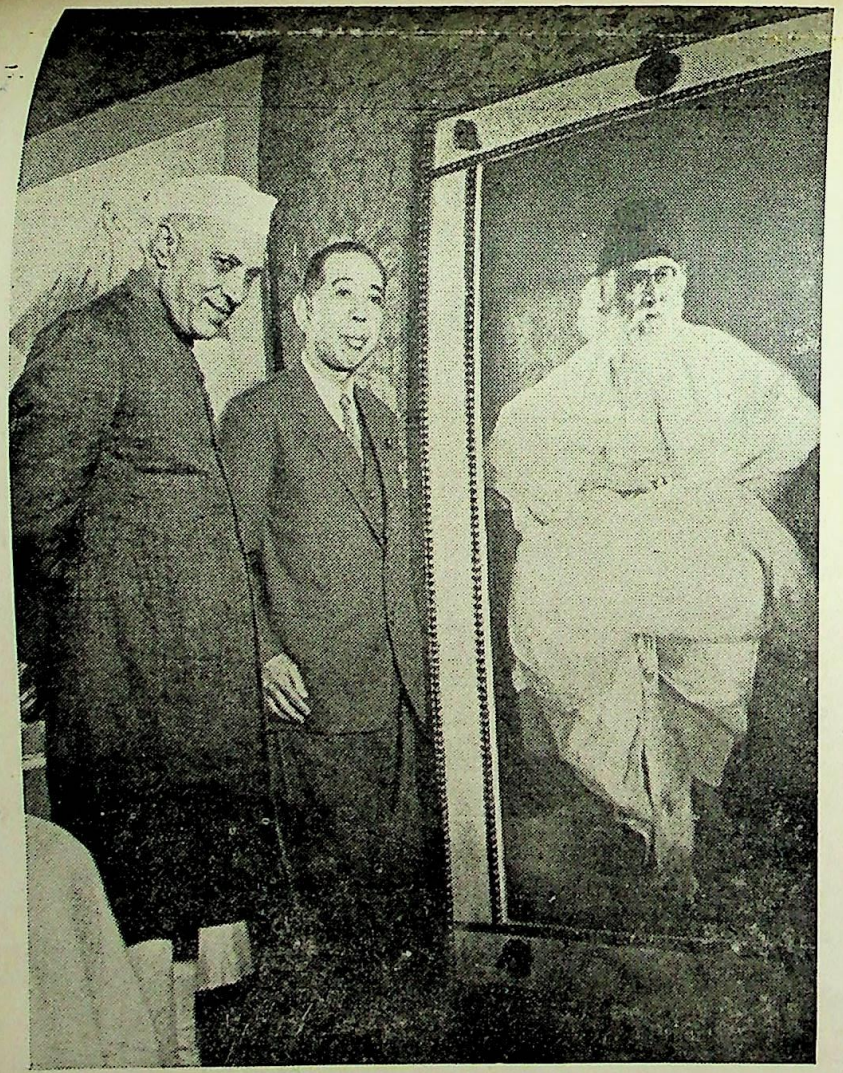
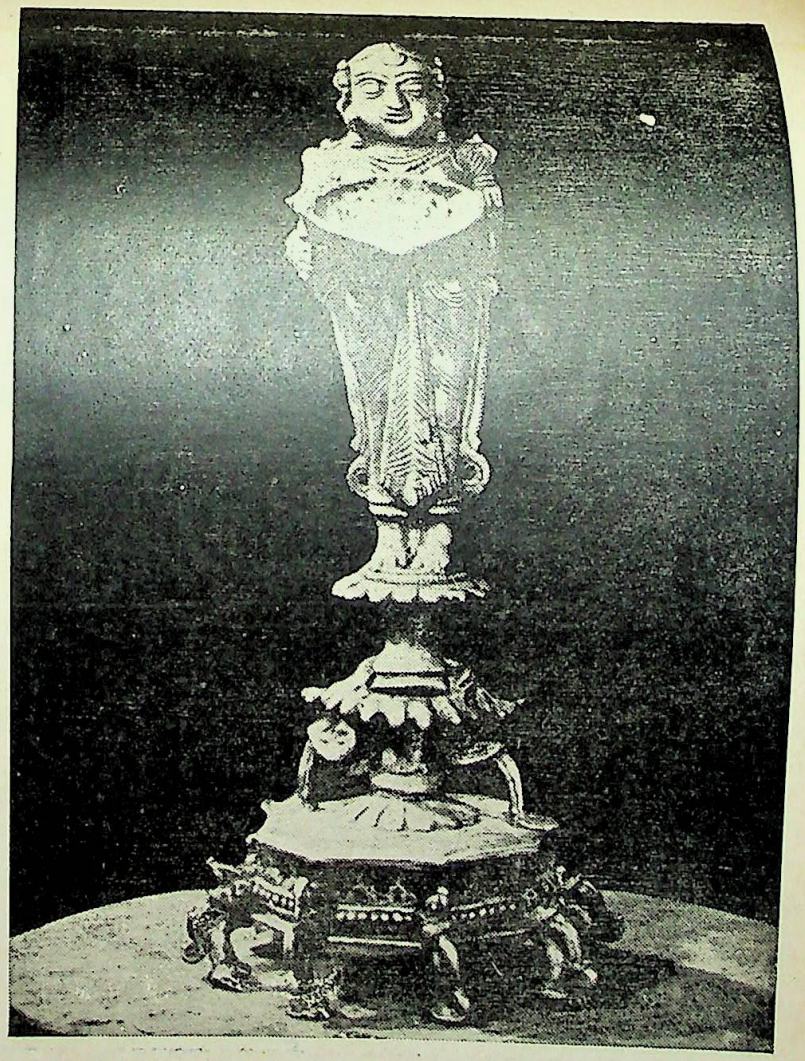


A life-size portrait of Poet Rabindranath Tagore was presented by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru to the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, in Tokyo recently



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RENUNCIATION OF SIDDHARTHA
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THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1957

Vol. CII, No. 5 WHOLE No. 611

NOTES

Plans and the Common Citizen

The Second Five-Year Plan is hanging in the balance. There are shortages everywhere, and the financial prospects are the reverse of promising. Crop failures, labour troubles, increase of inefficiency in all departments have all helped to make the prospects bleak. Added to these there is the sharp rise in the cost of living for the common citizen and the total inadequacy of the supply of both essential and secondary consumer goods, other than food products.

It is all very well for the Finance Minister to shout from the house-tops that the Plans will go through, happen what may, and for inefficient and corrupt officials and subservient legislators to try to confuse the public by figure juggling, but the fact remains that the existence of the common citizen has been rendered precarious in the extreme, due to the ignorance, inefficiency and total irresponsibility of the Ministers-in-Charge.

Take for example the question of black-markets. Today it is a synonym for the open market. If you want anything at the so-called control price, you are told that it is "not in stock." If you are willing to pay extortionate prices, you can get any amount. Smaller industries and private production concerns, particularly those who need intermediate products or semi-finished materials, are all facing a major crisis due to the widespread prevalence of black-markets over the entire range. Our complacent Ministers at the Centre are dreaming rosy dreams in their ivory towers.

In October, our newspapers published a communique, that Shri Morarji Desai was very pleased to see that his admonition to the stockists of imported goods regarding increase in prices after import restrictions had been imposed, had good results and that prices of imported commodities had not increased to any perceptible extent. We had expected that the said newspapers would point out the truth in their editorials, but to our surprise almost all remained silent, which is a remarkable exposition of the low level to which they have sunk.

In reality there is hardly any imported article, including even newspapers, etc., that are sold in bookstalls, medicines and drugs that are vital necessities to the sick, and articles of everyday use in trade and industry like photographic plates and films, etc., have risen to a ruinous extent. If Shri Morarji Desai still believes that his admonition has had the slightest effect, then his native acumen and capacity to probe into the factual basis of statements, for which he had a high reputation, must have degenerated to the calamitous degree.

Our Panditji is more concerned about the future of the world, than with the present suffering of his suffering fellow citizens. Does he know that people today have started saying, "Could it be worse if Jawaharlalji went away?" His integrity, his high-mindedness and his rigid personal adherence to principles are still held to be above any challenge, but they have begun to doubt about the reciprocation on his part to the love and staunch adherence that he has received from them.

The cardinal principle that should govern all Plans, is that the burden imposed upon the common citizen should not exceed his capacity for endurance, as else his existence will be jeopardised. This principle is being observed in the breach today in this sham Welfare State.

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Mission in Quest of Money

India today is frantically searching for foreign exchange to finance her Second Five-Year Plan. The recent mission of the Finance Minister of India has not been so successful as was expected to be, though there is no occasion for surprise in the lack of any spectacular outcome of his tour. In the post-war world there is paucity of private finance capital for movement to foreign countries. Britain, the traditional source for industrial finance in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, is short of industrial finance for investment in overseas countries. She herself has been borrowing from the USA, Canada and the IMF to meet her requirements. During the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference during the last summer, the Prime Minister of India tried this source but was informed of Britain's inability to help India with funds. This much now is certain that without foreign exchange, India's Second Five-Year Plan has to be pruned. The mission of India's Finance Minister is not expected to bear fruit in the very near future and that is his own statement. Nothing tangible is expected immediately. The only two countries which are now in a position to help India with necessary development finance are the USA and West Germany. While appreciating India's efforts in economic reconstruction, the American attitude is rather reserved. For the reconstruction of the post-war West Germany, the USA spent nearly 2 billion dollars under the Marshall aid programme. But in case of India, American aid is much too meagre as measured against our needs.

Economic development on a gigantic scale, as has been planned by India cannot be financed in any case by the ordinary resources of a country. That requires in almost every case extraordinary efforts and wide utilisation of all resources. India is a backward country with low per capita income and with low national savings. For her economic planning on the present scale is undoubtedly an ambitious effort, for the fulfilment of which external assistance is essential. Planned economy for India is not a luxury, but an essential for her existence. In order to eradicate the growing poverty of the vast numbers of people of this sub-continent, economic development at a rapid pace is all the more necessary in order to wipe out the arrears left by the British, in the field of industrial development of the country. India cannot leave the economic reconstruction of the country to the ordinary process of private enterprise and the State has to step forward for the economic reconstruction in view of the inadequate private resources and enterprise in the fields deemed to be vital to the growth of a healthy national economy. But in some foreign countries there has been certain misunderrtandings about the socialistic system of economy in this country. The Anglo-American block is definitely against anything socialistic or communistic and India's economic policy, being directed towards socialism, is not viewed with favour by them. Further the foreign policy of India is not supported by this block, as these countries apprehend that India is more with Soviet Russia and China than with the USA and Britain.

The amount of assistance, that has trickled to India is in reality a half-hearted measure of insurance against India turning altogether red in desperation. The Finance Minister should have understood this position before his tour of the USA. The big democratic Powers today fail to realise that any large-scale pruning of the Plan, or total failure, would mean disaster to the economic structure of India. The New Delhi Correspondent of the *New York Times* observes in a despatch that if India does not get the necessary assistance from the USA and other countries, "almost inevitably it means that there will be less willingness to pay the price of democratic process, more pressure to let them slide, more fear of Communist China and more aping of it, more votes for the Communist party of India." The said Correspondent concludes that while India is holding its breath India "collapses other countries will be holding theirs."

India's foreign trade in post-independence era has not been such as to either assure or allure private foreign capital. India is a deficit country in foreign trade ever since the attainment of independence and in the current year the deficit is anticipated to be not less than Rs. 275 crores. Moreover, the other day V. K. Krishna Menon almost frightened the capitalistic circles by declaring that India is the highest taxed country in the world. The flow of private foreign capital to this country is possible only when there is expectation of higher margin

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profits. Unless India holds out the prospect of higher profits, there is little chance of foreign capital flowing into this country. Another impediment to the inflow of private foreign capital is the insistence on the part of India for Indianization of the staff. Of course, from the viewpoint of India, the Government of India's insistence on Indianization of the staff is desirable and understandable too. But from the viewpoint of the other side, that is, foreign enterprises in this country, this demand does not always seem to be justified. Foreign capital will naturally place more confidence in executives of the same origin and in the administrative set-up the key positions will be given to the foreigners naturally. When India is a supplicant for foreign capital and enterprise, she cannot just dictate terms that seem to be disadvantageous to foreign enterprise. India has certainly the liberty to dictate terms, but in that event foreign capital has also the liberty to exercise its choice as to whether to come to this country.

Industrial Finance Corporation

The results of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India for the year ended 30th June, 1957, reveal a steady progress in the working of the Corporation in the field of providing industrial finance to the various industries in the country. The total amount of loans and advances which stood at Rs. 14.24 crores last year has also shown a marked increase; it now stands at Rs. 21.90 crores. The Chairman in his annual speech points out that there has been a fall in the total volume of loan applications received from Rs. 27.70 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 21.36 crores this year. There has been a corresponding fall in the amount of loans sanctioned, which came down from Rs. 15.13 crores for 1955-56 to Rs. 11.91 crores in the current year. The Industrial Finance Corporation has now set several Advisory Committees in order to help it in sanctioning and disbursing loans. These committees include a large number of technical experts in each and also provide for proper regional representation. This year a fifth advisory committee for miscellaneous industries like Electricals, Paper, Cement, Glass, Aluminium, Non-ferrous metals, etc., has been set up.

This year the Corporation followed a new step in nominating non-officials to the Boards of Directors of a limited number of companies to whom loans have been granted. Hitherto, the practice was confined to the nomination of officials of the Corporation. As regards the general pattern of industrial units which have received loans during the year under review, sugar came first with a total of Rs. 4.63 crores. Chemicals and textiles followed with Rs. 2.51 crores and Rs. 1.85 crores respectively. This same pattern prevailed in the preceding year also. Co-operative societies continued in an increasing measure to seek assistance from the Corporation. The total amount that has been sanctioned to co-operative industrial societies now comes to Rs. 10.73 crores as against the corresponding figure of Rs. 6.89 crores at the end of the last year. The number of the recipient co-operative societies comes to 22 and they are all engaged in the manufacture of sugar and they are distributed over six States.

The Industrial Finance Corporation was set up with the expectation that the need for providing long-term industrial finance to industries in the private sector would be met by this Corporation. But the hope has soon been belied and the performance of the Corporation is none too enterprising nor is there anything in this connection to cause rejoicing. During the ten years of its existence the Corporation has so far advanced loans for a total sum of Rs. 55 crores. In India, the industrial finance required today in the private sector, will not be less than Rs. 200 crores a year and in that background the achievement of the Corporation is much below the expectation. The main reason for this poor performance is the limited resources of the Corporation. The paid-up capital of Rs. 5 crores is certainly much too inadequate. Formerly the Corporation was allowed to borrow sums not exceeding 5 times its paid-up capital and reserve fund. Now by a recent amendment the Corporation has been empowered to borrow sums aggregating ten times its paid-up capital and reserve fund. This measure will augment to a certain extent the resources of the Corporation. Still, the resources of the Corporation are much too inadequate in the face of growing demand for loans.

This point has been well-emphasised by the Chairman in his annual speech this year.

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In order to enable the Corporation to fulfil the important role that has been assigned to it under the Second Five-Year Plan, its resources must be augmented. A large number of loan applications are lying with the Corporation without any action having been taken on them. The Chairman points out that the paucity of funds holds back the decision of the Corporation in granting loans. The Corporation, particularly, the volume of its share capital, was conceived at a time when there was no idea regarding the Plans nor was the magnitude of the resources required for the implementation of the Plans conceived at that time. Now it is quite evident that the Corporation is seriously handicapped.

A new field of activity which the Corporation has taken up in the current year is the guaranteeing of deferred payments by the importers of capital goods who are able to obtain this concession from foreign exporters. This step is the outcome of the acute shortage of foreign exchange resources of the country. The Government has imposed severe restrictions on the import of all goods including capital goods. The importers of machinery are now obliged to secure terms of deferred payments before import licences are granted to them by the Government of India. Some of the foreign manufacturers have demanded that the arrangements for deferred payments must be guaranteed by the Industrial Finance Corporation of India. Accordingly, the Industrial Finance Corporation Act has been amended empowering the Corporation to guarantee such arrangements of deferred payments.

The total amount of loans sanctioned by the Corporation from its inception to the end of June, 1957, amounts to Rs. 55.11 crores. Of this amount, less than 50 per cent (that is, Rs. 26.51 crores) have been disbursed. So far 177 industrial enterprises have been granted loans, among them there are 151 new undertakings. The new companies have received loans for Rs. 33.80 crores and the remaining amount of Rs. 21.31 crores has been granted to 108 old industrial enterprises. Forty-nine companies have been granted loans for Rs. 10 lakhs and under; each of another 43 companies has received loans between Rs. 10 lakhs and Rs. 20 lakhs. Only six companies have been sanctioned loans of more than Rs. 1 crore. These six companies have received in the aggregate a sum of Rs. 9.71 crores. The sale transaction of the Sodepur Glass Works, Ltd., was completed on May 3 of this year. It has been sold to Indo-Ashi Glass Company, Ltd., an Indo-Japanese concern. The factory has started work with effect from the last week of June, 1957.

A classification of loans sanctioned according to the types of industries indicates that food, textiles and basic chemicals together account for the bulk of the total amount of loans. Up to the end of June, 1957, the food industries have received loans for Rs. 16.31 crores; Textiles Rs. 8.44 crores; Basic industrial chemicals including fertilisers Rs. 7.51 crores; Paper and paper products Rs. 4.21 crores; Cement Rs. 3.77 crores; and Metal products (except machinery and transport equipment) Rs. 1.93 crores. In order to expedite the sanctioning of loans the Corporation has appointed more law officers at different branches to scrutinise the title of the property to be mortgaged to the Corporation and also to draft the loan documents. The Corporation has also granted liberal grant of interim loans against requisite assets ending finalisation of documents.

A State-wise analysis of the loans granted by the Corporation reveals that Bombay heads the list with Rs. 17.85 crores. Fifty-seven industrial units in the State of Bombay have been sanctioned this amount. West Bengal follows next with Rs. 5.98 crores for 26 industrial units in the State. Madras comes next with Rs. 5.58 crores. Industrial units in Bihar have received loans for Rs. 4.77 crores and in Kerala the amount sanctioned stands at Rs. 4.2 crores. The lowest amount sanctioned to any State is Rs. 3.50 lakh and that has gone to Madhya Pradesh. With effect from 23rd April 1957, the lending rate of the Corporation has been raised from 6½ per cent to 7 per cent with the usual rebate of ½ per cent for payment of interest and instalment of principal on due dates. The rate of interest charged by the Reserve Bank on its lendings to the Corporation has been raised from 3½ per cent to 4 per cent following the rise in Bank rate from 16th April 1957. The total assets of the Corporation stood on 30th June, 1957, at Rs. 23.86 crores. The total borrowing by the Corporation from the Reserve Bank during the current year up

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Section 21(3)(b) amounted to Rs. 6.35 crores. Now the Corporation may be empowered to negotiate loans for private industrial enterprises in this country from the International Finance Corporation.

What Use Second Chambers ?

There was much controversy during the passage of the Bill in the Indian Parliament with respect to the establishment of a second chamber in the State of Andhra. In view of the Government policy to curtail non-essential expenditure in the country it is quite pertinent to ask as to why the second chambers in the States are being maintained and also being newly created. What is the role of the second chambers in the matter of legislation in a democracy? In this respect India has blindly followed the British pattern without realising the futility of the second chamber in modern practice. In theory, the utility of the second chamber is that it prevents hasty legislation by the Lower House, as it consists of the elders of the Nation, who are in a position to examine in a dispassionate mood the pros and cons of a Bill passed by the lower chamber. The other arguments in favour of the second chamber are that it secures representation to the various minority groups in the State and further that it prevents legislative tyranny which would have been otherwise possible in the absence of a second chamber.

But the above arguments do not seem to be valid in modern democracies, particularly where there prevails a parliamentary government or a responsible cabinet form of government. So far as the first argument, stated above, is concerned, it may be stated *per contra* that the second chamber often turns out to be a conservative and reactionary organ halting the process of progress initiated by the lower chamber. The lower chamber consists of the representatives of the Nation, chosen direct by the people. But the election to the second chamber is, in the main, by an indirect method and as such the chosen members cannot be held to be the representatives of the Nation in the real sense of the term. This is the main reason why in modern times, in parliamentary forms of government, powers have shifted from the second chamber to the lower chamber. The existence of the British House of Lords is a historical sequence which cannot have any parallel in India.

In the States in India, the second chamber has practically no power and this is evident from the legislative powers assigned to it. Over Money Bills the second chamber has no power at all. The Money Bill must be originated in the lower chamber by the Ministry and is required to be passed by that chamber alone. The upper chamber has no right to vote on the Money Bill and it has even no suspensory veto over the Bill. Within a fortnight of the passing of the Money Bill by the lower chamber, it will become an Act of the State Legislature as a matter of course. The upper chamber has no power to detain the Bill for more than a fortnight and their recommendations on the Money Bill may or may not be accepted by the lower chamber. Therefore over the Purse of the State, the upper chamber has practically no voice. The Indian Constitution follows in this respect the principle of "no taxation without representation," that is, those who do not directly represent the people cannot have any right of imposing taxation.

As regards the general bills, the upper chamber has only a suspensory veto. The lower chamber in a State in India can get its will carried through even against the decision of the upper chamber in respect of general bills, that is, bills other than money bills. After a general bill is passed by the lower chamber it is sent to the upper chamber for its consideration and acceptance. If the second chamber does not return the bill within three months, or if it makes such amendments which are not acceptable to the lower chamber, then the lower chamber can get the bill passed again by itself and then it will be sent again to the second chamber for the latter's acceptance. If the upper chamber for the second time does not pass the bill, or does not return the bill within one month of its receipt or makes such amendments which are not acceptable to the lower chamber, then the bill will become an Act of the State Legislature on receipt of the Governor's assent. Thus, in case of general bills, the upper chamber in a State has only a suspensory veto for four months in the aggregate. But it cannot withstand against the persistent desire of the lower chamber. In all matters of law-making the lower chamber thus has been given the overriding powers whether in case of money bills or general bills. Unlike the Central Legislature there is no provision of a joint sitting of both the

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chambers in case of deadlock continuing over a bill. Therefore, the upper chamber in a State can easily be by-passed by the lower chamber in getting a bill passed through, if the latter so desires.

In modern practice the argument in favour of the upper chamber as a check against hasty legislation by the lower body cannot stand. The ultimate responsibility in the sphere of administration as well as legislation belongs to the people's representatives who act as the ultimate judge in all important matters affecting the destiny of the Nation. In theory also real powers now belong to the people and the ministerial responsibility now-a-days has shifted from the legislature to the people who are the political sovereign of the country. In view of that the Ministry can go and take the mandate, as is the practice in Britain, from the people. There cannot be a better and greater authority than the verdict of the people and the modern practice in a parliamentary democracy, whereby appeal is made from the legal sovereign to the political sovereign by the dissolution of the lower chamber, clearly indicates that the upper chamber does no longer provide any real check on any hasty legislation made by the lower chamber, if and when it is at all hasty. The British Parliamentary Act of 1911 and the Steel Nationalization Bill of 1949 were adopted on the mandate of the people obtained by general election and in both these two instances the bills were passed against the will of the upper chamber, particularly in the case of the former legislation. As regards the other argument that the upper chamber secures representation to the minorities, this is no longer valid in modern times. In a secular State like India religious minorities are not admitted and for them there is no arrangement for separate representation. The only minorities today in India, for the purposes of general election, are the tribal and backward communities. Their representation is secured by reservation of seats in general constituencies.

The composition of the upper chamber in a State shows that there is no provision for minority representation in the upper chamber simply because no minority has been recognised to be so on a permanent basis in the Constitution of India. The method of election provides that one-third of the members of the State Legislative Councils will be elected by local bodies, another one-third by the elected members of the State Legislative Assemblies, one-twelfth by graduates of three years' standing, and another one-twelfth by teachers of three years' standing and the rest will be nominated by the Governor of the State. Therefore, from the viewpoint of minority representation, there is no need for the upper chamber in the Indian States excepting for the few that are nominated by the Governor. The last argument that it prevents legislative tyranny is totally insignificant in modern times in view of the fact that the mandate of the people being regarded as the ultimate authority in matters of national importance, there cannot arise any question of legislative tyranny by one chamber alone. As shown above, even under the present circumstances as laid down in the Constitution, if the lower chamber insists, its will will be carried out in all matters of legislation against the opposition of the upper chamber. The upper chamber has thus no real effective power in controlling the will of the lower chamber. Therefore, the upper chamber is redundant being bereft of all power.

The upper chamber is just a forum for free discussion which is restricted outside the precincts of the legislature. *The only useful purpose which is being served by the upper chamber at present is to provide employment to the supporters and admirers of the different political parties by electing them to the upper chamber. Ministers defeated at the general election have also been brought in as members of the State legislature through the backdoor by electing them to the second chamber.* As matters stand, therefore, the upper chamber merely constitutes a drain on national exchequer.

The Question of a National Language

The Hindi Commission recommendations evoked a spate of criticism from almost all the non-Hindi areas. Eminent Indians whose patriotism and integrity were beyond all question, such as, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Rajagopalachari, Dr. K. M. Munshi, Dr. Mudaliar—sharply condemned the over-enthusiasm of the supporters of Hindi. In his speech before the 4th All-India PEN Conference Pandit Nehru frankly said in so many words

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that Hindi would have to wait for many years more to qualify for the status of an all-India language. Besides, both the major opposition parties—the Communist and the Praja Socialist —opposed the immediate introduction of Hindi. Many of the Southern State Governments, run by the members of the Congress Party, openly objected to the Hindi Commission proposals.

Still others pointed out that Hindi, which was spoken by only a minority of the Indians could by no means be regarded as a national language in so far as a national language connoted much more than an official language. While they could visualise the use of Hindi as an official language at some future date they were not ready to concede to Hindi the status of a national language. They held that all the fourteen languages listed in the Constitution should be given the status of national languages.

The consensus of opinion excluding a handful of over-enthusiastic supporters of Hindi was that while non-Hindi-speaking people would be encouraged to learn Hindi, the Hindi-speaking people should also be made to learn a second Indian language, in order to balance their chances, in service and in professions like legal practice, with the non-Hindi-speaking peoples. This last proviso would also satisfy those who regard this Hindi movement with suspicion, as a political dodge to gain undue advantage.

Nepotism and Efficiency

Law's delays in India are almost proverbial. No one knows when his or her case would be disposed of. It is not at all difficult to cite cases which have been pending before the courts for years together, nay for decades even. Such undue prolongation of the period of suits before the courts is one of the grave defects of judicial administration in India. In an interim report to the Government of India the Law Commission is understood to have commented upon the appointment of judges on considerations other than merit as one of the principal causes of accumulating arrears in courts and the consequential delay in the decision of cases.

The Commission's interim report has only confirmed what the public had long believed to be a fact. But that in no way detracts from the great importance of the Commission's remarks. The interim report of the Commission, which is composed of eminent Indians, clearly demonstrates how nepotism and corruption are corroding the vitals of our country. The judges at the High Court level, the Commission finds, were being appointed, not on consideration of political expediency or regional or communal sentiment. Canvassing, which was considered a grave disqualification and was almost unknown in the past, was now prevalent and was even encouraged by "some persons on whom rests the responsibility for these appointments." Sometimes there was undue delay in filling up vacancies because of the "play of rival and conflicting influences" in the matter of selection of judges.

Administrative Delays

Last month we referred to the exasperating situation in the Postal Department where there was no guarantee of timely action on any matter. Since writing that we are happy to find that the Union Minister of Transport and Communications has admitted the existence of these lapses and has indicated his determination to eradicate the irregularities. In a speech lasting more than two hours before a conference of regional heads of the Posts and Telegraphs Department in New Delhi at the close of October, Mr. Shastri is reported to have frankly told his officials that there was a great deal of truth in increasing public complaints about postal delays at practically every level. The *Statesman's* special representative at New Delhi adds: "So evidently concerned was the Transport Minister over the falling standards of postal efficiency that he insisted that restoration of efficiency in communication services must have priority over any other problem of the department." According to the correspondent, "the Union Transport and Communications Minister expressed his determination to remedy the situation and gave enough indication of his intention to effect basic changes in the administrative set up of the department."

Writers' Responsibility

In their addresses before the 4th session of the All-India P.E.N. Conference at Baroda, both Shri Nehru and Dr. Radhakrishnan stressed the key role of the writers in spreading the message of international friendship and

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goodwill among nations. Dr. Radhakrishnan referred to the devaluation of a number of words, such as, "freedom," "justice," "aggression," "peace" and "truth" through their indiscriminate and uncontrolled use. It was necessary in the interest of progress that words were used with greater care, he said.

Shri Nehru touched the State's responsibility towards the writers and their writings. In his view the State should help the writers without in any way trying to force ideas upon them. How it could be done he did not explain. He also referred to the problem of indiscipline among writers which grew of their freedom.

In India, more than anywhere else, writers stood in need of State help—direct and indirect. State participation would, therefore, be quite desirable provided it did not cripple the writers' freedom. That was by no means easy of achievement as experience in other countries seemed to suggest. Once the State stepped in it would try to control quality, to weed out "indiscipline" among the writers and the line between regimentation and quality control was a very thin one to be imperceptibly crossed. The functioning of such organisations as the All-India Radio was a pointer in this direction.

Yet it must at the same time be recognised that it was essential in the interest of progress and knowledge for the State to provide greater help to the writers in India. In the USA such a function was being performed by private foundations who provided numerous scholarships to scholars and writers to undertake special studies to their liking. But the foundations seldom, if ever, wanted to mould the opinion of the scholar. In India, the number of such foundations was extremely small. So that whatever help was to be made would have to be shouldered by the State as in China and the Soviet Union. If the State in India in its endeavour to help promote independent research and writing adopt some such principle as was being followed by private foundations in the USA, then, perhaps, some of the evils associated with State-aid could be avoided in this country.

Pakistan Political Changes

There was a big shake-up in Pakistan politics on October 11 when Prime Minister Suhrawardy was forced to resign by President Iskander Mirza, following the withdrawal of support to the Suhrawardy Ministry by the Republican Party. The Republican Party's decision to withdraw from the Government was taken after Mr. Suhrawardy had refused to recommend the break-up of one unit in West Pakistan. While the Republican Party wanted to break up the one-unit in West Pakistan, the Muslim League wanted to retain it. This raised a controversy in which Mr. Suhrawardy apparently sided with the League, possibly in the hope that he could thereby retain the support of President Mirza. As matters turned out, Mr. Suhrawardy's calculations went wrong and President Mirza lost no time in demanding the former's resignation as the Prime Minister lost his majority in the National Assembly.

After weeklong discussions and political manipulations in Karachi Mr. Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar of the Muslim League was finally installed as the sixth Prime Minister of Pakistan on October 18. The new government represented a coalition of three political parties—the Republican Party, the Muslim League and the Krishak-Sramik Party. The composition of the Chundrigar Cabinet was as follows: Six Republicans, four, including the Prime Minister, of the Muslim League and three belonging to the Krishak-Sramik Party. The distribution of portfolios was as follows:

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Prime Minister, will look after Economic Affairs, Labour and Works; Mr. Firoz Khan Noon will hold Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations and Syed Amjad Ali, Finance.

Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana gets Defence; Mr. Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, Industries; Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Commerce and Law; Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur, Interior; Mian Jaffar Shah, States and Frontier Regions and Information and Broadcasting; Mr. Yusuf Haroon, Kashmir and Parliamentary Affairs; Mr. Lutfur Rahman Khan, Education; Mr. Abdul Latif Biswas, Food and Agriculture; Mr. Abdul Aleem, Rehabilitation and Misbahauddin Hussain, Communications.

In addition there were two Ministers of State—Mr. A. K. Das and Haji Maula Bux Soomro.

The fall of the Awami League-Republican coalition in the Centre and the formation of the

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League-Republican Coalition Government to which the Awami League found itself in opposition naturally gave rise to questions about the future of the Awami League Coalition Government in East Pakistan. Questioned by correspondents Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, Awami League Chief Miniseter of East Pakistan, admitted the difficulty inherent in a position which envisaged being the Chief Minister in the Province and in the Opposition in the Centre, but added: "It is not, of course, that we shall always oppose the Central Government. As far as the East Pakistan administration is concerned there can be no contradictory policy with the Centre. Some kind of working arrangement with the Centre in regard to the conduct of the Provincial administration will have to be devised."

Commenting upon the behind-the-scenes negotiations for a new government in Pakistan, the *Vigil* wrote in an editorial article on the eve of the formation of the Chundrigar Cabinet:

"Who fills the vacancy in Pakistan's Premiership and supplies the 1957 model is a matter mostly of passing interest. The rottenness of Ministry-making politics is only too obvious; also is the helplessness of most of the Pakistani people. This general sense of helplessness growing over years is not at all relieved by the frantic activity of a handful of party-politicians in Karachi, and Dacca and Lahore. It is not incorrect to describe as party-politicians the men busy at making or marring Ministries in Pakistan. The "personality cult" is as old as political careerism and nowhere has it made itself so disastrously effective as in Pakistan in recent years. A Muslim League leader cynically referred to 'Pakistan's search for a Prime Minister of 1957 model. The sarcastic edge of the remark is enjoyable, but it misses the main point which is that a model does at least need making a conscious choice and fashioning a device suited to serve some useful purpose. Since the time Khwaja Nazimuddin was jockeyed out and Shri Mohammed Ali of Bogra suddenly appeared from the wings the only model Pakistan's political profiteers have scrupulously (!) held before them is one of endless muddle. 'It will lumber along,' one of Queen Victoria's Prime Ministers used to say whenever his government seemed to be crumbling. In Pakistan, the administration, largely controlled by a permanent bureaucracy, has lumbered along, while Ministries and Governments and Parties have come and gone, leaving scarcely even a single achievement of theirs on record.

"The 1957 model of Pakistan's Ministerial show might be slightly different in appearance from the previous shows. But the elements are the same and it is not the so-called parties but the personalities coming out on top for the time being that will add flavour to the 'mixture as before.' The basic weakness is the chaotic character of the political parties in Pakistan. Some foreign commentators have sought to draw a parallel between French politics and Pakistani politics. The similarity, however, is very superficial. There may be too many political parties in the French Parliament and, of course, also party discipline there, except in the case of Communists, is notoriously slack. But the French model is at least founded on a measure of repeated popular electoral support. And though ministerial instability is chronic in France, the parties there have reached a condition of immobility. This means that the elective representatives in the French Parliament are broadly and sharply divided into immobilised blocs of Right, Centre and Left. This immobility no doubt makes it very difficult to form stable Governments. But some consistency there in the behaviour of the representative political parties keeps up a decent show of democracy. In Pakistan, on the contrary, all the parties are at sixes and sevens. As a result cynicism is rampant: and apathy forces a tragic mask on popular discontents."

Chundrigar and Minorities

While the declared policies of the Chundrigar Cabinet did not differ very much from those of its predecessor, in one respect its policy would mean a great departure from that of the Suhrawardy Cabient. The Chundrigar Government would try to scrap the joint electorate act to re-introduce instead separate electorates for the Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan. That the new Government was serious about the implementation of this measure was proved by the measures already adopted by it. On October 28, the Government announced amendments to the Draft Electoral (Preparation) Rules under which the voters henceforth would be enrolled communitywise. The Draft

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Bill to amend the Electoral Act was also ready and would be presented before a specially convened session of the National Assembly on November 29. Neither the joint electorate system nor the separate electorate system gave the Hindus any advantages in Pakistan. To that extent *formally* the Hindus did not stand to gain or lose anything by the measure proposed to be adopted by the Pakistan Government. But *in reality* the consequences of the re-introduction of separate electorate would mean disaster for the Hindus—socially and personally. As experience everywhere showed it was never possible to provide "separate but equal" status. The effort failed in the USA and resulted in gross discrimination against the Negro minority; in the Union of South Africa, separate electorate served as a potent weapon in the hands of the rulers to keep the non-whites under subjugation. The British tried separate electorates for Hindus and Muslims in India as a means to keep the national movement divided. The "separate but equal" theory almost in all cases arose out of the assumption of an inherent superiority by persons belonging to a particular race or religion. The Muslim Leaguers upheld the idea of separate electorate expressly to corner the Hindus whom they considered unfit for full citizenship in an Islamic Republic. It was only after a long and sustained fight by the Hindus in co-operation with democratically-minded Muslim leaders of Pakistan that the joint electorate bill could be adopted by the Pakistan National Assembly. The scrapping of that Act to make way for the reintroduction of the separate electorate thus could not but be viewed with great concern by the Hindu minorities in East Bengal whose conditions of life there were anything but normal. The Pakistan Government's deliberate policy of forcing the Hindus out of Pakistan has imposed a great burden upon the resources of India who have had to bear the strain for the resettlement of the vast numbers coming to her for safety. The new measures of the Pak Government were obviously intended to exert a greater pressure upon the Hindus to swarm out of Pakistan into India. This calls for some measure of retaliation, as Pakistanis who are in power, refuse to allow any humane or democratic considerations to stand in the way of their fell motives.

Dr. Soekarno on Indonesian Problems

President Achmed Soekarno is one of those Asian leaders whose popularity and respect-ability extend far beyond the frontiers of their own countries. His message to the Indonesian nation on the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of Indonesian independence, while centering upon Indonesian problems, touches some aspects which have their counterparts in other countries also. For that reason President Soekarno's message bears repetition.

President Soekarno said that a revolution was a dual process: it involved victory over the enemy and mastery over one's own self. One of the main reasons for Indonesia's present distress was that while victory had been basically achieved against the external enemy, character-building had lagged far behind. Moreover, newly-won power had corrupted many, so that in the course of a period of twelve years only Indonesia witnessed seventeen cabinet changes. "How many among the Indonesian leaders have truly remained 'popular' as they were formerly?" he asked.

Another factor in the current distress of Indonesia was the people's lack of perspective, the absence of a realization on their part of the unique characteristics of the Indonesian Revolution. This failure to comprehend the spirit of Indonesia led to a lot of confusion in thinking and action. ". . . I think," said Dr. Soekarno, "that the Indonesian nation has carried into effect a wrong political system, especially so in this period of transition. The Indonesian nation and people have been 'misused' by their leaders in the rock-and-roll of unrestrained chaotic box-democracy which does not recognize discipline or guidance."

". . . Our democracy is a 'free-fight' liberalism democracy. Ours is an indiscriminate type of democracy; a democracy adhering to the principle of 'feeedom of speech for freedom of speech's sake'; a democracy that is free to criticise, free to deride, free to ridicule; free—free without any guidance, without any management towards one aim. . . ."

Such uncontrolled democracy did not befit the common Indonesian. "Because," to quote the President, "they are all but small men who do not air their feelings. They do not give speeches at meetings, they do not give

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views to newspapers, they do not write allusions or insinuations in papers. They just keep silent and work. Under the present democratic system they have theoretically the same right to say their say as everyone else. In practice, however, they do not want to use the opportunity to wag their tongues" The common man did not want shallow "free-fight liberalism" but economic betterment and material prosperity while the self-seeking politicians were only after personal power. Therefore, it was necessary in the interest of the progress of Indonesia to abandon such "democracy" and to "take the course of a new democracy which is more in keeping with our identity and which provides a better guarantee for the realization of our political and social ambitions," Dr. Soekarno said.

Democracy did not consist solely in secret ballot. It required the fulfilment of certain conditions for its success. According to the President, "The first condition is that democracy must be focussed on the State. The second is that it must go by the interests of the nation. Thus, democracy must serve the State and the Nation, not an individual or a group. The third is that its members must be honest people, people who are actually endowed with political and moral integrity. The fourth is that it must have a great number of people with creative ability, people who are true exponents of ideas, people who collectively contribute their ideas to the Nation and the State, and not merely people who quack all day long like ducks."

Exit Zhukov

Marshal Zhukov has been deposed from his position of leadership in the Soviet Communist Party and Government by his friends who are now banded under Khruschev's wings. The fact, given out to the world by the Kremlin, that the Central Committee of the Communist Party was considering the future of Zhukov so that he might, to paraphrase Khruschev, get a position in keeping with his qualifications and experience—as if Zhukov was an applicant for some position for which his qualifications were not conclusive—tended, if anything, only to stress the degree of Zhukov's disgrace.

The dismissal of Zhukov, who was generally regarded as one of the key figures in contemporary Russia, possibly next only to Khruschev, the first Secretary, was certainly a surprise to students of international affairs and laymen alike. No one could expect, to be sure, that Zhukov who had played such a key role in the June ouster of the veterans Molotov, Kaganovitch and Malenkov, would have to tread in the footsteps of his victims so soon. Yet as one recalled the continuing struggle for leadership among the Soviet Communist leaders since the early 'twenties, a phenomenon which was kept away from public view by the towering personality and genius of Stalin, one wondered whether this was not the only thing to be expected at the moment. One might not be far wrong to describe the history of the Soviet Communist Party as one of repudiating or killing its earlier leaders by their successors. Stalin managed to besmirch almost all the old Bolshevik revolutionaries and succeeded in getting rid of them by some means or other. On the evidence of no less an authority than the redoubtable Khruschev, he (Stalin) had always tried to discredit, if not actually to kill, his nearest rival. This Stalinist tradition was well-maintained by his successors-in-office, despite their formal denunciation of Stalin and his methods: Beria was killed without having been given an opportunity to have his position explained; Molotov and Kaganovitch were similarly banished to virtual imprisonment and now Georgi Zhukov, the victor of Berlin and Khruschev's time-serving "hero", had to follow suit because the world was told, he had been "thwarting the will of the Party" in the armed forces in his capacity as head of the Defence forces of the USSR.

Indeed, if Zhukov, who was Khruschev's closest rival and who was "dangerously" popular with the Soviet citizens should not be removed then would the Soviet State not lose its very essence of a "proletarian" (personal) dictatorship? The removal of Zhukov thus seems to be in keeping with *Soviet Communist* tradition and bureaucratic practice in general. Up till now Soviet Union has not tolerated two leaders at the same time: even eminence in fields other than political was dangerous for a man, to wit, Gorky and Vairlov. As from the inherent law of bureaucracy it would be well to recall that a bureaucrat nowhere relished an equal by his side but always cherished the idea for a larger number of subordinates. By deciding on the

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downgrading of Zhukov, Khruschev acted true to his training, under Stalin.

Zhukov's dismissal, while initially making for a surprise, would not therefore seem extraordinary to a world which grew accustomed to frequent and violent changes in Soviet leadership. The concern of the outside world was centred on the event's possible repercussion, upon the course of Soviet foreign policy. And here was cause for concern. The world witnessed a toughening of Soviet attitude after the launching of the Sputnik; the dismissal of Zhukov, who in his political orientation was a bit more radical than Khruschev, might lead to a reversion to Stalinist techniques of conducting foreign policy. One wondered whether Marshal Tito's sudden illness and the announcement of his inability to go to Moscow to be present at the 40th anniversary celebrations had anything to do with these internal Soviet changes.

Sputnik (The Companion)

The Soviet Union demonstrated her great scientific progress by launching the first man-made satellite into outer space on October 4. The satellite, named Sputnik (or Companion) by the Russians, was 23 inches in diameter and weighed about 184 pounds. The satellite was moving on elliptical trajectory at about 18,000 miles per hour and was circling the earth every 96 minutes 2 seconds at an altitude of about 560 miles. The artificial moon was fitted with radio transmitters continuously emitting signals which were heard over all the shortwave wireless receiving sets.

Tht magnitude of Russia's achievement was given by the fact that she was not only the first country to launch a satellite but also by the fact that the satellite she launched was eight times heavier than the satellite contemplated by the United States—her nearest rival in the field. Dr. Joseph Kaplan, Chairman for the United States program for the International Geophysical Year, called the achievement of getting of 184-pound satellite into the air "fantastic" and added "if they can launch one that heavy, they can put up much heavier ones."

The successful launching of the artificial satellite was an event of tremendous scientific interest. It was a significant step forward in man's venture to conquer space which began with the first successful flight of an airplane nearly fifty-five years ago. Two main problems stood in man's way to outer space. One was the composition of the atmosphere. Air thinned out at upper levels—starting roughly, at sixty miles from the earth's surface—so that winged flight became difficult. The second problem was provided by the gravitational pull of the earth which, the scientists estimated, could be escaped by a body travelling at a speed of 18,000 m.p.h. or more. The rocket, first developed by the Germans during the Second World War, provided an answer to both these problems: it carried oxygen, needed no wings and was capable of enormous velocity. During the post-war years scientists in the Western countries, notably in the USA and the USSR, were engaged in researches to produce larger rockets designed to rise of hundreds of miles in the upper atmosphere and then arch like an artillery shell to deliver nuclear bombs on targets thousands of miles away. The intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), first fired by the Soviet Union in August last, was a step in the progress in this direction.

How would a satellite work? Referring to U.S. experimentation the *New York Times* reports:

"This is the way the U.S. satellite was to work. It would be launched by a step-rocket. The first-stage rocket would drive the satellite up through the lower atmosphere—perhaps 50 or 60 miles. When its fuel was spent, the first stage's shell with its fuel tanks and machinery, now dead weight, would drop off. At the same time, the second-stage rocket would be fired. The course of the satellite would be turned toward the horizontal. When the second stage's fuel was gone, its shell would in turn drop off, and likewise for the third stage if there were one.

"The satellite would now be flying free. A law of physics states that, once set in motion, a body remains in that state unless some force changes it. Thus a body set on a course horizontal to the earth directly below would fly off into space—were it not for the effect of gravity. This force bends its course, as happens in the case of the Moon. Because of the speed with which the Moon travels, it drops downwards at the same rate as the curvature of the earth—

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end therefore remains at a relatively constant distance from the earth.

"So it is with a man-made moon. However, unlike the Moon, the first satellites—relatively as primitive as the Wright brothers' plane—would not entirely escape the earth's atmosphere. Gradually the particles of air at their altitude would slow them down to the point where the earth's gravitational pull would draw them into denser atmosphere and the satellites would burn like meteors."

Professor L. I. Sedov, Chairman of the Inter-Departmental Committee for Co-ordination and Supervision of Theoretical Research in Interplanetary Communication of USSR, told in an interview with the Moscow weekly *New Times*: "One of the problems awaiting solution in this field (of space travel) is the return of the satellite to the earth. Until this is done, living beings cannot be sent up.

"For some years now dogs have been successfully sent up in rockets, but in experiments of this kind the time spent at high altitudes is comparatively brief. To send living beings in a satellite for a longer period of time, we must ensure their safe return besides solving complex problems of a biological nature associated with cosmic radiation outside the bounds of the atmosphere, gravitation, etc. Only after this is done will it be possible for man to embark on space flight."

The *New York Times* summarises the implications of this scientific achievement in the following words:

"The news of the Soviet achievement had an electrifying effect in the capitals of the world. Its implications, scientific, military, and political, were profound.

"Scientifically, the satellite will be able to increase man's knowledge of the earth. Its path will be affected by the gravitational pull of the earth, and this pull will vary with changes in the earth's configuration. Thus by charting the moon's course scientists will be able to determine with great accuracy how much the world bulges at the middle, and how flat it is at the poles. It will enable them also to pursue studies of the earth's ancient magnetic field. Long-term observation of a satellite might enable future generations to determine if the earth's land masses are in motion, as some scientists maintain. And it could lead to new determinations ranging from how much air there is on the fringes of space, to how lumpy is the interior of this planet.

"Furthermore, other, more complicated satellites are on the way. The first United States satellite will make delicate observations of ultra-violet rays, above the earth's atmosphere, which may have profound effects on weather and climate. Other spheres are to record the nature of cosmic-ray bombardment, changes in the earth's magnetism and various forms of heat transfer to and from the earth.

"All these are milestones toward a universal goal: space travel. But while scientists have made giant strides in the field, it would appear that rocket ships might remain in the realm of science fiction for some time. The vital questions are whether human beings could survive the terrific speeds required for interplanetary excursions, and, provided they reached their destination, how they could get back.

"Militarily, the very fact that the satellite is whizzing around the earth would indicate the Russians are ahead in rocketry. Moreover, its weight—184 pounds—makes plain that they have a hopping projectile. It means, said a naval scientist, "that the Russians must have the intercontinental ballistic missile as they claim."

"There was also the possibility that future satellites could be equipped as revolving radar stations with an eye on every nation in the world—of tremendous military value to both defensive and offensive planning.

"Politically, the Soviet moon was of tremendous value to Moscow as a psychological and propaganda victory over the U.S. To nations everywhere it demonstrated that the Soviet Union is a top military power and able to challenge American leadership. Whether the Russians could long maintain the pace once the intensive U.S. program got under way would appear unimportant, at least for the moment; the very fact they were first with a moon should have great impact on countries where prestige—and ability to threaten effectively—is vital to Moscow."

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Rockets and Missiles

After the Soviet "satellite" had been launched, there was much speculation regarding the position of the U.S.A. where missiles are concerned. The *New York Times* of October 27 published the following account in relation to that:

Missiles come in three sizes, a U. S. observer has said, "small, large, and 'where did everybody go?'" On the first two varieties, the United States and Russia are believed to be about on a par. Both nations have families of short and medium-range missiles capable of seeking out and destroying targets on land, on sea and in the air.

But in the all-important intermediate and intercontinental-range ballistic missiles—the "where did everybody go" variety—Russia appears to have a decided edge over the U.S. The Soviets began testing their T-2, an intermediate range ballistic missile (I.R.B.M.) in mid-1955. Since mid-1956 Russia has been shooting off five T-2s every month. Today the T-2 is reported to be in production and undergoing advanced testing. Its range has been estimated variously at 800, 1500 and 1800 miles.

The United States has three 1,500-mile-range I.R.B.M.s: the Army's Jupiter, the Air Force's Thor, and the Navy's Polaris. Their powerplants have been reported to be roughly half the size of the Soviet T-2. Moreover, up to last week only three Jupiters and two Thors had been successfully fired. The Polaris is not yet ready for testing.

In the intercontinental missile class (5,000-mile range), Russia reported firing the first I.C.B.M.—the Soviet T-3—last August. Some Westerners believe the T-3 will be operational next year, others expect it to take another two years or more. The U. S. entries in the intercontinental field are the Atlas and the Titan. The Atlas has failed two launching tests: the Titan has not yet gotten off the ground. Atlas should be operational, some experts estimate, sometime after 1960.

Finally, in the closely related field of satellites, the Soviet lead is demonstrated by the fact that the U.S. version—the 21½-pound Vanguard—is not expected to be ready for launching until next spring.

Why has the United States been lagging? For one thing, this nation got off to a late start. In the mid-Nineteen Forties, when Russia evidently began work on the T-2 and the T-3, most Pentagon officials felt that long-range ballistic missiles were for the science fiction writers. Secondly, some critics believe the missile program was hampered by inter-service rivalry, with the Army, Air Force and Navy all competing for money, priorities, missile roles and technologic manpower.

Third, the U.S. has been held back, some experts say, by lack of knowledge. The President told the news conference a few weeks ago: "I wish we . . . knew more as to . . . all the . . . things we have to know about."

Some critics counter that if the Administration had spent more money on missile research and development, the U.S. would have kept up with the Russians. These critics include Trever Gardner, who resigned as Assistant Secretary of the Air Force early in 1956 in protest against the slow rate of progress on missiles, and a number of Democratic Congressmen, led by Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, who for years have been urging the Administration to spend more on missiles.

The United States apparently miscalculated the psychological impact of the news of the Soviet sputnik. Although the Government learned some months ago that Russia would soon launch its satellite, no action was taken to counter the forthcoming Soviet triumph.

Accordingly, when the sputnik was actually fired three weeks ago, the U.S. was caught off-balance. There was mounting pressure on the Administration to do something.

It was against this background that the U.S. made its moves last week.

On U.S. missiles developments, these were the disclosures:

Altitude record: A lightweight, four-stage rocket, launched in Project Farside by the Air Force from a balloon platform 100,000 feet in space above Eniwetok Atoll in the Pacific, reached an altitude of 4,000 miles or more, according to preliminary Air Force estimates. The previous record was 625 miles by an Army Jupiter C rocket; the sputnik's maximum altitude is about 570 miles.

Satellite record: Vanguard, designed for the Navy to carry the U.S. satellite into orbit, underwent a successful test of its first-stage

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engine at Cape Canaveral Missile Proving Ground in Florida. It rose 109 miles at a top speed of 4,250 miles per hour.

I.R.B.M.s: The Army's Jupiter and the Air Force's Thor both were tested successfully at Cape Canaveral—and in a departure from past policy the Defence Department announced details.

Other missiles: Bomarc, the Air Force's long-range interceptor (anti-aircraft) missile, located an unmanned World War II B-17 drone target and followed it "so closely that the drone was destroyed by collision." Sidewinder, an air-to-air missile guided by an infra-red detector, was tested against a target plane bearing a flaming flare-pot on its wing. It homed on the flame.

Atomic depth bombs: Secretary of Defense McElroy announced that the Navy's anti-submarine patrol planes in the Atlantic—the nation's primary defense against the huge Soviet submarine fleet—were being armed with recently perfected atomic depth charges.

These developments, along with the Eisenhower-Macmillan conference-stated pledge of "an enlarged Atlantic effort in scientific research and development" indicated that the Administration was trying to do two things. First, it wants to reassure the Western world, that the United States is doing well in the rocket-missile-satellite field. Second, the Administration hopes that missile development can be speeded up by collaboration among Allied scientists. Although Britain is far behind the U.S. in missile development, the hope is that British scientists can help the U.S. in related field such as basic research, electronics, possibly warheads.

Politics in Guatemala

The dramatic moves that have taken place in the small central American republic of Guatemala, after the tragic removal of the President, are now causing uneasiness in the U.S. The most curious factor in these moves, is the alliance between the extreme Right and the extreme Left, which goes to show how superficial these political creeds are. The U.S. which stands for the Right and abhors the Left, is naturally taken aback, as the following editorial from the *New York Times* of October 25 goes to show:

"The situation in Guatemala is too confused and fluid just now to draw any final conclusions, but two things are obvious.

"First, it is a great pity that the country as a whole has been subjected to such a serious setback. The assassination of President Castillo Armas on July 26 was a misfortune as well as a crime, but the way in which the army kept order, supported the constitutional First Designate as Provisional President, called for elections and held them in orderly fashion was wholly admirable. Guatemala seemed to be setting a fine example of the peaceful transition of power.

"Then came the second factor, the wilful, undemocratic and unpatriotic action of the losing candidate from the extreme Right, General Idigoras Fuentes. It was in the worst tradition of Latin-American military demagogy. These are strong words to use, but one aspect alone would justify them. If General Idigoras really believed the election of October 20 was a fraud he could have had legal recourse to the electoral tribunals and to Congress. Instead, he called up the mobs of Guatemala City, and those mobs contained many former and crypto-Communists from the regime of Colonel Arbenz, now given new life by General Idigoras. The General received about 48,000 votes in the capital to about one-third that for the countrywide victor, Miguel Ortiz Passarelli. This was far more than there are extreme Rightists in Guatemala City, which means that General Idigoras had the extreme Leftist vote. This alliance of Left and Right is always dangerous, and especially so in Latin America, as was proved in Argentina under General Peron.

"Until the situation clears up one cannot judge the army's action. The three colonels who form the new military junta which has taken over were loyal to the Provisional Government and presumably they still are. The best one can hope or expect in present circumstances is that they will confine themselves to restoring order and waiting for the country to calm down, then calling new elections. But it will doubtless take time to recover the ground lost in these last few days because of the behavior of General Idigoras Fuentes."

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The Future of Japan

In World War II, the two pivotal powers of the Berlin-Tokyo Axis, namely, Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, were smashed up by the Allied powers. The attempt to uproot and destroy the sources of the military might of those two nations, went far beyond the military destruction. Germany was dismembered and Japan was occupied, and the military heads of those two powers were tried, mostly in a farcical fashion, and vengeance was wreaked in the Assyrian way. It is little over a decade, and these nations are marching back to recovery with a speed that has astounded the world. But this recovery is partly real and partially illusory, as described by C. L. Sulzberger, the ablest of American political commentators, in the *New York Times* of October 7, which we reproduce below:

Tokyo, October 6.—Imperial Tokyo is now the world's largest city, having only during the past few months ousted both London and New York from claims to this dubious distinction. Eight and a half million people are crowded into the morass of dwellings mushrooming along the neighbouring river flats, and each year the total increases by another 250,000. A construction race is under way but it cannot keep up with the incredible human influx.

In these metropolitan statistics one sees a microcosm of the problems of post-war Japan, working industriously to survive within the confines of a geographical straitjacket and laboring once again to superimpose a modern industrial foundation on ancient and strongly perseverant traditions.

Upon its surface the capital presents an extraordinary aspect of boom and bustle. Tranquil inner courtyards, sedate parks and even the chunky, gray-black Palace walls seem lost in the flurry of construction, the noise of reckless cars and cyclists, the hysterical pace of pedestrians.

Only twelve years ago, battered by bombardment, with 750,000 of its dwellings totally destroyed, this metropolis contained less than half its present population. Today, a curious amalgram of the very old and very new, it is the busiest boom town on earth; the intellectual, political and business center of Japan and of East Asian commerce.

During the five years since independence was restored by treaty, Japan has leaped back along the road to recovery with an exuberance equalled perhaps only in West Germany. The index of national production is more than two and a half times as high as in 1936, the last year before war industries inflated normal economy. Exports have doubled since 1953.

This apparent miracle has been accomplished upon a curiously uneasy base. Japan was psychologically dislocated and physically ruined by a conflict which cost the country all of its overseas empire, part of its integral island realm, lives, treasure, pride and many of its usual commercial markets. Yet, here, loudly testifying to the triumph of vitality, is Tokyo itself spread out low along the marshlands, its inhibited skyline dodging the menace of earthquakes, humming with the machines of innumerable big and little factories and workshops.

It is difficult for the foreigner to contemplate this beehive and to relate it to realities of that old Japan which lies hidden behind the mountain mists. Only a Japanese can attempt the difficult task of explaining peculiar distortions and disharmonies obscured beneath the resurgent surface.

"Visitors from abroad," remarks a wise and liberal university professor, "are always surprised at the degree to which Tokyo resembles other cities in the world. They see large buildings on all sides, a flood of automobiles in the streets, and a tremendous number of people who are dressed in Western style. No wonder they think Japan is a flourishing country where the work of reconstruction goes forward energetically. Unfortunately, they lack the time to visit factory districts or the more distant agricultural areas. There they would find a complete contrast to urban life, which appears flourishing and prosperous. In the farming areas of the countryside and the industrial zones of the provincial cities peasants and workers live in extreme poverty."

In observing the phenomenon of Tokyo where per capita income is 40 per cent above that prevailing elsewhere in the land, there is danger of being deceived by an economic, political and philosophical mirage. Rarely has a nation undergone such complete metamorphosis within so short a period.

Contemporary Tokyo shows what Japan

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energy can accomplish. But there remains the invisible legacy of antiquated agriculture, narrow geography, and an age-old habit of submission. Governing philosophy need not necessarily continue along a democratic path if world pressures open other avenues.

The late Professor Tomoo Otaka observed last year: "The Occupation was able to carry out its policy of democratization smoothly because the Japanese people, with their long training in obedience to authority, adapted themselves readily; in other words, democratization was successful because of a mental attitude which would hardly be called democratic."

This note of skepticism is shared by other Tokyo intellectuals while regarding the achievements registered by a decade of liberal economic and political administration. They acknowledge pride in the very visible successes of a Western-ising revolution comparable to that which followed Commodore Perry's arrival a century ago.

But they realize the need to sink beneath this impressive superstructure deep and firm foundations upon which the new society must rest. To accomplish this Japan still requires many years of peace, prosperity and above all pride. Only then can this venerable nation digest the experiment in a novel way of life symbolized by modern Tokyo.

The Far Eastern Stage

The end of World War II, left the Far East, particularly China and Japan, in an extremely unstable state of equilibrium. Both of these areas were under the control of the United States, but there was a difference. In China, the U.S. was an ally and the protector of the Kuomintang party of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. In Japan, the U.S. was in occupation, on the soil of a vanquished enemy. Barely a dozen years have passed and the scenes have changed in both areas. China proper, that is the real China, has passed into the hands of the People's Republic and its former overlord, Chiang Kai-shek, has formed an emigre government on the island of Taiwan, the former Formosa, which has been made into and maintained as a fortress with the aid of U.S. arms and dollars.

The position of Taiwan *vis a vis* the People's Republic, and the precarious balance, maintained by American aid, is clearly pictured in the following despatch, from the able pen of C. L. Sulzberger, which we reproduce below, from the *New York Times* of October 19:

Taipei, Taiwan, October 18.—Twenty-five centuries ago that remarkable Chinese strategist, Sun Tzu, wrote: "Supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting." This would appear to be Mao Tse-tung's current objective when he looks across the Strait of Taiwan at his oldest enemy, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Peiping has changed its tactics. While maintaining powerful bases and armies on the opposite shore, it now subordinates hostile military gestures to undermining propaganda efforts. The Communists have created a "Work Committee on the Peaceful Liberation of Taiwan" headed by two former officials of Chiang's Kuomintang: Gen. Chang Chih-chung and Dr. Wong Wen-hao, once Premier of the Nanking Government.

Relatives of distinguished Nationalists, summoned to Peiping Radio, invite the emigres home. Agents are infiltrated when possible. Chiang's Chief of Staff an able officer who had graduated from both Virginia Military Institute and Purdue, had to resign in embarrassment when it was disclosed his aide was working for the Communists.

Clearly Mao calculates time is on his side. Various problems here are coming to a head. Political leaders are aging. Chiang himself is 70. Relatively few junior or intermediate officials fled with him here. The Taiwanese themselves, subjects of Japan for fifty years, have no tradition of governing experience. The next decade is bound to produce a leadership crisis.

Economically the future is uncertain. With our approval, Chiang maintains a disproportionately powerful armed force. This cannot exist without massive American aid. Three-fourths of Taiwan's income goes to defense.

This island's gross national product must be increased 5 per cent annually to keep economically afloat. That requires large capital investment. Chiang's, however, is in effect a one-party, semi-Socialist regime. Most key industries, such as aluminium, sugar and power are State-owned. Private investors are, therefore, not attracted. And our own Government is under political pressure to reduce foreign aid.

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Furthermore, in theory, Washington favors free enterprise.

Finally, there is the matter of morale. During eight years confidence has been maintained by slogans promising return to the mainland. Their effect wears thin. More and more Taiwanese are being recruited into the army—at present about 35 per cent of all troops. They are less interested than the homesick emigrants in reconquering China.

Obviously Chiang is aware of these factors. For this reason, presumably, he presses us for a military decision. He insists an attack on the mainland "would not lead to a general war," although he adds somewhat contradictorily: "The only effective strategy against the Russian Communists' unlimited and protracted warfare is one of total war."

Chiang says: "If the democratic bloc should fail to make liberation its basic policy against communism and Communist aggression, then all discussions about strategy and tactics are plainly futile."

But is "liberation" American policy? Some years ago such indeed appeared to be the case. Washington proclaimed its faith in the mystic word—with all its belligerent implications. We boasted that Chiang had been "unleashed" against a crumbling Communist colossus. But now, in fact, the opposite is true.

If we preach "liberation" we practise "containment." Chiang has been leashed, not unleashed. In December, 1954, we induced him to give a written guarantee not to attempt invasion except with our prior approval. He could hardly move a division across the strait without our help.

The result is stalemate. In the long run Mao calculates this will favor him. Washington somehow reckons otherwise. We believe that existence of this Nationalist Army plus Syngman Rhee's South Korean force, achieves an East Asian power balance. Perhaps, we hope Peiping's evident internal difficulties will some day produce a less rigid Government with which we might be able to negotiate. Meanwhile, we don't want to relinquish any possible bargaining cards.

This complex statecraft is based more on faith than reason. Whatever we may think of Chiang's belligerence, there is at least logic in his desire to gamble on war. He has little to lose. But our own policy is containment masquerading as liberation. It is compounded of strategic interest and political emotion.

Taiwan is an essential part of our Pacific fortress chain. And we have a guilty conscience toward Chiang. Once we saw him as our strongest Asian ally. Now we find him emperor of an oriental Elba and imagine ourselves responsible. Yet we fear to let him risk his Waterloo.

We are afraid to experiment with other ways of solving the impasse lest we might appear to be yielding. This produces paralysis. Chiang's logic is that of the bursting shell—somewhat audacious in this nuclear era. Ours is found on paradox. Mao's on time.

Americans and Indians

An American named Daniel Bell recently had an occasion to pass through Calcutta. He is reportedly an associate editor of the *Fortune* magazine, a lecturer in sociology at the Columbia University. On his return he wrote a series of articles in the New York weekly, *The New Leader*, on his impressions of Asia. In the first article entitled "A Night in Calcutta" Mr. Bell makes some remarks which reminds one of the "Miss Mayo" tradition of scurrilous American journalism.

The man is evidently an uncouth "goon" with very considerable gullibility. He has swallowed, hook, bait and sinker, all that was flung to him by the adroit "extreme left" section of the Calcutta group. They are always on the alert for willing suckers from the U.S.A. to render their cause signal service by offending and alienating Indian intelligentsia.

This particular simpleton was told that the vast *maidan* with its hundreds of cricket, tennis, football grounds—which are dotted with temples and shacks—was *"reserved for demonstrations for Nehru,"* the huge Victoria Memorial museum was the "Government House" built as a tribute to Queen Victoria and also the usual canards about the sexual inhibitions of the people permeating their music, etc., and he has put forth the whole of it in the article, in the style of a small town scandal writer. Evidently he is a sociologist of the Little Rock Variety, and he may also claim kinship with Faubus in the matter of veracity.

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This so-called professor opens his article with an anecdote that an Indian embassy official had hesitated to grant him a visa as he was a writer. We cannot but admire the official's great ability to sense such a "writer", who does not know the difference between a Bengali "modern" song and a classical song, but has the audacity to generalize upon Indian culture and who calls himself a sociologist but considers the experiences of a transit visit sufficient to enable him to manufacture sociological theories. India certainly has a moral right to stop the invasion of such "journalists" and "sociologists."

In his second article, he touches Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan. He treats that, as one would expect, with the tenderness reserved for wild animals. Besides, Dacca being authoritarian, the vermin that fastened on this poor cretin in Calcutta, could not get the same hold on him there.

We are not surprised at the article. "Gullible Yankees" are not quite unfamiliar specimens even in these days. What we are surprised at is that a journal like the *New Leader* should allow its pages to be soiled with such propaganda in this fashion. No wonder the U.S. is losing the battle, all along the line, in Asia.

The School-term in West Bengal

A new school-term has been announced for West Bengal schools. Henceforth annual examinations and promotions would be held in March instead of at the end of each calendar year as heretofore. The chief argument in favour of this change is that it would make for better utilisation of time by the schools, how, of course, many do not understand. The change was first announced for Secondary Schools only. Now it has been extended to cover primary schools as well.

The change in the school term, if eventually is put into effect, would, in our opinion, adversely affect education in the State. Heretofore the students would be free of their anxiteies by the middle of December each year so that they could take part in production and sports. In villages, for example, December and January are busy months for many families and even their children have to share the task of harvesting the crops. For boys living in cities that is the best period for cultivating many of the seasonal games. The putting off of the date of annual examination would in no way be able to influence these activities of the boys, but would in turn only tend to result in larger failures. Besides, with costs of books soaring high the best time for the purchase of new class books would be after the harvest, that is in January.

In short, the advantages of the change are not clear. The authorities have still time to think over the measure. One wonders whether in some respects our craze for change is not leading us too far.

The Problem of Housing in Calcutta

The acuteness of the problem of housing in Calcutta came to the fore recently with the announcement by the Calcutta Improvement Trust that it would consider applications for 24 one-unit flats. The Trust issued nearly seven hundred application forms for these 24 flats, yet it had to refuse double that number. On the occasion of the second-time distribution of application forms people lined up in queues since the evening before in order to be able to get a form the next morning. Even allowing for a few speculators who counted upon making some profits by selling the forms in the black market, the number of genuine candidates was unmistakably large.

The C.I.T. flats are above average and provide some of the modern amenities. A single-room flat contains besides a bed room, a kitchen, a closed verandah and a bath room and privy. Most of the old-fashioned buildings in Calcutta do not provide such facilities exclusively for each family. It may, therefore, be presumed that some of the people that swelled the queue were not in pressing need of flats. However, after all such allowances are made, the number of genuinely needy persons must be very large indeed. This view is also confirmed by the presence of a very large number of middle-class housewives in the queue. Unless their need was pressing they would not have come to take all the trouble attendant upon such occasions.

The gravity of the shortage of housing in Calcutta is also given by the finding of an official survey in which it has been disclosed that twenty-five per cent of Calcutta's population live in the bustee slums. According to another survey conducted by the Calcutta Improvement Trust many of the bustees are now full of middle-class people—whose family income in a

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few cases is as high as one thousand rupees. One may argue that such people can certainly obtain and pay for better accommodation. The mere statement of the total income of a family may not mean anything unless the number of its members is also mentioned at the same time. It may be very nearly impossible for a large family to secure proper accommodation in a better place, for all its members, despite a monthly income of a thousand rupees. Even the C.I.T. flats are beyond the means of the average middle-class people few, if any, of whom can afford eighty rupees for two small (12 ft. × 10 ft.) rooms.

It has been quite clearly shown by Shri S. K. Gupta, Chairman of the City Improvement Trust, that the solution of housing problem in Calcutta cannot be achieved without generous aid from the State. Most of the building materials are dear and even scarce and are thus beyond the reach of the greater majority of the population, who cannot, therefore, be expected to make any appreciable addition to the existing number of houses. The fortunate few who have means to build houses even at such high rates usually do so as investments from which they hope to extract the maximum return in the form of rent. It is no wonder then that rents are exorbitantly high. On the other hand, there is no public housing board to build tenement buildings. The Trust, while doing valuable work in the field, has necessarily to concentrate upon other improvement activities. Moreover, its cost of construction also is very high for a number of reasons and the rate of rent, while not at all profitable to it, is well beyond the reach of the average Bengali middle-class man in Calcutta. All these factors have combined in the background of a rapidly growing population, to accentuate the problem still more and unless some concerted move is made to construct more house in a relatively short period of time, the situation may easily become completely unbearable.

Private landlords and their agents are now not only raising rents, by all the loopholes kindly provided by the new rent and tenancy laws brought in last year, but have evicted and are evicting tens of thousands of unfortunate families.

International Exchange of Books

A number of new facilities for the postal despatch of books, newspapers and various other printed materials between the nations of the world were granted by the fourteenth Congress of the Universal Postal Union which was held in Ottawa with the participation of 95 countries. The measures, originally suggested by the UNESCO and scheduled to be implemented in October next year, would greatly promote the exchange of ideas and knowledge.

As summarised in the *United Nations Weekly Newsletter*, the proposed measure would enable "books to be sent in packets up to a maximum of 5 kilograms (11 pounds) instead of 3 kgs. at present. By special agreement between administrations, this maximum may be further raised to 10 kgs. Packets sent to the same address may be grouped in the same postal bag and in that case will be exempt from weight limits.

"In addition, books will enjoy the reduced airmail rate now conceded to newspapers. Publications for the blind will be exempt from all postal taxes and registration charges.

"The Congress also simplified the newspaper subscription scheme, which permits payment in national currency, at local post offices for subscriptions to foreign newspapers and magazines, and their despatch at low rates.

"A further decision was the virtual abolition of customs clearance charges on books and other printed matter not liable to import duties. The Congress urged Member-countries not to impose custom charges on books, newspapers, magazines and book catalogues. This proposal was adopted on the suggestion of Brazil, which expressed its wish 'to co-operate with UNESCO and Member-countries of the Union for the advancement of education and culture throughout the world'."

In India, the new import restrictions and the totally uncivilized activities of the customs department of this so-called Welfare State, have brought the import of books to a standstill. The high duties on imported paper and the excise duties on the indigenous product and the total inadequacy of the paper supply, due to the gigantic wastage of paper by governmental departments and the resultant blackmarkets, have rendered book publishing also very speculative. We, in India, therefore, can have only a passing interest.

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THE RIGHT TO PUT QUESTIONS IN OUR PARLIAMENT

By M. M. LAL, B.A., LL.B., J.D.

"A Government is not democratic simply because it is voted into power by the majority. It is not democratic when it is required to vote for only one party. The test is whether it gives democratic rights to its subjects, if it allows freedom of thought, speech and association to its opponents."

—Dr. S. Radhakrishnan

This freedom of expression given to every member in a legislature promotes the cause of democracy. The right to ask questions is by and large the most effective weapon to exercise this freedom. The questions asked on the floor of the House elicit both valuable information and certain assurances for action from the Government. The extent to which this right is exercised or utilised is the yard-stick of the development and progress of democracy in a country.

This inherent right of members enables them to voice their grievances as also those of the constituents against the policies and administration of the Government. The Government on their part get opportunities to explain their side on important national and international problems. The Government can also know, through questions, public sentiments and adjust their policies and actions accordingly. Many glaring instances of mal-administration, which might otherwise escape the eyes of a Minister in daily routine of office, receive his attention.

In an article published in *First Parliament A Souvenir*, Shri M. N. Kaul, Secretary, Lok Sabha, has lucidly described how the position regarding admissibility of questions underwent a revolutionary change after Independence. The right of question by the members of the Central Legislature was, before the Independence, subject to many restrictions. The President of the Central Assembly, for instance, could not admit a question which concerned Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications without the prior consent of the Governor-General. If a question was considered inconvenient or of an embarrassing nature, the Governor-General could withhold his consent. The reason was that the old Central Assembly was not a sovereign body and its Standing Orders regarding conduct of its business could be superseded by an order made by the Governor-General with the approval of the Secretary of State. Immediately after Independence, these old rules which curbed the sovereignty of the Assembly were recast, and the scope of asking questions was liberalised.

Under the present rules of procedure, one hour has been earmarked for asking questions by members before the House starts its legislative business. During the question hour, a member need not catch the eye of the Speaker or solicit the patronage of his party whip. The Minister whose turn it is to answer a particular question has to stand up and answer it. He should be prepared to face volleys of supplementaries which may be thrust on him by members of the opposition, and it is here that he can exhibit to the best his parliamentary flair by not being entrapped into any kind of "unwary admission of facts or an assurance to take action." For this, a Minister is required to have an intimate knowledge of the subject under question and a ready wit.

Although a Minister harassed by supplementaries can resort to a reply that he required notice, this leaves the impression that he has little grasp over the subject. Such a situation, sometimes, is saved by the Prime Minister who comes to the rescue of the Minister by giving a suitable answer to the supplementary.

In case a Minister ignores supplementary, by saying either yes or no to it, he would invoke the indulgence of the chair.

There are three types of questions: starred, unstarred and short-notice questions. A starred question (indicated by an asterisk mark) is one which requires an oral answer. An unstarred question brings a written reply on the table of the House. While a member has the right to ask any number of questions for written answers, he is not entitled to ask more than three questions for oral answers on a particular day but he must give at least 10 days' notice. If the question is on a matter of an urgent public

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importance, it can be asked as a "Short-notice Question." The reply is to be given within a shorter period, as its name indicates. This is not the end of the matter. If a member is not satisfied with the answer to his question, the rules entitle him to ask for "Half-an-Hour Discussion" on the matter. The average number of questions answered orally in the House is about 20-25 daily and the number of supplementary questions usually permitted to each main question is about six.

About 90 per cent of the questions which are given notices of in the Lok Sabha require oral answers. The Speaker has the discretion to downgrade a starred question to unstarred one, if he feels that the written reply will be most appropriate in the case. If the reply to a starred question involves a lengthy statement or information of a statistical nature, it is made available a few minutes before the commencement of the sitting of the House.

The Speaker as the guardian and custodian of the rights and privileges of the House generally admits questions, answers to which reveal injustice, discrimination or administrative inefficiency. In arriving at a decision in the matter, he is not swayed by any fear that the question might be embarrassing to the Government or land them in an awkward position. He has to judge for himself whether a matter to be raised in the House is in the wider national interest or not. For instance, a question may not refer discourteously to a friendly country or may not seek information regarding Cabinet discussions.

The Speaker has further to see that a question has a reasonable ground. It is disallowed if it is merely intended for mud-slinging. The Speaker has to be watchful that supplementaries do not turn into miniature debates.

Sometimes, the question hour can be suspended to take up Government business, but this measure is resorted to only in exceptional cases. Further, the question hour can lapse also, if the House adjourns due to some unforeseen circumstances. In such cases, the answers to the questions for the day will be made available to the members.

Where the Ministers give assurances to do a particular administrative act in answer to a question put by a member, those assurances are turned into assurances to the Parliament and not merely to the member concerned. In order that these assurances are implemented in the minimum possible time, the Speaker has constituted a Committee called the "Committee on Government Assurances." In his inaugural address to the Committee on Government Assurances of the Second Lok Sabha which began its first sitting on 8th August, 1957, the Speaker Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar stated that out of nearly 5,000 assurances given by the Government during the sessions of the First Lok Sabha, over 4,000 had already been fully implemented.

A different procedure regarding questions is followed in the Rajya Sabha. When the Rajya Sabha met in May, 1952, provision was made for the question hour on two days in a week, but now this has been changed to first four days in a week. This procedure is unlike that prevailing in countries like Canada and Eire where questions are not allowed in Upper Chambers, and is also more liberal than that prevailing in the British House of Lords, where only two days in a week are allowed to the question hour.

In addition to their usefulness in the development of Parliamentary democracy, questions have their lighter side also. They bring forth sometimes, outbursts of laughter which keep the Members and the Ministers in good mood to resume the serious kind of discussion on Legislative matters. The public is much interested in the question hour, and enjoy to see the battle of wits in supplementaries. The repartees of some Ministers during the question hour can be gleaned through from the debates of the Parliament. In March, 1950, when a riot broke out in Delhi, as a result of a procession and a meeting causing some casualties, an M.P. Mr. Kamath rose up and asked why the meeting was allowed at all. Sardar Patel who was Deputy Prime Minister at that time rose to the occasion and replied, "Well, if we had not given permission Mr. Kamath might have moved an adjournment motion and asked, 'What about civil liberties'."

The Pressmen keep the columns of their papers nourished through the questions and answers.

Thus we see that with the passage of time the right of asking questions has assumed a great importance in our Parliament. Its [illegible]

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stance can be illustrated by the fact that notices of 87,675 questions were received in the Lok Sabha Secretariat during the 14 out of 15 sessions of the first Parliament, which came into being in May, 1952, and out of them 43,562 were asked and answered in Lok Sabha. Last year the number of questions reached the peak figure of 22,651. During the 15 sessions of the first five years of the Rajya Sabha, 22,793 questions were received. Of these, 19,979 were starred questions and 2,814 were unstarred questions. The admitted starred questions numbered 7,742.

Commenting on the Question Procedure in the Indian Parliament, Prof. W. H. Morris-Jones in his recent book *Parliament in India* says: "This institution is as highly developed in India as it is in Britain, and in this important respect the Indian Parliament is distinguished not only from those of Continental countries but even from some of the old Dominions. Sir Anthony Eden, in his tour of the Commonwealth, is said to have felt more at home in Indian Parliament's Question Hour than he had in the Australian Parliament."

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ANGLO-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS IN RETROSPECT

By Prof. ARUN KANTI DAS, M.A.

When Sir Anthony Eden fulminated in righteous indignation to warn the British people against the fascist proclivities of "a plunderer whose appetite increased with feeding and whose word was worthless," it probably satisfied the political titterers in the "Suez Group" and elsewhere, but the service rendered thereby to the nation was by no means one upon which he could look back with satisfaction. That a diplomat of the stature of Eden who was one among the first few to see through the designs of axis diplomacy and to denounce the policy of appeasement should be so blind to the realities of political life once again justifies the Hegelian dictum that the only lesson that history teaches is that history teaches no lessons.

To treat Nasser and Hitler on the same footing and with a high emotional fervour may make good rhetoric, but it is surely bad statesmanship. But the fact remains that Nasser is understanded as an expansionist, who seeks to afford the colour of neutralism to his clandestine policy of territorial aggrandisement: who philosophises his own concept of Arab neutrality in a moralising moral tune of it in the harmony of his secret dream of a Holy Arabic Empire. The causes of this almost telepathic realisation from Ankara to Karachi and from London to Paris are not hard to seek. They lie in the position that Egypt holds in the Middle East. They are discernible in the long and chequered history of Anglo-Egyptian relations.

Owing to its geographical uniqueness the Middle East commands the strategic approaches to the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, and the shortest and most convenient air and water-routes. It had traditionally been the contested ground between the seapower of the West and the landpower of Russia which desire access through this area to the warm waters and major commercial routes of the globe. Considering Soviet concentration of industry in the Black Sea-Ural region Russia is particularly vulnerable to attack from the Middle East, a fact that considerably explains the significance of the Truman Doctrine and the Eisenhower theory of power-vacuum. For Great Britain supremacy in the Middle East which was almost complete in 1818, is a paramount necessity as it is located astride the imperial lifeline of the Commonwealth. Her volume of trade with the Middle East and share of traffic in the Suez Canal had been larger than those of any other country. Further the Middle East contains the holiest places of the Moslem, the Jew and the Christian, and, most important of all, in certain areas beneath the arid deserts lie the largest single reserve of oil.

From the political and cultural points of view the Middle East can be divided into two distinct regions. The Northern belt and the Arab core. The former consisting of Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan is distinguished by the fact that it is ethnically non-Arab and that it has a direct boundary with Russia.

Egypt's Middle Eastern policy revolved

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round the fact that she is the most advanced and wealthiest of the Arab states. In the years following the Second World War "the emergence of small new independent states in the Middle East and the ebbing of French and British control in Asia and Africa were creating a 'hinterland' to be dominated and unified by 'somebody'."—(Albert Hourani in the *Middle East Journal*, 1955). Her geographical position no less than her central position in the Muslim and Arab worlds, seems to offer Egypt the chance of becoming leader of the northern half of Africa as far as Arabic was spoken and Islam professed, of divided Arab area and perhaps the countries beyond.

Gamal Abdel Nasser himself said :

"We cannot look at the map of the world . . . . without realising Egypt's position on the map and her role by the logic of that position . . . . It always strikes me that in this area in which we live is a role running aimlessly looking for a hero to give it being . . . . The role is not one of leadership or domination. It is rather a role of interaction . . . . which involves making use of the tremendous latent strength in the regions surrounding us to create a great power in this area which will then rise up to a level of dignity and undertake a positive part in building the future of makind."—(*The Philosophy of the Egyptian Revolution* translated by R. H. Nolte, p. 30).

This observation is quite illuminating and brings to the limelight a considerable portion of the Egyptian policy.

Owing, among other things, to the existence of El-Azhar University, the highest seat of Moslem learning, Egypt has always aspired to spiritual and political leadership in the Arab world. King Farouk, in sharp contrast to Mustafa Kamal of Turkey, believed in stressing Egypt's Arab and Mahomedan character as well as her links to the past. On the other hand, jealous of her leading position among the Arab States as she is, Egypt has consistently opposed the Greater Syria plan as likely to create a rival centre of power and influence. This opposition led to political friendship with Ibn Saud of Arabia, whose fear of the Hashimi house of Iraq and Jordan made him co-operate with Egypt.

In the spring of 1951 Egypt endeavoured to bring about the conclusion of a regional Middle East defence pact that would include Turkey in addition to the Arab states. Egypt's idea was to create a neutral Middle Eastern Bloc, predominantly Arab but strengthened by the inclusion of Turkey. But it failed to evoke any enthusiasm in Ankara for Turkey at the same time was working hard to gain admission in the NATO. Although interested in the regional security of the Middle East Turkey was unwilling to compromise her status as a pro-Western state by adhering to a bloc dominated by a neutralist and largely anti-Western Egypt.

The Anglo-Egyptian conflict dates back to the beginning of the British occupation in 1882. It was an example of brute force—the bombardment of Alexandria, the landing of an armed expedition and the defeat of the Egyptian Army at Tel-el-kebir. At least until 1936 the British position in Egypt had no basis except that of naked power, and the fact determined the attitude of both the Englishmen and the Egyptians. The sense of subordination and servitude engendered in the Egyptian mind so deep, at first dumb, but unswerving and implacable resentment which impotence could mask but not destroy. That is why the Earl of Cromer observed in his *Modern Egypt* (quoted by Albert Hourani in the *Middle East Journal*, 1955):

"Do not let us imagine that under any circumstances we can ever create a feeling of loyalty in the breasts of the Egyptians akin to that felt by self-governing people for indigenous rulers."

Cromer, of course, introduced a policy whereby order was established in the otherwise anarchical condition of finance and administration. But the balance between the sense of resentment and the consciousness of benefit was always precarious so that by 1918 it had completely disappeared in the smoke of national revolution.

On December 18, 1914 Britain had proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt. On February 28, 1922 although she declared the independence

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of Egypt virtual control over Egyptian administration was retained.

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance of 1936 which replaced the Convention of Constantinople of October 29, 1888 had ever been odious to the Egyptian mind symbolic as it was of a considerable amount of State-servitude. The Anglo-Egyptian conflict had always struck the bitterest note on this issue. Art. VIII of the Treaty of Alliance of 1936 laid down :

"In view of the fact that the Suez Canal, whilst being an integral part of Egypt, is a universal means of communication between the different parts of the British Empire, His Majesty the King of Egypt until such time as the High contracting parties agree that the Egyptian army is in a position to ensure by its own resources the liberty and entire security of navigation of the canal, authorises His Majesty the King and Emperor to station forces in Egyptian territory in the vicinity of the canal, in the zone specified in the Annex to this Article . . . . with a view to ensuring in co-operation with the Egyptian forces the defence of the canal . . . . The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt."[1]

It is not at all strange that this Agreement was repudiated twice by Egypt, first in 1947 and then in 1951 although unnecessarily. In October 19, 1954 this Treaty of Alliance of 1936 was replaced by "the Agreement on Evacuation of British Forces and Future maintenance of Suez canal Base" in order to establish Anglo-Egyptian relations on a new basis of mutual understanding and firm friendship. This was denounced by the Egyptian Government after the Anglo-French aggression on Egypt. In fact the Anglo-Egyptian tussle over these agreements is very illuminating and instructive for students of international affairs and international law. For want of space it is more convenient to concentrate on comparatively recent development.

Since 1945 a marked change was discernible in the social set-up in Egypt. By the middle of 1920 a middle class had emerged in Egypt. The population figure had reached the optimum but the standard of living was not rising. The surplus population was gradually pushed into towns and thus into poverty and discontent. The accumulation of capital by landowners together with the growth of the town population provided the conditions for the development of an Egyptian industry. The system of official schools had expanded greatly at primary and secondary levels and the University of Cairo was forming a new professional elite. From this emerged the new middle class of Egypt connected with industry which "wished for political power in order to use the machinery of Government, to help the growth of young industries and looked upon Britain as a rival, whose goods filled the Egyptian market and whose Government used its influence in the interests of its own middle class" (Albert Hourani : *Ibid*). The peasantry was growing articulate and powerful; in the absence of a stable class structure people of peasant origin could rise quickly to wealth and authority while the system of education was producing an intelligentsia near enough to the root of the peasant life.

By 1945 these developments led to the emergence of new forces, powerful and resourceful, which could no longer be grouped around the two rallying points of the Wafd and the Palace. This contributed to the political instability in Egypt between 1945 and 1952. The communists and the Musilm brothers tried in their different ways to absorb this feeling until part of it, although by no means, all, was canalized for a time by the new military regime under Neguib. The year 1950 brought to a head the long-drawn-out controversy between Egypt and Britain over the canal zone and the Sudan question. Ever since the abortive Sidkey-Bevin agreement of 1946 the determination of Egypt to put an end to the British occupation had grown steadily in intensity and concentration of purpose. Britain for her part was increasingly concerned with the general problem of Middle East defence in which Egypt held a key position. But no possibility of reconciliation was there and when the Wafdist party came into power in Egypt in January 1950, the prospect was by no means bright. The conversation which took

1. See *Suez Canal—A Documentary Study*, Lok Sabha Secretariat publication, p. 50.

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place in Cairo in the summer of 1950 on the subject of Middle East defence made it abundantly clear that "only if Egypt were actually attacked would she tolerate the presence of British forces on her soil" (Huge Schonfield: *The Suez Canal in World Affairs,* p. 134).

The British view was that Soviet Union expected war with the west and in that event Egypt would be one of the Russian objectives since he who holds Egypt holds the Middle East. If countries from the Middle East joined the U.K. and the U.S.A. the danger could be driven away from the Middle East. Hence Britain looked forward to defence arrangements with Egypt.

But Nahas Pasha insisted on evacuation and argued that it would only be the presence of foreign troops which would make Egypt the target of a Russian aggression, should there be any. Britain, he said, could easily transfer her troops from the canal zone to Palestine or Gaza. From there if need arose, they could be in Egypt within a week. Further if the existence of a threat of war was held to justify the maintenance of British troops in the canal zone the occupation would be permanent because the danger of war would never disappear. Neither Turkey nor Iran was occupied by foreign troops yet they were in danger of direct invasion.

But in London the Egyptian base was regarded as essential for Middle East defence. Hence Britain stuck firmly to the Anglo-Egyptian treaty. It is at this moment that Egypt decided on a show down and on November 16 she declared :

"The Egyptian Government believe that the1936 treaty has lost its validity as a basis of Anglo-Egyptian relations and the decision is inevitable that it should be abrogated. It therefore becomes inevitable to decide upon the cancellation and arrive at new clauses based on other principles, namely total and immediate evacuation and the unity of Egypt and the Sudan under the Egyptian Crown."[2]

In London the Egyptian declaration was not accepted as a challenge. On October 8, 1951 the Egyptian Government announced its intention of denouncing the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and the Sudan Condominium Agreement of 1899. Two days leater fresh proposals were presented by Britain and summarily rejected by Egypt.

The causes of this outright rejection are intelligible. For the proposals "exhibited not the slightest intention of complying with Egypt's requirements and putting an end to the intolerable tradition of occupation. What was offered was that several foreign devils should take the place vacated by one foreign devil." Egypt was invited to become a full and equal partner of an Allied Middle East Command to assure the defence of Egypt and the adjacent area. The British garrison in the canal zone, the proposal stated, would be replaced by an allied force composed of troops of the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and Turkey. On October 15, this proposal was rejected by Egypt and two days later the U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson publicly declared full American support of British position and condemned Egypt. In the ensuing few weeks the plan for a Middle Eastern defence pact was hatched.

"The whole approach of Britain and her Western Allies was extraordinarily one-sided. They seemed to assume that they had the right to impose on the Middle East a defensive system favourable to themselves because of their fears of the area falling into the hands of a Power inimical to them."[4]

In fact it signified a basic departure from the position of the amended Suez Canal convention, that only Britain had a right to defend the canal in conjunction with Egypt in case of war and if Egyptian forces should prove inadequate.

The conservative Government which succeeded the Labour Government in Grent Britain upheld the latter's action. Egypt formally declared on October 27 that her alliance with Britain had ended. Since then the whole story was one of mass fighting, guerrilla attacks followed by reprisals between Egyptians and the British forces in the canal Zone. On January 19, 1952

2. Schonfield: *Ibid,* p. 136.

3. *Ibid,* p. 141.
4. *Ibid,* p. 142.

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Ismailia was the scene of a pitched battle between the 'Buluk Nizam' (Egyptian auxiliary police) and the English troop which occupied the Town. This led to the Cairo riots on January 26. On the 27th Farouk dismissed Nahas Pasha and appointed in his place a veteran statesman Ali Maher Pasha.

This state of political turbulence continued for six months and the palace-appointed anti-Wafdist Cabinets confronted either a bellicose Wafd-dominated parliament or after its dissolution on March 29, a dangerous Political vacuum.

This vacuum was suddenly filled up by the revolution of July 23, spear-headed by the Revolutionary Command Council led by Neguib.

The new regime inherited from the previous one two major unsettled issues, namely, those of Suez and the Sudan. With regard to the latter an agreement was reached with Britain on February 12, 1953 and subsequently the Sudanese Constituent Assembly proclaimed the independence of Sudan on December, 1955 and was promptly recognised by Egypt, Britain, the Soviet Union and U.S.S.R.

II

The Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1954

The new regime in Egypt came to a settlement with Britain on the Suez issue on October 19, 1954 when the parties concluded the Anglo-Egyptian "Agreement on Evacuation of British forces and Future maintenance of Suez Canal Base" providing amongst other things for the future maintenance of the base and its reactivation in the event of an attack on Egypt, any other member of the Arab League or Turkey.

On January 1, President Nasser abrogated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1954 with retro-active effect from October 31, 1956, *i.e.*, on the date on which the Anglo-French intervention was launched. The Egyptian statement said that the British Government had "violated the treaty by its aggression against Egypt."* The British Government did not recognise the Egyptian Government's right to abrogate the treaty by unilateral action.

In view of the fact that the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 was twice denounced by the Egyptian Government and was brought before the Security Council for its pronouncement on the dispute, for example in 1947, the whole question merits a little investigation from the legal pont of view.

The agreement of 1954 ostensibly designed "to establish Anglo-Egyptian relations on a new basis of mutual understanding and firm friendship," laid down as follows (the relevant articles are quoted):

"Art. 1. H.M. forces shall be completely withdrawn from the Egyptian territory . . . . within 20 months from the date of signature of the Agreement.

"Art. 4. In the event of an armed attack by an outside power on any country which at the date of signature of the present Agreement is a party to the Treaty of Joint defence between Arab League States, signed in Cairo on April 13, 1950, or on Turkey, Egypt shall afford to the United Kingdom such facilities as may be necessary in order to place the base on a war footing and to operate it effectively. These facilities shall include the use of Egyptian ports within the limits of what is strictly indispensable for the abovementioned purposes.

Art. 12.(a) The agreement shall remain in force for the period of seven years from the date of signature. (b) During the last 12 months of that period the two contracting Governments shall consult together to decide on such arrangements as may be necessary upon the termination of the Agreement. (c) Unless both Governments agree upon any extension of the Agreement, it shall terminate seven years after the date of signature and the U.K. Government shall take away or dispose of their property then remaining in the Base."[5]

It appears to me that the Egyptian argument that the agreement has lost its *raison d'etre*, seems to be validated by the principle known in International Law as *Rebus sic stantibus*.

Treaties may be terminated on numerous grounds and the termination depends on general legal principles partly influenced by the

* Keesing's *Contemporary Archives*, 1957-58, P. 15300.

5. For the full text, see *Suez Canal—A Documentary Study*. Lok Sabha Secretariat publication, pp. 55-58.

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special nature of international conditions. In conformity with the principle "Pacta Sunt Servanda" a treaty is valid unless there exists a special reason for its invalidity.

The *Clausula rebus sic stantibus* is a very old and important doctrine of international law which lays down that "every agreement is concluded with the tacit reservation that it is valid only as long as there is no vital change of circumstances, which would make the performance of the treaty a serious danger to the party."[6] As Oppenheim[7] too observes, "It is an almost universally recognised fact that vital changes of circumstances may be of such a kind as to justify a party in demanding to be released from the obligations of an unnotifiable treaty" and so it is agreed that "all treaties are concluded under the tacit condition of *rebus sic stantibus*."[8]

The principle of course may be abused obviously. But its paramount necessity cannot be questioned. "The consent of a State to a treaty," says Oppenheim,[9] "presupposes a condition that it is not fraught with danger to its existence and vital development."

Numerous judicial cases are advanced to explain why a change of circumstances may legally alter the obligations of a treaty. Of these two especially apply to the Anglo-Egyptian agreement.

Firstly, there is "the definition of the doctrine based upon the promotion of State interests" which states that "the obligations of a treaty terminate when, as a result of a change of circumstances, the interests of a party are injuriously affected by fulfilment of the treaty."[10] This definition which is supported by Oppenheim is of considerable antiquity and can be traced to Machiavelli and is found as at least one element in definitions of Spinoza, Bynkershoek, Del Bon and Bielfield.

Secondly, some writers emphasise the nature of the change of circumstances and contend that "the obligations of a treaty terminate in case of an intervening change of circumstances which is "essential," "fundamental or vital." Of these "essential" changes a few are "the violation of the treaty by one party, the change from a status of peace to one of war between the parties" and among the "non-essential" changes are "suspension of diplomatic relations, a change or revoution in the form of Government of a state party to that treaty."[11]

The doctrine has been applied in numerous decisions of National Tribunals, e.g., in Lucerne Vs. Aargan (1882), Thurgan Vs. St. Gallen (1928)), Bremen Vs. Prussia (1925), Rothschild and Sons Vs. Egyptian Government (1925), Hooper Administration Vs. United States (1887), etc. But whenever the doctrine has been invoked before an International Tribunal, the latter while not rejecting it in principle, has refused to admit that it could be applied to the case before it. The decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice on June 7, 1932 in the case of "The Free Zones of Upper Savoy and the District of Gex" is a good example. One arbitral award does recognise that the obligations of a treaty may be affected in case fulfilment of the obligations would be self-destructive of a party. In the Russian Indemnities case (1912) a Hague Arbitration Tribunal in an award of November 11, 1912, observed, in connection with the argument of Turkey, that she had an obligation to pay interest to damages to Russia for non-payment of indemnities.

"The Imperial Russian Government expressly admits that the obligation of a State to fulfil treaties may give way if the very existence of the state should be in danger, if the observance of the international duty is . . . . 'self-destructive'." In this case the exception of *force majeure* was refused because it was concluded that the payment of the relatively small sums due Russian claimants would not "imperil the existence of the Ottoman Empire or seriously compromise its International or external situation."

In fact, a number of States invoked the doctrine of *Rebus sic Stantibus* by name. For

6. Alf Ross: *A Textbook of International Law*, p. 219.
7. Oppenheim: *International Law*, Vol. I.
8. Oppenheim: *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. C. Hill: *The Doctrine of Rebus Sic Stantibus in International Law*, The University of Missouri Studies, p. 12.
11. Hill: *Ibid*, p. 13.

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example, the termination of Capitulations in Turkey (1914-1923), the Dispute between France and Great Britain (Morocco) (1922) presented before the Permanent Court of International Justice, the abrogation by the Soviet Government of some treaties concluded by the Czarist Government, the termination of extra-territoriality in 'China' (1926), the termination of Consular Jurisdiction in Persia (1927-28), the Free Zones Dispute between France and Switzerland (1928-32) are cases in instance.

Art. 19 of the Covenant of the League envisages revision of treaties. As interpreted by the Assembly it permits the giving of advice to parties to a treaty "when the state of affairs existing at the moment" of the conclusion of a treaty "has subsequently undergone either materially or morally such radical changes that their application has ceased to be reasonably possible". This is sometimes interpreted to imply recognition of the principle of *rebus sic stantibus*. The U.N. Charter has no analogous provision.

On July 8, 1947, Nokrashi Pasha accused Britain before the Security Council on two counts: (1) Britain was guilty of maintaining her troops in Egyptian territory against the will of the people. This constituted "an infringement of the fundamental principle of sovereign equality and is therefore contrary to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter" and that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of August 26, 1936 "cannot bind Egypt any longer having outlived its purposes besides being inconsistent with the Charter." Under Art. 35 and 37 of the Charter, Egypt requested the Security Council to direct: (a) total and immediate evacuation of British troops from Egypt including the Sudan, (b) the termination of the then administrative regime in the Sudan.

In trying to establish the legal invalidity of the treaty Nokrashy Pasha argued that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 "had been negotiated under international conditions that no longer existed," and on the understanding that the provisions were "of a purely temporary nature."

"Only in name did he (Nokrashy Pasha) refrain from invoking *rebus sic stantibus*."[12] The arguments he advanced were "all implicitly based upon the assmuption of such a doctrine of international law." For the United Kingdom Sir Alexander Cadogan sought to emphasise the principle of 'pacta sunt servanda' and observed that "the argument against the treaty of 1936 on *rebus sic stantibus* lines would seem to have no legal foundation whatsoever."

It is interesting to see that the representatives of Poland, the Soviet Union and in a sense those of Brazil and Australia recognised the applicability of *rebus sic stantibus* to the Egyptian view, but the last two maintained that if the Security Council were to accede to the Egyptian demand disregarding the provisions of a treaty still in force "it might establish a dangerous precedent likely to subvert the principle of respect for treaty obligations." They held that the Security Council should recommend a peaceful adjustment by direct negotiation, etc. The U.S. and the Syrian delegates suggested that the dispute being legal in character should be referred to the International Court of Justice.

On September 10, 1947 the Security Council adjourned further discussiin on the question while technically retaining it on the agenda.

Herman W. Briggs[13] observed: "It is not surprising that Egypt preferred not to rest her case on judicial arguments. She had no legal case." Had she taken the question before the International Court of Justice that Court, he says, could only have concluded: (1) that by Articles 8 and 11 of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, Egypt had authorised the British to station troops in certain portions of the Egyptian territory and the Sudan, (2) that the treaty was still in force, and (3) that it could lawfully be terminated only by agreement between the parties.

On October 8, 1951 again, as we have seen, Premier Nahas Pasha abrogated the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty which was approved by the Parliament on October 15. His argument was based on *rebus sic stantibus*.

It appears to me that the situation in the Middle East has undergone changes after the conclusion of the Agreement of 1954, which are

12. H. W. Briggs in *The American Journal of International Law*, 1949, p. 769.

13. *The American Journal of International Law*, 1949, p. 768.

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so vital, fundamental and serious in nature as to justify an application of the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus* to the Egyptian abrogation of the treaty on January 1, 1954. In fact the nature and gravity of the changes in the international situation are by no means comparable to those witnessed in 1947 or 1951. Even assuming that the trend of events in the Middle East and elsewhere did not quite justify the demand for abrogation of the treaty of 1936 on those two occasions it would be sheer travesty of truth as well as a misreading of the relevant rules of international law if the same argument is advanced now. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1954 will prove itself an anachronism if studied in the light of Middle Eastern diplomacy.

To begin with, it is palpable that provision in Art. 4 of the Treaty of 1954 that the United Kingdom may in the event of an armed attack on Turkey or any other state which is a party to the Treaty of Joint Defence between Arab League states, the Egyptian ports will go under British control as the term "what is strictly indispensable" is extremely elastic in meaning and the decision in this respect will virtually lie on U.K.

But more important is the fact that until 1961 the Suez canal zone may at any moment by reoccupied by U.K. under the terms of this agreement.

No serious student of international affairs and history will deny the fact that the situation in the Middle East and elsewhere has undergone such a profound change that an adherence to this agreement will definitely jeopardise the national interest of Egypt. Let us examine this point.

When in 1953 the original Western plan to form a Middle East Defence Organisation failed mainly owing to Egypt's opposition, Washington and London devised a new formula which was to concentrate on the so-called Northern Tier, *i.e.*, the chain of countries between Turkey and Pakistan which were conscious of a possible Soviet intervention and as such were expected to enter into bilateral or multilateral military assistance agreements. The results were briefly the Turko-Pakistan Military Assistance Pact (April 2, 1954) and similar agreements between Turkey, Iraq and Iran, and the U.S. military aids to Turkey, treaty with Pakistan (May 19, 1954) and similar aid to Iraq.

When on February 24, 1955 Iraq under the guidance of Nuri Said and Turkey concluded the Turkey-Iraq Pact and Britain adhered to the same on March 30, 1955 it definitely antagonised Egypt and Saudi Arabia. On October Iran joined it.

In the second annual meeting of the Council of Baghdad Pact held in Teheran from April 16-19 and attended by Persia, Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq and Britain to which U.S.A. sent observers, the members decided, in consonance with its primary objective of "no relaxation of measures designed to strengthen the detensive capacity of the area" for the purpose of resistance to communism, to set up a permanent organisation to devise "methods of combating communist and the subversive activities in the Baghdad Pact area."[14]

In the Bermuda conference U.S.A. announced its intention to participate actively in the Military Committee of the Baghdad Pact.

It is interesting to note how Turkey reacted to the Egyptian criticism of the Baghdad Pact. Mr. Menderes, the Turkish Prime Minister, in a broadcast from Radio Ankara on April 29, 1956 said :

> "The Egyptian leaders are behaving like the last adherents of an imperialism which is going out of fashion ; they want to be the leaders of a group in Africa and the Middle East. Since they find it against their aims they have not been able to restrain themselves from attacking the Baghdad Pact . . Turkey and the other members of the Pa have displayed patience in the face of this campaign, but there is a limit . . . . "[15]

The sentiment betrayed here requires explanation. Turkey and Iraq have irrevocably aligned themselves, in sharp contrast with the members of the Arab League in favour of the West. And in spite of the repudiations of the Eisenhower doctrine as expressed in the Cairo "summit" meeting on January 18, 1957 when we take into account King Saud's hobnobbing

14. Keesing's *Contemporary Archives*, 19[illegible] p. 14873.
15. *Ibid.*

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with the U.S. as manifested during his visit to that country on January 29 and the joint communique declaring that "they had agreed on certain basic principles affecting the situation in the Middle East: that Saudi Arabia would continue its close co-operation with the United States and that the U.S.A. would provide military assistance to Saudi Arabia while being permitted the continued use of the Dhaharan air field for another five years,"[16] the situation must appear highly intriguing for Egypt. And we have to remember that Saudi Arabia's relations with the U.S.A. has almost always been cordial and intimate. This coupled with recent developments in Jordan have virtually isolated Egypt in the Middle East where she can possibly count only upon Syrian support. Even an entente cordiale between the not-very-friendly Hashimi House of Jordan and the House of Saud may be forged in the near future. In spite of occasional reiteration of faith in the highly nebulous association of sentiments called Arab solidarity the situation has radically changed for Egypt from what it was during the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1954.

Finally as a result of the open Anglo-French aggression on Egypt on October 31, 1956 the Treaty of 1954 lost its *raison d'tre*.

When on the ground of Israeli attack on Egypt on October 29, 1956 Britain and France sent a 12-hour ultimatum urging upon both the parties to stop fighting and withdraw their forces to a distance of 10 miles from the Suez Canal with a clear note that Anglo-French intervention would follow in case of non-compliance, it outraged all principles of morality and law. It was not only an instance of machiavellian state-craft in which fidelity to covenants finds no place, but it was the most flagrant violation of the U.N. charter.

Art. 4 of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1954 was not obviously invoked because in that case France could not be a party to that aggression. Consequently this British action could not be justified under Art. 51 of the U.N. Charter. The big idea ostensibly was to forestall the possibility of war spreading throughout the Middle East as well as to ensure smooth traffic through the Suez. It is on these grounds that Britain and France launched their attack on October 31 on Egyptian territory, ports and even on places which do not strictly fall within the ambit of target-area bombing.

In the face of universal condemnation Britain and France emphasised the righteousness of the task designed to reconcile "Egyptian sovereignty with the needs of the world" (Earl of Home in the House of Lords, November 1). Of course one need not be emphatic in order to be right and sheer jugglery of words cannot alter the material value of facts. It is difficult to understand by what logical tour de force two members of the United Nations can arrogate to themselves the sacred duty of reconciling at the point of arms the sovereignty of another nation with what they consider to be the needs of the world. Under the Charter only the U.N.O. can collectively intervene in the affairs of another country in matters which are not within the latter's domestic jurisdiction (excluding enforcement measures under Ch. VII of the Charter).

We have already seen that the Anglo-French intervention could not be justified under Art. 51 of the U.N. Charter. Art. 39 of the Charter lays down that "the Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Arts. 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security." Arts. 41 and 42 lay down the measures, non-forcible and forcible respectively, which the Security Council may adopt in order to restore international peace. In the clash between Egypt and Israel these functions of the Security Council were usurped by the Anglo-French Government. It is also a flagrant violation of Art. 4 of the Charter.

The whole behaviour of the Anglo-French bloc inside the U.N.O. and outside are not such as to enthuse the lovers of peace. The Anglo-French refusal to brand Israel as aggressor, as contemplated by the U.S. resolution, veto to the resolution of the Security Council and later on their attempts to dictate terms to the U.N. regarding the withdrawal of

16. Keesing's *Contemporary Archives*, 1957-58, p. 15360.

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their forces, are too suggestive to require any explanation.

The whole episode was a part of a larger plan to oust Nasser from the seat of power and to enthrone some one who would be amenable to the Anglo-French arguments. The nationalisation of the Suez canal following the Anglo-U.S. refusal to finance the Aswan Dam project set the ball rolling.

The Anglo-U.S. refusal to sell arms to Egypt in the summer of 1955, the supply of British Sherman tanks to Israel through France as revealed in the British White Paper of January 19, the British and French supply of war-ships, tanks, bombers and fighter planes during May and June are all very significant. In fact this supply of arms to Israel were of such proportions that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd himself confessed on July 2, that the balance of military strength in the Middle East was "rather in favour of Israel."

After the nationalisation of the Suez canal, Eden called up reservists, moved warships to the Mediterranean and more British air power to Cyprus. The British Ambassador to Israel was asked to obtain guarantee from Israel of non-aggression against Jordan (due to the Anglo-Jordan mutual defence treaty), but there was no request, at least no public request, that Israel should not attack Egypt.

Numerous allegations were made in the *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* "alleging collusion in military operations between the British, French and Israel Governments"[17] against Egypt. Questions were raised by Mr. Swingler (Lab.) and Mr. Arthur Henderson (Lab.) on this point and denied by the Government. But there is a shrewd suspicion that in that mysterious meeting on October 16 when Eden flew into the sympathetic arms of Mollet in Paris and were closeted without aides for four hours, the whole plan was chalked out. This is all the more strengthened by the fact that the U.S.A. was kept absolutely in the dark about the nature of the decision.

George Lenczowski had observed[18] that by the agreement of 1954 Egypt "made sure that any outbreak of hostilities between herself and Israel would not serve as a pretext for Britain's return to the base." But diplomacy does its job in many ways. This Anglo-French aggression as a result of which the relation between Egypt and Britain changed from one of status of peace to status of war obviously destroyed the agreement of 1954.

As Lenczowski himself admitted, by this agreement of 1954 Egypt "linked her security to that of Turkey and thus, however, indirectly, became involved with Western strategy."[19] This realisation makes the whole Anglo-Egyptian agreement odious to all fair-minded people. In fact the whole Anglo-Egyptian conflict does not revolve round the Suez affairs alone. In this bipolarised world Egypt is a neutralist among the Afro-Asian group, with her sympathy in the present circumstances extending towards the communist world. On the Sudan issue too Britain and Egypt were at logger-heads. In regard to the North African colonies of France Egypt feels strongly against Britain, France and even the U.S.A. Again, as Albert Hourani points out, both Britain and the U.S.A. moved partly by the desire to eliminate a cause of instability in the Middle East and partly by a sense of guilt would like the Arab States to accept the existence of Israel but here the Egyptian and Arab intransigence is unyielding. An interesting point is that Israel's relation with Turkey is different "Turkey, although she voted against partition never manifested hostility toward Israel. She was the first in West Asia to recognise Israel. By virtue of her more westernised outlook Turkey even had some affinities with Israel That is why the Anglo-Egyptian rivalry is deep seated. And when we consider the interlocking of the numerous defensive alliances like NATO, Baghdad Pact, SEATO, etc., the situation becomes highly dangerous for Egypt especially when British fidelity to international undertakngs and respect for the U.N. charter had not been very commendable. Turkey, for example, is a member both of the NATO and the Baghdad Pact, the defence of Turkey and Iraq is contemplated in the agreement of 1954,

17. Keesing's *Contemporary Archives*, p. 15319.

18. George Lenczowski: *The Middle East in World Affairs*, p. 428.

19. *Ibid*, p. 428.

20. Lenczowski: *Ibid*, p. 292.

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Pakistan is a member both of the Baghdad Pact and SEATO.

It may be stretching the imagination too far, but it is by no means impossible that an attack by "an outside power," say on Portugal or on Vietnam may precipitate a chain of events as a result of which Britain may invoke Art. 4 of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1954. Obviously fulfilment of the treaty would jeopardise the national interest of Egypt.

Judging from all these considerations, I believe that the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus* may be applied to the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty. It may be referred to the International Court for its pronouncement on the matter. Schonfield observed in connection with the Agreements of 1936 and 1899, "Perhaps it was more straightforward for Egypt to denounce the Agreements of 1936 and 1899, however illegal it might be to act unilaterally, because these agreements no longer correspond to the realities of the situation, than for Britain to profess to uphold the Suez Canal Convention when it had demonstrably lost its validity."[21] The same argument applies to the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1954.

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SARVODAYA AND DECENTRALISATION

By Prof. MADAN GOPAL BHASIN, M.A.

FOUR questions are fundamental to an exhaustive exposition of this subject. First is the definition of the ends and the means. Second is the nature of their relationship. Third, whether the ends justify the means or the means settle the ends. The fourth is in no way less important. It demands a decision between the two conflicting views: whether the ends are to be decided first or the means are to be settled first. The answers to these four questions have a vital bearing on Sarvodaya (the ends) and Decentralisation (the means). This analytical survey would facilitate and hasten evaluations.

The ends are synonymous with objectives, targets and the goals. This is the terminus or the end of the journey. The means, on the other hand, are popularly known as rules and regulations, principles and procedures. This is a *modus operandi,* and approach and a way to achieve the ends.

The two are organically inter-dependent. Their relation is like the two sides of the coin. The end is the obverse side whereas the means form the reverse side. The two are bridged by human endeavours and sacrifices. This relationship, when borne in mind, gives a complete perspective, a panoramic view, and thereby enlightenment to the mind.

Both the ends and the means should be just, righteous, and universal in scope and extent, and not parochial, sectarian and limited. The latter would simply blur the vision or transmit inverted images. Vested interests defile, narrow outlook confuses, and indifference harms both the ends and the means. The two unfortunately are variously understood in this world torn with strife, hatred and selfishness. To confirm the foregoing statement one may focus one's attention on the last hope of peace, the U.N.O. Here is enacted a strange drama. The Russian plans and suggestions are rejected outright if not condemned by America or her allies. This may be said of the Russians as well. The heterogenous units forget the fundamental fact

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they have in common and that is the basis of human life. The physical differences, cultural traits, social mores, customs and practices vary widely. This is due to differences in natural environment and the nurture, that is, upbringing. This makes an Eskimo differ from the Bushman of Kalahari, civilised Europeans and Uncle Sam from the Negroes and the cultured Indians. Similarly, the Nordic race differs from the Mongoloid and the Negro race in the structure of the lips and the hairs, the colour of the skin, the height, and the social practices. Similarly, one finds the co-existence of various types and ways of life in this world. And this is the reason to be advanced to confirm the inherent unity in diversity. This is explained by the uniform basis of human life from the North Pole to the South Pole, and the Greenwich Meridian to the International Date-Line. This fact must enter and lodge in all human cells, so that the hostility between man and man is ended for all times to come. I know this emphasis would throw the entire blame on man, and, that is what has to be manfully accepted. His shortcomings, and his inability to create balanced environment and balanced personality is the point being stressed. How can he overcome his shortcomings is a challenge to the entire world, and not to the underdeveloped countries only.

Should the ends be decided first or the means be settled first? Opinions may differ on this as well. It can be due to sentimental and emotional attachment to personalities and ideologies. The decision carries the utmost importance and requires an open mind to adjudicate. In my opinion, the ends should be decided first. The aim, thus, becomes clear. The second step should be to explore suitable ways and means to achieve the objective. Therefore the means must be chosen dispassionately. Following Gandhiji, these should be just and righteous: the means should be based on Truth and Non-violence. Furthermore, the means should be speedier, and not slow as tortoise. Delays in execution injure the cause and produce more often embitterments and embarrassments. It is here that one feels the weight of the old adage—that the wrong man at the right place and the right man at the wrong place has a nuisance value. To re-orientate social values we should proclaim a statute that the ends and the means are inseparable and cannot be divorced from one another. Both should be as broad as the finite and expanding Universe and as deep as eternity. Both should be championed, as Gandhiji proclaimed, on vehicles of Truth and Non-violence, thus cultivating a living faith in the above statute. These should be carried through fearlessly and selflessly. Lord Buddha, Gandhiji and Christ followed the same pattern and thus became immortal institutions. Their teachings overflow with warmth of affection, glory of Truth and Non-violence (Love). Above all, by their example of the sacrifice of self these heroic souls blazed the trial for all mortals. Lord Buddha's *Nirvana*, Christ's "Love thy neighbour as thyself" and Gandhiji's Sarvodaya programme are lasting contributions to posterity.

These answers must be understood in this context. The objective must be crystall-clear. The means to achieve it should be just and righteous. It is only then that we can take steps with confidence and faith.

Definition and Scope of Sarvodaya

The term Sarvodaya was used by Gandhiji in January, 1948, and since then it has gained currency. Its meaning is very simple and clear. It is literally translated as the uplift of all, the welfare of all. This concept envisages the goal as a casteless and classless society. It ensures equal opportunities for all. Its message is all for each and each for all. It comprises the good of all—material, mental and spiritual. This concept of Sarvodaya is, in fact, an enlargement of the utilitarian philosophy—the greatest good of the greatest number.

This concept is as old as time. It has permeated in all ways of life—Dharma. Hindus for example, daily pray in the Sarvodaya strain. They wish that all be at peace, that all have plenty, that all be diseaseless and that none should have unhappiness. This prayer exhibits the foregoing as ordinary human weaknesses. Likewise one sees the same type of prayers in other religions like Christianity, Islam, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Jainism, etc., etc. Sarvodaya, the welfare of all, in my humble opinion, is the very essence of all religions and philosophies. These ideals are written

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indelible ink in bold relief on transparent surface. God, in the words of Bhagvad Gita, created Man together with material wealth for his nature and ordained him to share it justly, each with his fellows, to the extent of his just needs so that he reaches a full and purposeful life. The material wealth is in abundance. The bowels of the Mother Earth contain inexhaustible resources which can suffice the needs of growing populations. This view is realistic and cannot be rated as illusory or over-optimistic. The various parts of plants, animals and inorganic elements can be converted into limitless articles of use. The opposite view to this is parochial and limited. Man in that case makes an ambitious assertion that he is a know-all. He has yet to eliminate this weakness. He should know that the present cry of shortages and extinction of resources is primarily due to the unwise use of land and colossal wastage of virtual resources.

The Sarvodaya concept, *whensoever translated into practice*, would bring the Kingdom of Heaven on earth and the Ram Rajya of Gandhiji's dream. The concept at that time will not be a fancy or a hallucination. It is practical and History chronicles it in our glorious periods. The scope of Sarvodaya is not confined to a region or a country. It covers in its extent the two hemispheres, nay, the finite and expanding Universe. It lays emphasis on a stateless society, a wall-less environment, and balanced personalities capable of self-government. This would produce best results. Its end-products would be life-giving commodities and not money. Man will lead a free, happy and fuller life. This type of economy will be known as bio-technic economy and the way of life will be termed as Sarvodaya. The Stateless state would be a Service State. It will evolve balanced personalities and balanced environments. Thus the body, the mind and the spirit would be in equilibrium and unite Heaven and Earth together. To cite an instance, why should a man, having obedient wife, loyal children, a sincere servant, a good house to live in and congenial work to do should think of going to Heaven? This concept has to be specially introduced in all cells of our organic life. Then the man will become Man and the *Sanatana Dharma* will be the Heaven on Earth. Poverty, ignorance and disease will not be in the dictionary of human beings and the need for fighting elections and struggling for power would cease simultaneously.

Impediments

The objective is fixed as Sarvodaya. The roads leading to the goal are now to be explored. It is true that all roads lead to Delhi and that the earth is an oblate spheroid in shape. The goal can be achieved by following the various doctrines, dogmas and the isms. But it can be achieved and, three different things are required for its adoption. An open mind is needed to make a healthy decision. It is useful to recall that the prejudiced mind simply accelerates the crisis. The means should be *swadeshi*. The approach should be natural. The means, as Gandhiji outlines, should be just and righteous, self-denying and self-sacrificng.

The success achieved by centralised society to banish hunger, disease and poverty is partial. It is motivated by selfish strivings and the result is colonisation, grafting of indigenous culture with alien and various complexes. *Robber* economy and raw material economy have thrived and produced inequalities among the inheritors of Mother Earth. This has made differences among the equal-born. It suggests all the more that man has not been evolving on right lines. His path has to be changed, that is, his social ideals are to be revised and the economic structure has to be pruned on the basis of Sarvodaya.

The Technological Era has ushered in the big three problems corroding our major asset —the human family. These are (1) inflation —slow and fast; (ii) unemployment, under-employment—educated as well as uneducated; (iii) co-destruction.

The foregoing discussion necessarily leads us to accept this challenge and frame a fresh plan for the reorganisation of human relationships. The Science of Human Relationships is just in the dormant stage. This, whensoever, it receives attention, will cover the three fundamental conflicts of man and man, Man and Nature, Man and his own self. The need to study this has never been so great and essential, as we find it today. Therefore, it is necessary to

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catalogue obstacles which are likely to sidetrack the devotees of Sarvodaya.

1. Power State and Centralised Society;
2. Living Faith in Material or Money Economy;
3. Belief in "Every thing is well that ends well" and thereby less attention is paid to ways and means;
4. Desire has outrun the ability to deserve;
5. Individual Centralisation, that is, individuals overburdening themselves with responsibilities, thereby limiting opportunities for others;
6. Taking pleasure in wooing shadows, shouting slogans and becoming vociferous, thereby increasing frictions among people.

The Basis of Re-organisation of Humam Relationships

If Centralisation is the root cause of all troubles, then Decentralisation is the panacea. Decentralisation is the reverse of Centralisation. It means spreading from the Centre, thinning the Centre, or lightening the Centre.

The philosophy in support of it is scientific, natural and practical. It relates just needs and just wants. It is natural like the Sun radiating heat, light and actinic rays to all planets, satellites and comets. The latter group take these according to their just needs. Furthermore, the excess of heat received by the various cosmic bodies is radiated back at night. It is given back because it is in excess. This property of the Sun known as insolation makes it self-luminous unlike the Moon. Similarly, the movement of air is from high pressure to low pressure; the rivers follow the gradient; the roots take the nutrition from the earth and despatch it readily to various parts of the plant. This shows the organic inter-dependence in the Cosmos. Nature abhors vacuum; hence no vacuum exists in Nature, in the absolute sense. The natural tendency, as recorded by various scientific instruments, is to flow towards areas relatively vacant, less favoured and underprivileged.

The analogy above, when substituted for human relationships, will make room for a few questions.

1. What is to be decentralised?
2. How should it be phased?
3. Who should bell the cat?

The answer to these pertinent questions must be given to face the issues arising out of Decentralisation. This will be steamrollering all doubts and confusions.

What are centralised are to be decentralised. The economy is to be built anew from top to bottom, from high to low, and not vice-versa. The teacher teaches and the student learns; the father asks and the son obeys, this is what I mean. The centralisations are of four types: (i) Political Centralisation; (ii) Economic Centralisation; (iii) Religious Centralisation; and (iv) Individual Centralisation.

Next, where do we find these centralisations? *Well, all these are found in the culture of cities.* The cities are the points of maximum concentration and over-centralisation. Such places are popularly termed as metropolis, megalopolis, and tyronnopolis. The local self-government is successful enough in safeguarding vested interests in more ways than one. The units of local self-government like corporations, municipal committees, notified area committees, etc., are divorced from the adjoining rural areas. This administrative set-up finds pleasure in forgetting the uninterrupted demographic and economic drain of resources from the countryside. Furthermore, the continuous urban areas are also partitioned (separate) municipalities in a continuous urban area. These points indicate egoistic tendencies. The city area is what the countryside makes it. In fact, the two are to be termed as the poles of a region. The city is at the zenith and the countryside is at the nadir. Both are problem areas. The city suffers from congestion and haphazard development, whereas the countryside is either undeveloped or underdeveloped. In both the areas diversity runs rampant. Everything is unequal. City culture is based on egoism and exploitation. It is the culture of unemployment. It is thus that we have congestion, high urban rents, blighted areas, slums, beggars, delinquency, malformed personalities and an artificial way of life. The city is like a giant rose with no fragrance. The countryside is kept by the city in perennial

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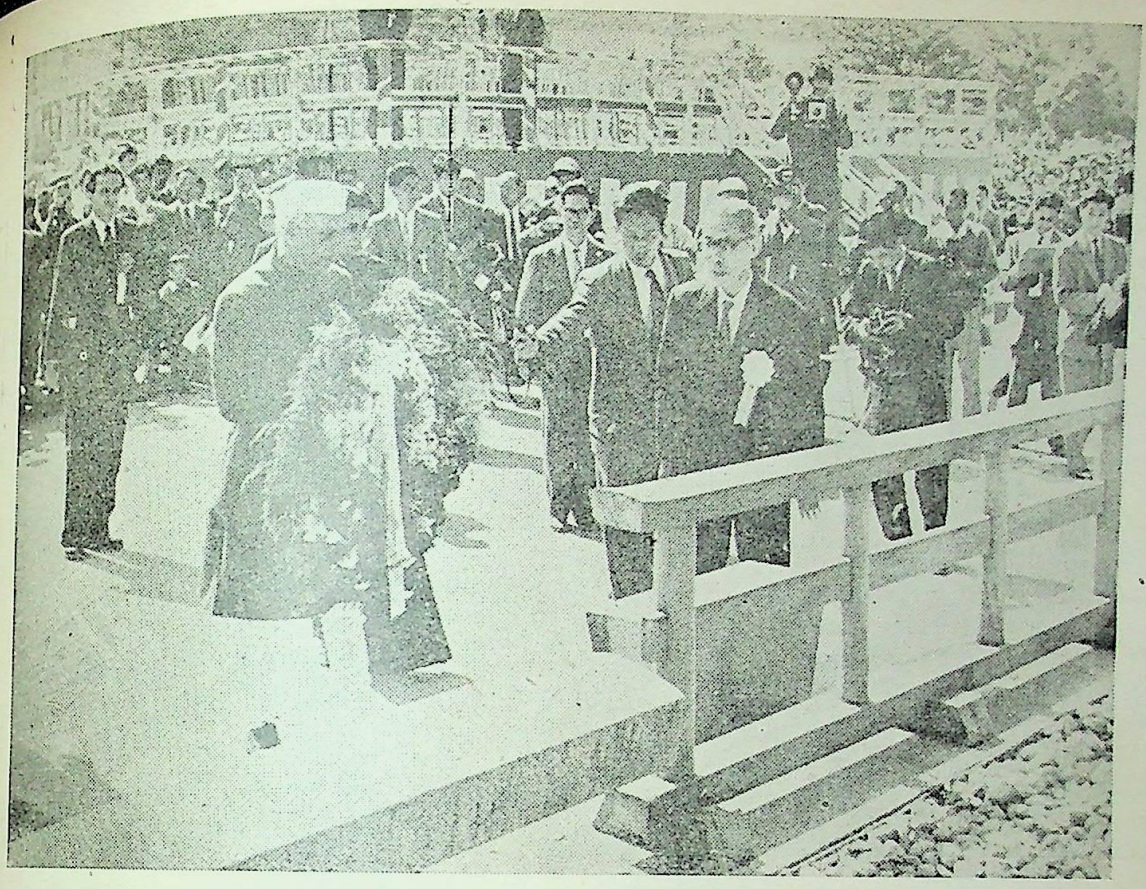

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru laying a wreath at the A-bomb Victims Memorial at Hiroshima in Japan

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru being presented with a bouquet of flowers by a Japanese girl at the Haneda Airport in Japan on October 4

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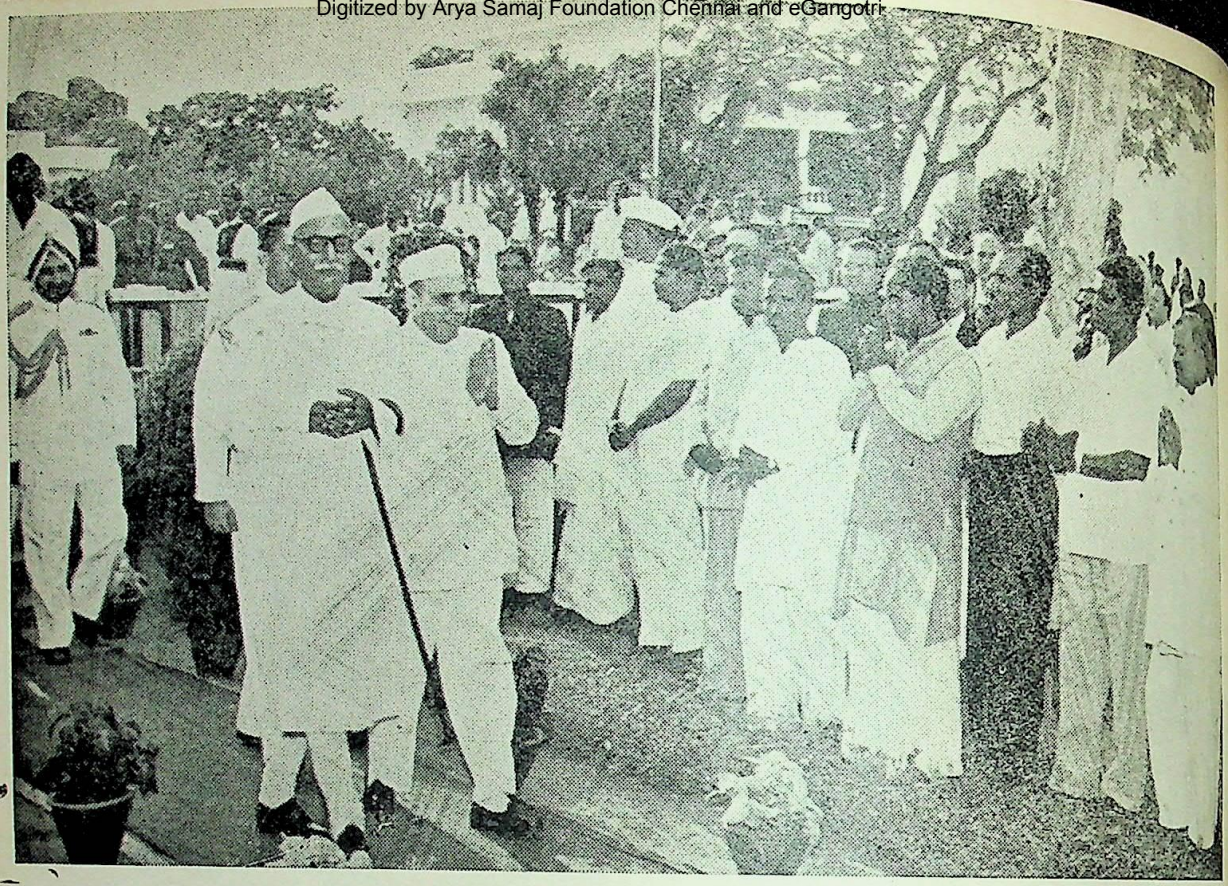
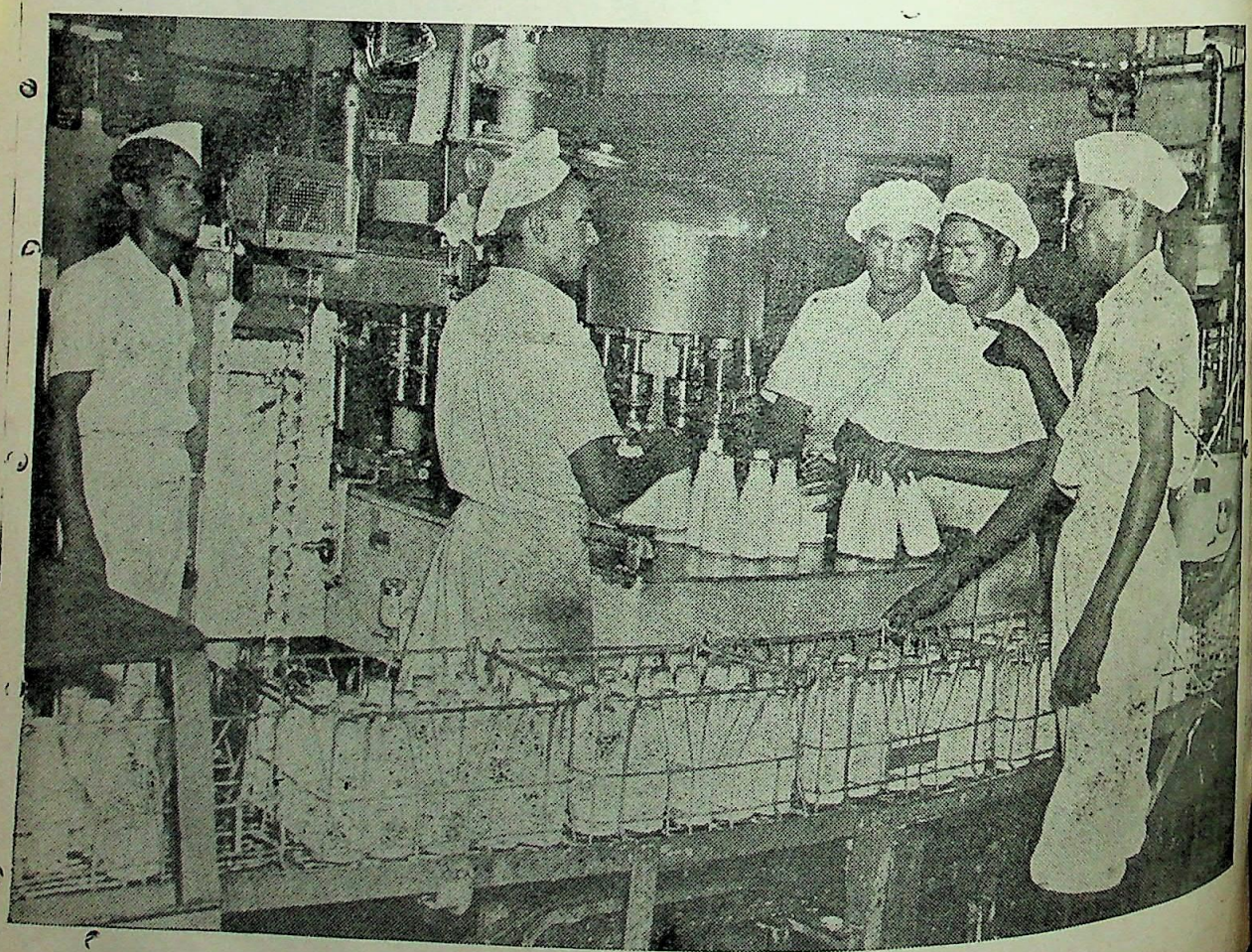


During his visit to Hyderabad, President Dr. Rajendra Prasad attended an At Home given in his honour by Shri Chandu Lal Trivedi, Governor of Andhra



Aarey Milk Colony, Bombay: Bottle-filling plant at the Central Dairy

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dependence. Therefore the countryside always looks up to this giant rose for help and guidance. But, as usual, this sympathy is not forthcoming.

Over-concentration and over-centralisation has almost multiplied problems. To relieve the pressure of population decentralisation has a panacea to offer. This decentralisation has to be carried through by means of just, righteous and approved plans. The planners and administrators should neither be impelled by favouritism nor by profit motives.

Decentralisation has come into limelight only recently. Suburbanisation and extension of cities is just one diluted form of it. It requires to be properly understood. Comprehensive planning at this stage is all the more essential. The basis of decentralisation has to be determined and thereafter to be translated into practice. In my opinion, decentralisation should be planned on geographical or what is popularly known as the regional basis. The region, that is, a homogenous territorial unit is the only composite unit, capable of solving various problems confronting the community. Decentralisation on regional or geographical basis would make available the most appropriate land, use and harmonious functioning of community life. To make this possible a few decisions must be arrived at by all concerned viz:

(i) Limitation of the population of the city;
(ii) Limitation of the size of the city;
(iii) Limitation of the density of population in the city regions.

Without fixing a ceiling limit on these basic questions it is next to impossible to handle situations in an ideal manner. Failing this approach, humanity will always groan under the weight of lopsidedly behaviour pattern of the city culture.

The philosophy of decentralisation on the regional basis is scientific, natural and practical. It means equitable distribution of resources. It applies biosophic and biotechnic economy. It indicates that too much of everything is bad. Excesses result in failures. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. This happens due to false notions of dignity because of the false social values. *The remedy to this is the philosophy and practice of decentralisation on regional basis.* This would open a wide vista of opportunities. This will enable the community *to live and help live.* This will relieve congestions and stop the corrosion of our major asset—the human family. There will be generated a reverence for life and a true democracy.

Decentralisation on regional basis is the only way to appreciate diversity in unity. The search for this objective should be detached and dispassionate. One has constantly to bear in mind that the land and the people are geographically conditioned. Therefore, the people should not be made victims of uniformity by regimentation. Each region has its own personality, and our efforts should be to re-build and re-animate life in that region. This means that the decisions are to be made on the respective merits of each region. This policy is akin to the policy enunciated and adopted by Nehruji as regards foreign affairs of India.

Decentralisation on regional basis is not a weak slogan. It envisages re-adjustments and re-adaptations. This point is very simple. If the entire quantity of milk cannot be held in one can, it is always better to use other cans. If the cans are not there, these should be either immediately procured or manufactured. Similar is the case with cities. The major slice of population should not be allowed to concentrate in the cities for many reasons. First, it limits opportunities for a well-balanced environment and well-balanced personality. Second, it plagues city areas with congestion and problems arising out of congestion. Third there is a colossal waste of resources both human and material. Fourth, it hastens disintegration in the community life. Fifth, it is ready for co-destruction.

Decentralisation on regional basis means re-distribution of population on geographical basis. This is all the more essential in the under-developed economies of countries like India, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan.

The culture of cities is without real roots The life in cities is thoroughly shaky and artificial. Hence the adjustments are ill-balanced and would remain so—until and unless the citizens do not re-orientate themselves in these directions. Sarvodaya—the welfare of all—will be no more than a cheap slogan. Sarvodaya demands decen-

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tralisation on regional basis as a practical step to be taken to achieve the goal.

Decentralisation involves four types:

1. Political Decentralisation.
2. Esonomic Decentralisation.
3. Religious Decentralisation.
4. Individual Decentralisation.

Political Decentralisation

Decentralisation can be initiated with political Decentralisation. It means dispersal of all institutions performing administrative functions and housing political power. This will eliminate local jealousies and establish harmony among various communities. The dispersal has to be phased in a well-defined comprehensive plan. This will increase and strengthen the fundamental unity inherent in diversity. This would considerably reduce the chances of corrupt and illicit practices. The unity will be expressed through the press, the radio and the cinema; and the means of transportation will make possible the organic inter-dependence from region to region and person to person. Failing this approach, disintegration will hasten and history will repeat itself. To cite an instance, Delhi has been the capital and nerve centre of India in all historical epochs, and the downfall of Delhi was always accompanied by the disintegration of the country and foreign rule. This policy of decentralisation on regional basis has other benefits as well. It will make room for the realisation of latent talents and skill available in various regions. It will make available better and healthier accommodations for offices and for residential purposes. It will relieve congestions in the cities. This policy is practical and we can adopt it without fear or doubt.

Economic Decentralisation

It means that all eggs should not be placed in only a few baskets. This policy is gaining currency gradually; but it is too slow. This policy demands the dispersal of existing industries on resource-distribution pattern; new industries to be located at new places; there should be no economic specialisation. There should be reorganisation of labour, capital and management relationship on Sarvodaya basis. This policy would automatically bring about better conditions for the emotional integration of the people. There will be neither strikes nor fraudulent practices. Bio-technic economy would replace money-economy and full employment would be a reality. The new social order would pay a tribute to the old social order, and all will have a happy, healthy, and a freer and fuller life.

Religious Decentralisation

Dharma and religion has dominated the stage for many a century now. The enthusiasts and the devotees have been able to centralise God in institutions like the Church, the Temple, the Pagoda and the Mosque, as if the Almighty God is cabinned and enthroned only at these places. Not only this, some religious devotees have found pleasure in partitioning God and thereby have divided the loyalties of the people. Thus true religion and true religious outlook could not thrive.

God is present everywhere and we call Him by various names. A living faith in Him is a pre-requisite. True religion, as I understand it, comprises realisation of the self and the true expression of this self-realisation to others. Meditation and Sangha are the basic necessities in the realisation of true religion. This message has to be conveyed uninterruptedly from top to bottom, from the true clergy to the laity so that may get the opportunity of realising himself. This means an abiding faith in *reverence for life* and realisation of the fact that we are God's evolution.

Individual Decentralisation

It is the prop of the above-mentioned three types. Unless the individual becomes the beacon light, a self-luminous personality, Sarvodaya the goal can never be achieved. He has to enlighten his own self first and then help others in illuminating others. Gandhi, Buddha and Christ kindled with the fire of self-sacrifice, self-denial and love for Truth and Ahimsa insured for men *bliss, Ananda and Nirvana*. They became institutions by themselves. But the people at large have simply followed them and after their disappearance from this material world they have started paying lip-sympathy

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them and their ideals. They have not been evolving their own personalities in their own way. It is because of this we have hero-worship and not worship of the self. We resort to flattery and exult in propaganda and advertisement. We are hungry for portfolios, that is, positions of high office and dignity, flattering addresses and adulation.

Gandhiji has outlined the attributes for a Sarvodaya worker. These qualities have to be adopted by all and not by a few. It is then that we achieve our goal—the Sarvodaya. It would mean that the responsibility and the powers have to be functionally decentralised so that group functioning ceases to exist and the individual has ideal working condition. I feel that this would enable him to take personal interest and pleasure in the work assigned to him.

Decentralisation on religion basis in the political and economic field and functional decentralisation in religious and individual spheres would lead us to satisfy our physiological, psychological and spiritual wants and needs in a positive and creative manner. When this is so, we have Sarvodaya—the welfare of all, the uplift of all.

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RESEARCHES AND EXPERIMENTS IN EDUCATION IN INDIA

By Principal J. LAHIRI, M.A., B.T., Dip-Ed., (Lond.), W.B.S.E.S. (Rtd.).

Lost knowledge in the field of Education

Knowledge grows apace through research, which adds to the scientific knowledge of objects. So rapid has been the increase of knowledge within recent years that the gap between theory and practice particularly in the field of education tends to widen. Again hundreds of research workers engaged in digging holes in the field of education have produced theses, the large majority of which are being apparently interred in the farthest recesses of University libraries instead of being made available to the field workers in the interest of further progress. It is true that in the field of education some of the theses deal with problems remote from those which are encountered now by those responsible for controlling and teaching children in schools on account of the fact that there is yet too great a gulf between the research worker in the erstwhile segregate Training College and the teacher, which is now being happily bridged up by the more recent Institutes of Education with their Extension Departments. These theses deserve to die but there are undoubtedly many others which are rich in original thought and new knowledge and which throw light on the solution of real class-room problems. These should be published and made available to teachers for further progress in educational methods. It is a known that man progresses by handing on discoveries from generation to generation so that each generation builds on the foundations of the previous one. So the failure of our Universities and Post-graduate Training Colleges to make the results of educational research readily available is a virtual betrayal of the responsibilities of the authorities for building up education on the solid bed-rock of research for the real advancement of learning, for it betrays a lack of national efficiency for which there seems to be no valid excuse.

How to Retrieve this loss

A synthesis of previous researches in a specific field of enquiry has been woefully neglected by our Universities which should not only publish comprehensive titles of theses but also give details. Now that Bureaus of Psychological and Educational Research are being attached to Institutes of Education, it should be possible for these bodies to place their entire resources at the command of the individual researcher. They should have all references properly filed and made readily accessible to workers. All records of previous researches should also contain suggestions for further research, bibliographies and lists of follow-up investigations on kindred problems. Without a thorough acquaintance with statistical procedure no research worth the name can be fruitfully carried out. So it is up to these bodies to lend the individual researcher the services of trained statisticians and a panel of experts to whom the

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Bureau could refer. The Bureau should make available the results of educational research in a form suitable for direct application in the school room. An agreement should be made between Universities on the interavailability of theses so that any thesis can be studied in the students' own University library.

Scientific Education demands close liaison between schools and Training Colleges

Scientific education demands the application of research on day-to-day class-room problems. If education is controlled by constant research it should produce results of outstanding importance in a few years. Hence the need for developing a closs liaison between a school and a Training College. Today there are few things so important in any Training College as the presence of a group of research workers, drawn partly from the profession and partly from University graduates with education or psychology as one of their subjects and with a flair for research digging holes in the almost virgin field for research in education in this country. Indeed today so great has been the increase of modern advances in educational theory and practice that no sooner is a man trained for the profession than he needs a refresher course to bring his training up-to-date.

Value of Research in Education

Research is basically a frame of mind—an attitude of inquiry which alone can confer on the teaching profession a dignity and—an enlightened procedure, for the professionalising of the teachers' calling rests on the capacity for original research displayed by field workers in education. Research economises effort, prevents wastage, increases efficiency and reacts to vitalise and dignify the work of the teacher. It helps inspectors, educational administrators and supervisors to adopt a scientific attitude towards the work of appraising results through age and grade norms in scholastic subjects. It will put an end to the *a priori* criticism of newer methods of teaching by teachers of the old-school clinging to the old ways of doing things. Old ideas die hard. Research develops faith in new methods and points out to old-time conservatives that a man without faith is really dead. Where there is no vision, the people perish. Teachers must have faith in the future of their profession and vision to guide it inevitably to its rightful destiny.

What the average trained teacher can do

It may not be given to the average teacher to take in hand some research work worth the name. He may not have the time, facility and scope for carrying out an ambitious research programme, for a mere collection of data without precisely formulating the problem and applying statistical formulae for interpretation of valid results, does not constitute research. But it is certainly his business to embark on experiments with the help of standardised tests and scales and the application of statistical procedure. When a teacher applies such a procedure to his class and derives from it a result which is valid only for that class, such an effort can hardly be called research deserving publication, although for the teacher himself it may be profitable. He should also give every facility to research workers in education to take tests. If the average teacher stands aside and refuses to help them, they will only have themselves to thank if newer methods, the efficiency of which has been tested by research, are imposed on them from the results of experiments which they do not care to understand, which are really applicable to their day-to-day teaching work and in which they have to share.

Psychology in the Class Room

The marriage of education and psychology is sure to have valuable effects in spreading, for instance, the understanding of individual difference in the organisation of opportune classes for the brilliant who should be given supplementary assignment and be excused from the general drill meant for the average, and of adjustment classes for the slow and the backward, in providing efficient vocational guidance and in numerous other ways. From the point of view of social and educational maladjustment the position of the teacher is thus most strategic. The higher the professional consciousness of the teacher and the greater his sense of responsibility to maladjusted problem children the more positive his contribution to human salvage and social progress, for through guidance the teacher may facilitate personality adjustment in order to help the child to assume

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in due course the fuller responsibilities of democratic citizenship.

EMPIRICAL CHILD-STUDY—A SHEER NECESSITY

Again the knowledge of the pupils is the very foundation of all methods of education which is basically the bringing together (*en rapport*) of the two poles, viz., the subject and child and the way in which teachers seek to make the subject a part of the child's life. Unless, therefore, the teacher understands the workings of the child-mind by studying each child entrusted to his care—the way in which his personality develops and grows—the emotional difficulties he has to contend with in the way of his adjustment and balanced development free from stress and tension—the effect of his social environment on the child, etc., the teachers' methods will be simply blind gropings in the dark. "Every child is a creature of loves and hates, jealousies, aspirations, fears and disappointments." This work of empirical child-study will, of course, add but one more task to the already overburdened teacher; but it is a task which must be tackled resolutely and with vision if a great deal of the value of the teachers' work is not to be lost.

HOW THE NEWER TRAINING COLLEGES CAN HELP IN DIFFUSING A NEW SPIRIT IN EDUCATION

While we welcome the beginning of a new spirit in education brought about by a frame of mind which refuses to accept anything as valid unless established by researches and experiments in a few progressive schools in this country, the large majority of untrained teachers in the rest still remain impervious to new ideals and methods. It is only in the few progressive schools that the idea of the child as a passive recipient of information handed out by the teacher is dying, the "activities" by children themselves are assuming greater importance and the extended use of visual aids is making learning more vivid and enjoyable than before. It will not therefore be extravagant to say that the large majority of schools and teachers still remain unaffected by the changes brought about by the new psychology and researches in the field of education. The child leaves school far too often lacking the essentials of a sound education, the foundations of which are not being well and truly laid because teachers still continue to be ruled by blind tradition. In spite of the mounting cost of education can one honestly say that the individual child is receiving a full share of the teacher's attention and the parent adequate surrender value for the money spent by him on education? Certainly not. The situation can improve only if adequately trained teachers on adequate pay-scales are made available to the schools. Reserach will make the office of the teacher more dignified and with it the role of the amateur in education will decline and ultimately disappear. The newer Institutes of Education should as a normal part of their work conduct research work in various important aspects of pedagogy and establish close liaison with the general body of teachers and through them with class-rooms problems so that teaching and research may go hand in hand resulting in contributions of the greatest significance for the improvement of education.

TWO PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION REQUIRING URGENT RESEARCH

Two of the problems that need urgent research in education may now be discussed. A new curriculum for the higher secondary schools has been constructed by a panel of experts but the framers have made it perfectly clear that it is only tentative and that it should be constantly reviewed, reshaped and readjusted with new accretions of facts, truths, processes, principles, etc., as new facts emerge with the everwidening expansion of frontiers of knowledge. It is up to the Training Colleges and the State Bureaus of Educational Research to embark immediately on curricular research to settle details finally after experiments conducted on lines similar to those in Western countries. Then there is the problem of examination and evaluation, which urgently calls for a solution, for "in no branch does badness of design even in small and apparently trifling details of the machinery affect so profoundly the whole psychology from the school upwards to the University." To reform the traditional system of examination we need to devise 'objective' tests, based on the technique of intelligence tests which will have the merit of validity, reliability, comparability, wide coverage, and of testing the application of knowledge to specific life situations. The

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results of these tests are to be supplemented by cumulative records to be maintained by each teacher. In this way our examination system must be completely readjusted to meet the new angle of approach. In order to do this, teachers will have to use a number of tests, such as, intelligence tests, achievements tests, aptitude tests and such other tests. It is up to the newer types of Training Colleges and State Bureaus of Psychological and Educational research to prepare the forms of cumulative records by research and to standardise tests and scales. The Training Colleges should organise short courses of training to train teachers in the administration of these tests and the maintenance of the cumulative Record Cards. The newer types of Training Colleges should send out teachers in whom has been created an enthusiasm for experiment and research with knowledge as how to conduct them, and should initiate, supervise and co-ordinate experimental work in schools, instead of maintaining their present "ivory tower" attitude of splendid isolation from the schools.

Other Problems Calling for Research

Research is also needed in the history of education to reinforce progressive ideas, in philosophy to evolve a real and satisfactory philosophy of education that takes into account the most up-to-date contributions of modern science, in educational admidistration, *e.g.*, cost of education, function of inspection, wastage, selection at 11 plus and 14 plus for diversion of children into secondary schools or into diversified courses, etc., in educational organisation, *e.g.*, age of entrance, size of class for teaching, relative efficiency of collective and individual teaching, aspects of examination, etc., in curricula, *e.g.*, principles or criteria for selection of subject-matter, etc., in comparative education, in moral education, *e.g.*, nature of character, personality studies in lying, stealing, deceit, juvenile delinquency, etc., and in methods of teaching, *e.g.*, relative merits of two methods of approach, measurement of school subjects, such as, handwriting, spelling, reading, composition, scales, etc., with age and grade norms.

The Technique of Research in Education

'Technique is to research what method is to teaching or logic is to thinking.' Educational problems, unlike problems of natural science, are usually complex, elusive, unpredictable to a certain extent, and, as such, artificial isolation of data for elimination of irrelevant factors tending to vitiate the validity of results, is often very difficult, if not impossible. Besides in all educational investigations we are faced with variations on account of age, grade, time of the year, heredity, maturity, training and social status. Owing to these difficulties the technique of equivalent or parallel groups (*i.e.*, the control group and the experimental group) are sought to be equated with the help of the application of statistical formulae, such as, mean, standard deviation and correlation has been devised. For example, if we are to determine the relative efficiency of two methods of teaching, we can divide a class of 40 children into two equivalent groups after ensuring that the mean and the standard deviation (or mean of deviations from the mean) are the same for two groups on the results of intelligence and scholastic tests. The control group is the group which is not to participate in the new teaching technique but is to be taught according to the traditional method whereas the experimental group is to be taught according to the new method. As under such an arrangement the control group is unaffected, we can easily determine by the results achieved in the control group whether the initial and final tests have been of equal difficulty.

Tools of Research and How to apply them

The tools of research are intelligence and scholastic tests, standardised for age and grade. Such tests are now being standardised in India. With the help of the normal frequency curve we can pass judgement on faulty teaching or unsuitability of tests, as distribution of abilities in a randomly selected sample invariably conforms to the bell-shaped curve. It is, therefore, important for the teacher and researcher to be familiar with the mathematics of the normal frequency curve and the administration of standardised tests and scales. Intelligence tests, group or individual, constitute a very important psychological tool for researches and experiments, for reclassifying a class into homogeneous groups, for more effective teaching, for

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educational and vocational guidance; for differentiating the course of study as regards both content and methods, etc. A reasonable homogeneity in the mental ability of pupils who are taught together, is a *sine qua non* of efficient teaching. A school's first task should be to find its gifted children—the potential leaders, inventors, research scientists, etc., of a nation and to set them tasks more commensurate with their ability, for it is of greater value to society to discover a single gifted child and help in his proper upbringing than to train a thousand dullards. An example to illustrate the technique of research may be relevant here. Let us suppose we are to find out the efficiency of Basic schools as compared with the traditional primary schools. The first step will be to construct a battery of objective tests on scholastic subjects, based on the technique of intelligence tests and the principles of the new-type examination. Indeed the most notable contribution to the technique of educational research is the standardised "objective" tests in which the marks awarded to candidates for their performance in school-subjects by the same judge at different times or by different judges at the same time should be the same. All we need to do is to collect some 4000 questions from Heads of the two types of schools, Basic and Primary, on scholasic subjects, such as, mother tongue, arithmetic, social studies, etc., and then transform them into batteries of objective tests after applying the principles of the new examination and testing them on children of both types of schools. Then some standardised tests or scales in spelling, reading, composition, handwriting, etc., may be chosen from the Training College of the area. Thus equipped with the necessary tests, they should be administered on boys of two types of schools randomly selected, care being taken to ensure uniformity in setting the tests, the conditions under which the boys do the tests within a fixed time-limit and the assessment of their performance and in weeding out irrelevant factors calculated to vitiate results. The next process is statistical, viz., evaluating the results and their interpretation with the help of statistical formulae such as mean, standard deviation and correlation.

Limitations of Research

In mental measurement we have to deal with ultimate and imponderable values—things of the spirit which are not amenable to statistical evaluation and which are variable, indeterminate and unpredictable to a degree, unlike phenomena in natural science. To give an example, can any kind of examination test the imponderable values of literature, a subject "so full of suggestion, of delicate half-lights and shadows"? To substitute statistics for creative thought will be to court disaster. There are the dangers of carrying a research to an extreme length (e.g., having more in the conclusion than the premises warrant) and of sweeping generalisation (e.g., when the data are derived from a very restricted field of psychological or pedagogical investigation). We must not be carried away by our craze for precision, for mathematical exactitude through the application of statistical formulae when we have to reckon with ultimate values where non-statistical methods are applicable. We must not forget that man can not only meet a situation but also can create a new situation, and that this "creativity" of man and his conduct as determined by motives, ideals, sentiments, etc., are really beyond the scope of a behaviourist psychology, based on a mechanistic view of life to explain. We must have the imaginative insight to be able to look beyond the present to behold the vision splendid. "If this vision should fade into the light of common day, not only will the people perish but research itself will become but a sterile futility."*

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* Being a summary of lectures delivered to teachers at the Institute of Education for Women, Alipur, Calcutta in October, 1956.

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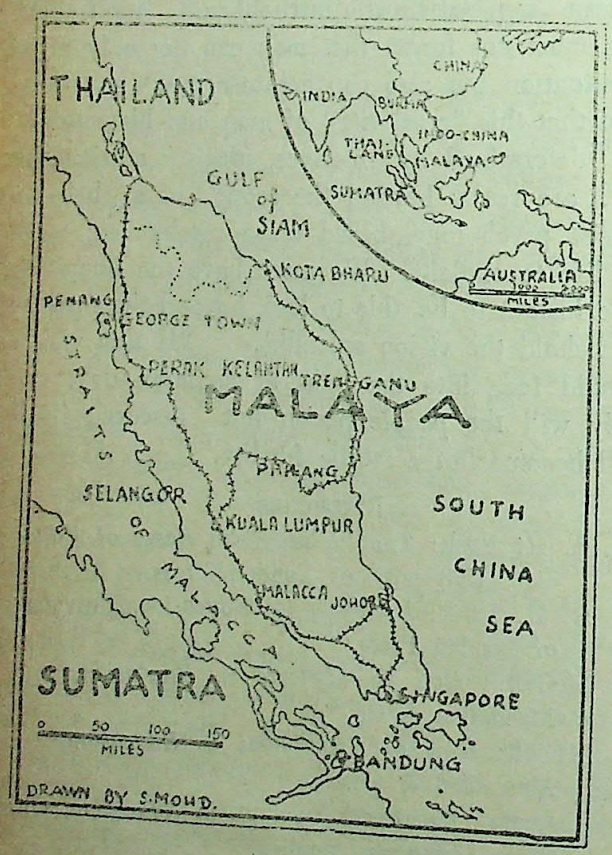
MALAYA STEPS INTO THE REALM OF FREEDOM

By Z. H. KAZMI

On August 31, 1957, the British have pulled out of their richest colonial possession, and the last of the foreign-dominated Asian nations—barring, of course, a few strategically important pockets—has cast off the shackles of slavery and triumphantly stepped into the realm of freedom. Malaya, the latest country to have successfully trodden the path to independence within the Commonwealth, has chosen to be a democratic Federation.

The achievement of freedom by 55,00,000 people of Malaya reflects credit on them and on the untiring efforts made by their farsighted, sober and popular Prime Minister, Tenko Abdul Rahman.



Situated in the strife-ridden South-east Asia and bordered on the north by Thailand (Siam), Malaya is a peninsula known for its rich rubber estates and fabulous tin mines.

About the size of Kashmir, the country has the usual tropical climte and is well watered by numerous rivers and rivulets streaming down its high mountains. The land is very fertile and abounds in dense forests, flora and fauna. The palm-fringed coast-line provides fishing industry. Rice and fish form the staple diet of the people. Rubber, tin, copra, rattan (cane), palm-oil, gutta-percha, pine-apples, damars and gambier are the chief produce and main items of export.

All the people whether Malays, Chinese or Indians who have settled down in the country are known as 'Malayans'.

Malays, the main inhabitants, are Muslims. They belong to the Mongolian stock and are said to be the descendants of the migrants from Central Sumatra, once the home of an early civilization.

Gentle and courteous, Malays are of easy-going disposition. They are liberal in thought and accommodating. Before their conversion to Islam in the 13th Century, they were either Buddhists or Hindus. Some of their customs and rituals still reflect Hindu influence.

The Malay dress consists of 'baju'—a loose-cut coat and a *sarong* or *pyjama*. A *sarong* resembles a *tahband* or *tahmat* used by a section of the Indian Muslims. Their headgear, called *songkok*, is a piece of silk or cotton cloth. *Sarongs* of lovely texture and designs worn by the women, are produced locally.

Cultivation of rice and fishery are the mainstay of the Malays, yet a large number of them depend for a living on cloth-weaving and making of baskets, mats, ropes, canes, bamboo fish-traps and such other articles of daily use.

Modest and bashful, the Malay women enjoy a wide range of freedom and do not observe 'purdah.' They are graceful and healthy and fully share the burden of the outdoor work with their menfolk.

The Chinese who form the second largest community, are mostly businessmen and technicians.

The population of the Malayans of Indian origin is about 5,00,000. Most of them

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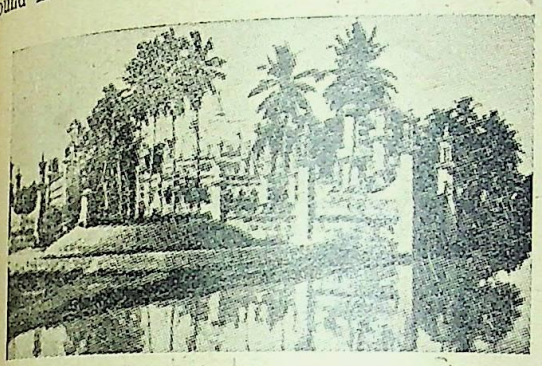
are the descendants of the Indian migrants who settled in Malaya during the 19th Century as labourers in coconut plantations and in spice, tapioca and sugar-cane gardens. Now they are found in all walks of life of the country.



Surrounded by the cocoanut and palm trees this magnificent mosque at Kuala Lumpur stands on the bank of the river Klang

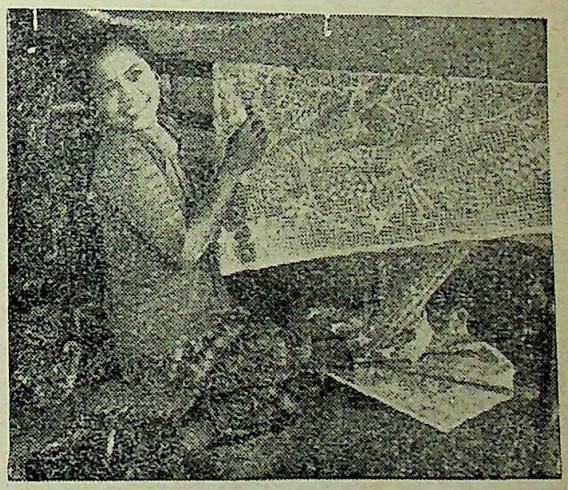
The thirty thousand aboriginal people of Malaya are divided into three tribes—Jukuns, Semongs and Sakais. These fastly dying-out Aborigines generally reside in the jungles and observe queer customs and rituals. They are good hunters and live on meat, fruits, roots and barks. Their method of hunting is, however, different from that followed by their counterparts in other countries. They put the poisoned arrows in long wooden pipes, take aim and then blow the pipe forcefully by the mouth. The arrow hits the target—whether a bird or an animal—and brings it down in a moment.

Their way of disposal of the dead is also unique. Contrary to the common practice of burial or cremation, they tie the corpse in a pole on a tree in some remote part of the jungle and, believing that even the dead feel hunger and thirst, leave some food and drink near the dead body.

The matrimonial custom prevalent among them is nonetheless strange and interesting. When a young aborigine expresses his desire to marry, a tribal feast is arranged to which are invited all the prospective brides. The bride-groom chases the girl of his choice. If he catches her in the first attempt, the girl becomes his wife otherwise he cannot sue her again. But the marriage does not bind the bride to live only with her husband, for the tribal custom allows her to cohabit with any number of men of her tribes. She is also at liberty to leave her husband permanently.

These primitive tribes follow no particular religion. Their beliefs and rituals are essentially pagan.

Before the advent of the British in Malaya (1820 A.D.), the political condition of the country was more or less the same that was obtaining in India during the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. When they were establishing themselves there as traders, the various Malayan states—Johore, Malacca, Negri, Semblan, Selangor, Pehang, Perak, Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, etc.,—were engaged in mutual destruction. Finding the country ideal for colonization and the situation favourable for its occupation, the British diplomats started intervention in the internal affairs of the embattled states.



A smiling Malay girl dyeing a *sarong*

Alarmed at the rapidly growing influences of a foreign power and impending danger of enslavement, the rulers of the native states awoke from deep slumber. The people rallied to their call. Despite their exhausted military strength, the patriots made repeated heroic attempts to get rid of the common enemy. But the much superior arms and strategy broke their power and by the end of the last century the whole of Malaya was virtually annexed to the British Crown.

Although defeated militarily, the freedom-

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loving Malayans did not submit to the alien rule tamely and continued to offer stubborn resistance to the intruders. Forced by circumsances, the British Government had to introduce political reforms from time to time until they decided recently to finally part with the jewel of their empire.

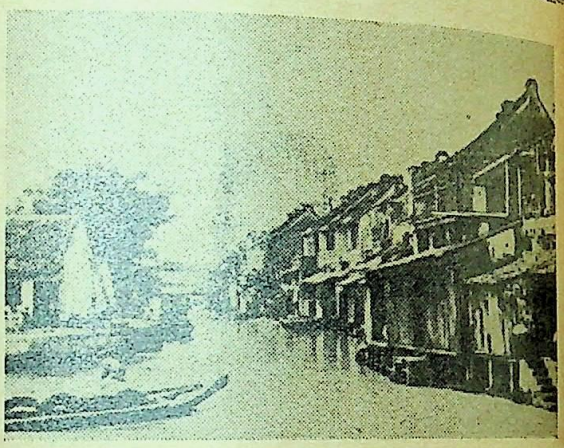
Varied and complex are the problmes facing this young nation. The grim and gruelling guerilla warfare waged by the Malayan communists and the devastating devices adopted by the British authorities to crush them, have completely shattered the economic structure of the already poverty-stricken country.

Eradication of poverty is the first and foremost problem before the first independent national Government of Malaya and the Malayans look to their resourceful and revered leader T. Abdul Rahman for its early solution.

Kuala Lumpur, the bustling capital of the Federation, is situated on the river Klang. A network of roads and railways connects it with the rest of the country. Palatial private and government buildings, fine homes and official residences, luxurious hotels and cafes, metalled roads flanked by well-laid avenues and modern vehicles are the main features of the fast-expanding Malayan metropolis. Johore Bahru, Malacca, George Town, Kota Bahru, Kuala Trengganu are among other notable cities.

Constituted recently into a separate state, the world-famous and strategic city of Singapore hangs like a pendant at the southern tip of the Malayan peninsula.

Relations between India and Malaya have been close and cordial for the last two thousand years. A definite step towards the cultural intercourse between the two countries was taken in the 3rd century B.C. when Emperor Asoka the Great sent religious and cultural missions to Malaya and other Asian countries. Sometimes later, they were followed by the Indian pioneers and missionaries—both Buddhsts and Hindus. A large number of temples, statues and stupas built by them have of late been unearthed at various sites. A reference to Malaya is also found in the Ramayana.



Malayan towns are generally situated on the banks of the country's numerous rivers

With the emergence of an independent democratic Malaya these age-old ties of friendship will be further strengthened.

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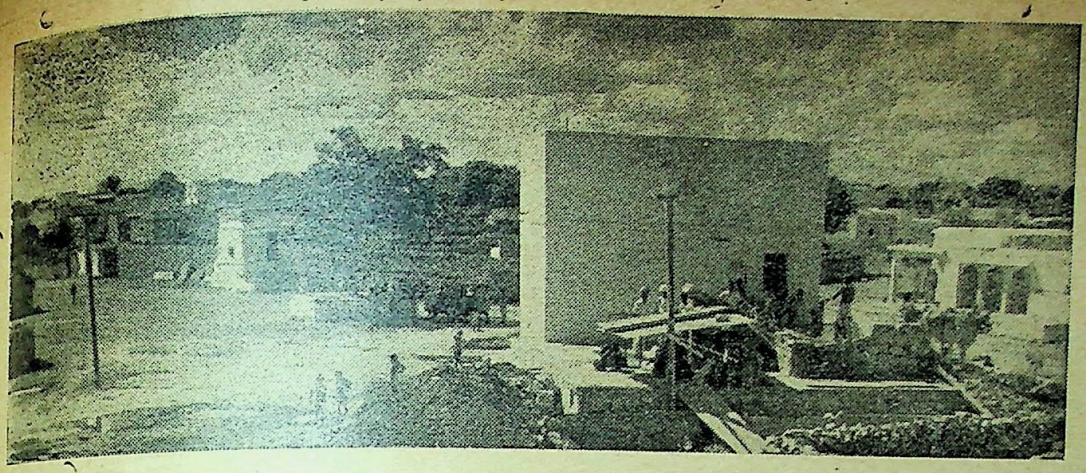

A view of Borunda, one of the most progressive villages in the Bilara Block

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Bilara Community Project (Rajasthan)

Going around a Community Development Block in Rajasthan is like travelling in Time. There, in the small setting of a single village, you could find juxtaposed two different periods, two different philosophies and ways of life. In no other place, perhaps, could one get so clear and direct a picture of the change that has come over India's countryside in the course of the last three or four years.

There was a variety of manner in which this situation presented itself to us during the time we spent in visiting a few villages in the Bilara Community Development Block, about 70 miles from Jodhpur. Wherever we went, the contrast between the old and the new dominated the view.

In Borunda, a village with a population of more than three thousand, situated at a distance of about 12 miles from the Block Headquarters, we noticed this contrast in the distinctive personalities of its youthful Sarpanch, Shri Chandi Dan, who presided over one of the most efficiently run and progressive Panchayats in the entire Bilara Block; and of a seventy-year-old farmer who had gone out of his village only twice in the last 20 years and who sat sullenly unmoved by the movement that was slowly changing the face of his village.

The contrast deepened as we moved into the interior of the Block. In Bhavi, for instance, we saw groups of women drawing water for drinking and cooking purposes from the dirty clay-water-filled pond outside the village, while the bright new stone structure of the Panchayat well stood nearby. On the other hand, we found the same women displaying an amazing degree of social awareness and self-reliance in running a novel and highly ingenious small-savings scheme in their village.

Panchayat leaders at Bhavi discuss their development needs with the Block Development Officer of Bilara

What happens is that every morning, when the housewife sits down for the familiar corn-grinding routine, she takes a handful of corn to be put aside in a gaily decorated earthen pot, specially kept for this purpose in every house. This is her family's daily contribution to small-

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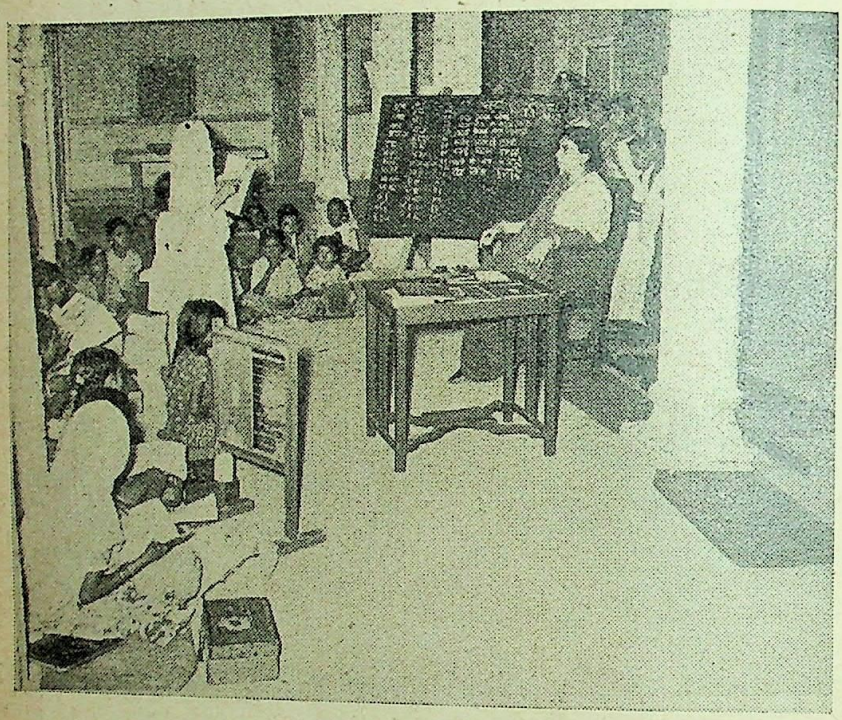
savings. By the end of each month, the pot is full and the money realised from the sales of the corn so collected, is invested in small-savings certificates. In one month alone, we gathered, Bhavi collected a sum of more than two hundred rupees—truly a large sum for a small village.



A Girls' School at Khajerla

New Ideas for Old

Instances like these could be multiplied. In practically every village, that we visited, we discovered among the people a strong prejudice against sending young girls to school, existing side by side with an equally strong desire for securing some kind of education for the male children. Impressions gathered lead up to one major suggestion: that people are slow in catching on to new ideas, but once they have caught on to it, there are no limits to their enthusiasm and desire for change.

The Block Development Officer of Bilara, a benign middle-aged man, who bore genuine affection towards the people of his Block, seemed well aware of the promise and the problems inherent in this situation.

"The important thing in our work," he said, "is to put first things first. There is such a thing as an hierarchy of needs . . . Take my Block, for instance, nothing excites the people here more than the idea of a new well; give the Bilara farmer water for his field and win his heart for ever."

The Block Development Officer illustrates his point with the remarkable case of Borunda. The Bilara Block came into being in April 1954, and Borunda was made the headquarters of a Village Level Worker three months later. After introducing normal agricultural extension services in the village, the major portion of the development potential of Borunda was spent on the construction of an elaborate water-supply system.

Today, after two years of planning and effort, Borunda boasts of a full-fledged rural water-supply apparatus. Water from three power-fitted, more than hundred feet deep wells, is carried by large pipes to a huge reservoir, which dominates the village scene like the colossal image of some tribal deity.

The reservoir, besides serving the irrigation needs of the surrounding fields, feeds a wide network of pipelines, with taps fitted in every street and in a large number of houses. This rural water-supply in the heart of the desert-land of Rajasthan is slowly changing the face of Borunda, turning it into one of the most prosperous and progressive of the two hundred and odd villages that comprise the Bilara Block.

Borunda Shows the Way

Encouraged by the success of their programme in Borunda, the Block Development authorities of Bilara are following the same pattern of development in other villages. Agriculture and irrigation, of necessity, overshadow all other aspects of Community Development such as adult education, women's welfare and the setting up of information and communication centres. Barring a few exceptions, these activities could not gather much strength. The membership of the Khajerla Mahila Mandal dropped in three months from twelve to three. Adult education classes functioned effectively only in a few places.

This was, obviously, a failure in education. The reasons for this failure are many.

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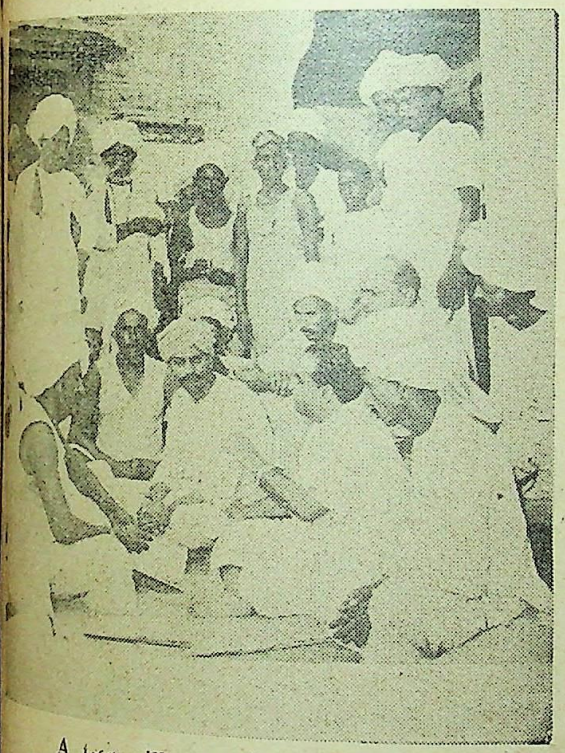
"How can you make the villagers conscious of a need which they do not immediately and directly feel?"—said a Village Level Worker, whom we questioned on this matter. "The villagers," he added, "are enthused only by those programmes and works which could be shown to produce immediate and visible benefits. They are contented if they can have water, seeds and fertilisers, which increase the yield of their fields. Programmes like community listening to radio broadcasts, adult education, music, etc., appear to them as somewhat remote from their situation."

The Block Development Officer, on this point, confessed that, while they have succeeded in building up the physical frame-work of a new



A free village dispensary at Bhavi

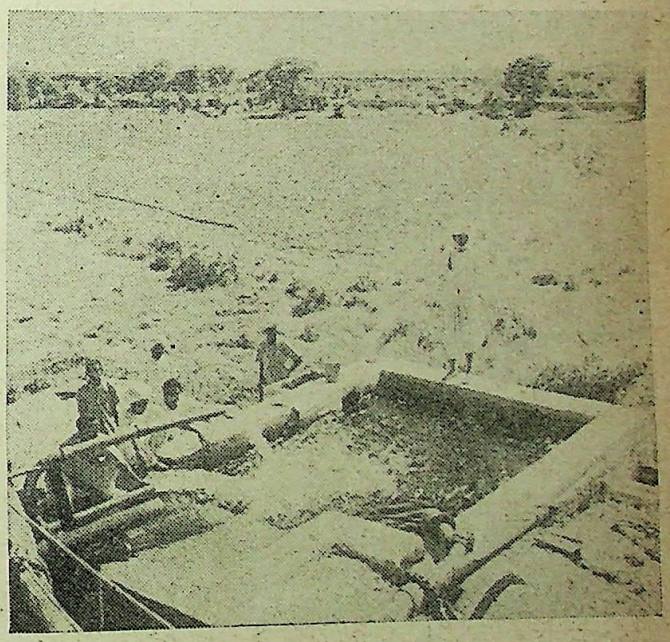
life in many places, they have not been equally successful in adequately convincing the masses of the superiority of the new ways over the old.

Innate Optimism

But the Block Development Officer was hopeful.

"When the benefits of the progress made in the first few years of the programme become widely available and secure, the change in outlook," he said, "will come automatically."

Looking at the manner in which the benefits of Community Development in the Bilara Block were spreading themselves out gave some cause for qualifying the optimism expressed by the Block Development Officer. In Borunda, Bhavi as well as Khajerla, small communities of non-agriculturists, chiefly cattle raisers, weavers and cobblers, felt themselves somewhat left out of the immediate benefits of this development, which they believed to be biassed in favour of agriculture. "We all know that agriculture is our life and wealth and everything," complained Jessa Ram Raika, head of Bhavi's small community of cobblers, "but you will agree that it is not the cultivators of land alone who need money, implements and guidance to improve their lot."



One of Borunda's three power-fitted Panchayat wells

These benefits, we found, were also rather slow to reach the villages that were farther removed from the Block headquarters compared with the villages that were more easily accessible.

Consciousness of these difficulties and failures does not, however, seem to have dimmed the innate optimism of the people. Said Chandi Dan, the Sarpanch of Borunda, when we went to take his leave:

"It is only a many-sided programme of Community Development that can benefit all the villagers and sections of people equally.

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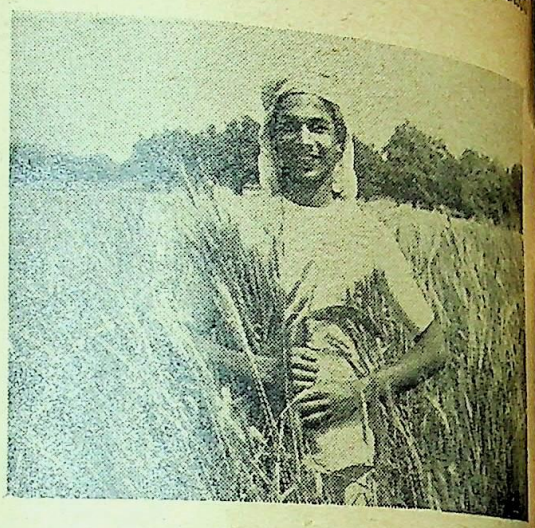
We have given the people wells and seeds and new implements. It is alright. We should now give them new ideas and values. We are bound to run up against prejudices. But then, that is part of the perennial conflict between the old and the new. It is only the beginning and we have not done so badly.

"Look at the number of young village leaders that are coming up, look at the increasing power and prestige of our Panchayats, look at the decrease in the fear of authority among ordinary people, and the new spirit of self-reliance that is coming up; and above all, how could we have so many new buildings for schools and Panchayats and so many new roads without the willing participation of the people. Come again after a few years and you will see for yourself what I mean."

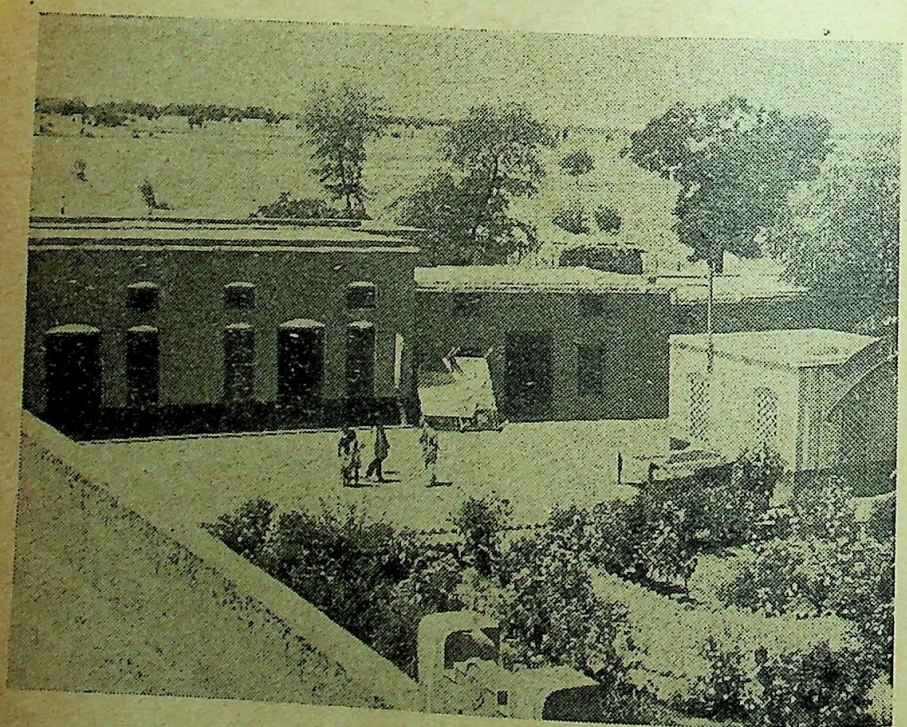
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME COMPLETE FIVE YEARS

Within a short span of five years the Community Development Programme in India—started in October, 1952—has grown into a mighty movement for the revitalisation of Indian villages. Today, the programme covers as many as 272,756 villages and a population of nearly 15 crores.



A happy young farmer from a U.P. village displays with pride part of a bumper crop of wheat, made possible by improved agricultural practices

During the Second Five-Year Plan, the organisation of the National Extension Service will spread over the entire country and not less than 40 per cent of the National Extension blocks will be converted into Community Development blocks where more intensive work will be undertaken.



A view of an airy, spacious and clean new house in a Punjab village

The achievements of the programme spread over many fields from the development of intensive agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operatives and cottage industries to building houses, roads and health and welfare centres. On a rough estimate, more than 80,000 new schools and adult education centres have been built and nearly 55,000 miles of new roads constructed in the rural areas since the beginning of the programme.

Success of the programme, however, is not to be measured in terms of physical and tangible results alone. What has been equally important is the influence which the programme has exercised over the minds and psychology of the people. Vast reservoirs of creative energy in the people have been tapped and powerful urges

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constructive activity released. There is a new enthusiasm among the people and a new awareness of their role in the great task of national reconstruction.

Everywhere people are coming out in hundreds and thousands to participate in the Community Development Programmes by voluntarily offering land, labour and cash for its implementation. People's contribution in cash, material and labour in the Community Development areas accounts for more than 60 per cent of Governmental expenditure.—*PIB.*

———:O:———

MINDS' CROSSROADS

Meeting Ground for International Scholarship

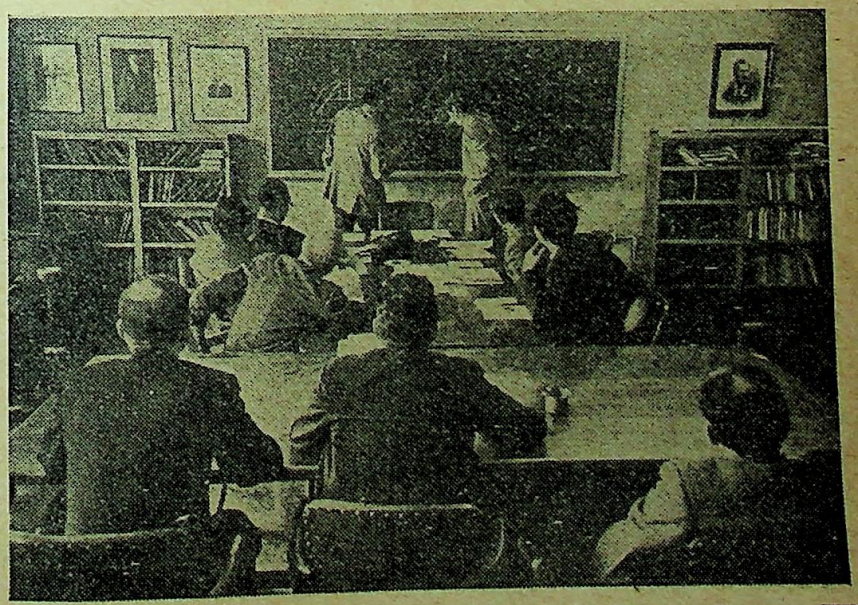
One of the great traditions of the scholarly world is that men from many places congregate at times to pool their intellectual resources and to work with leaders in their fields.

The talk is on economics. Three professors are listening

At Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, the Department of Political Economy every year invites between eight and ten post-doctoral research fellows from other universities, mostly from other countries, whose only responsibility is to carry on research of their own choosing. These visitors come on various kinds of fellowships—from such private foundations as Ford, Guggenheim and Rockefeller or by government and university grants. These fellows do not teach; they may sit in on staff meetings and they are permitted maximum independence.

One day each week this year's group meets with their colleagues and Dr. Fritz Machlup, Abram G. Hutzler professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins, and one of their number presents a paper relating to his research. At these seminars everyone has an opportunity to comment on the work being presented, so that the scholar is benefited by the suggestions of his colleagues. It is for such exchanges of ideas that the university exists.

The Johns Hopkins University is unique among universities of the United States in that it began its existence almost a century ago with a graduate school—the School of Higher Studies of the Faculty of Philosophy—as its major concern. Today it continues as predominantly a graduate institution, though it also offers



The ten scholars at this seminar represent five nations

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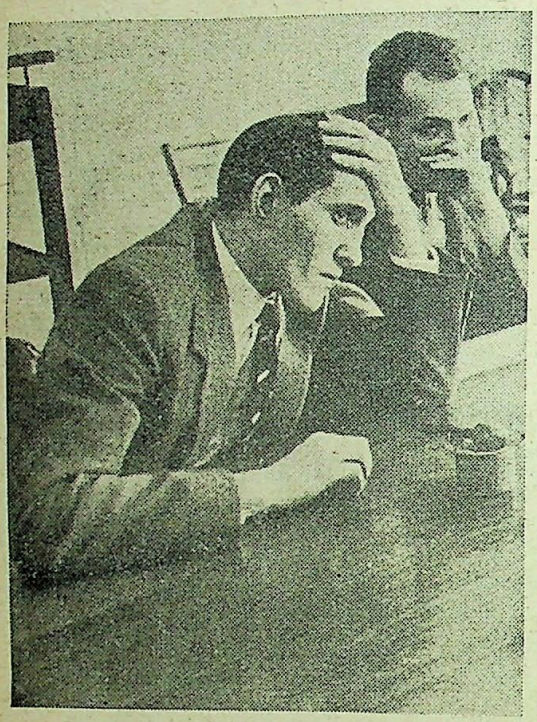
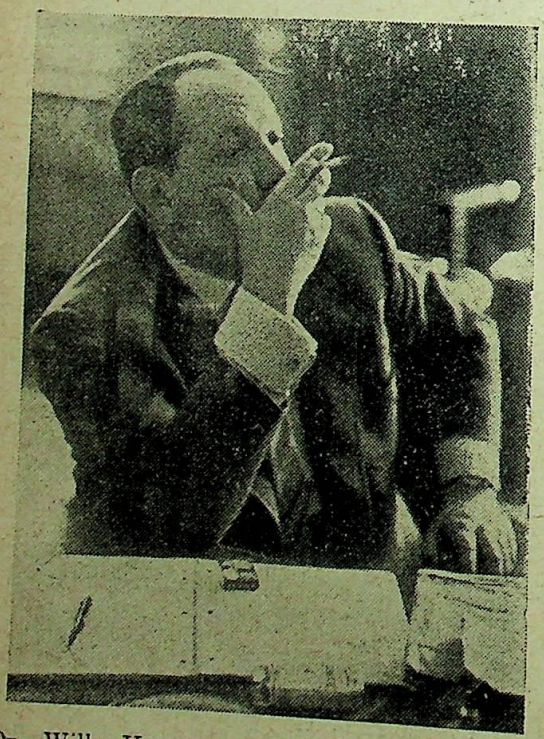
undergraduate education in its College of Arts and Sciences, School of Engineering and School of Business.

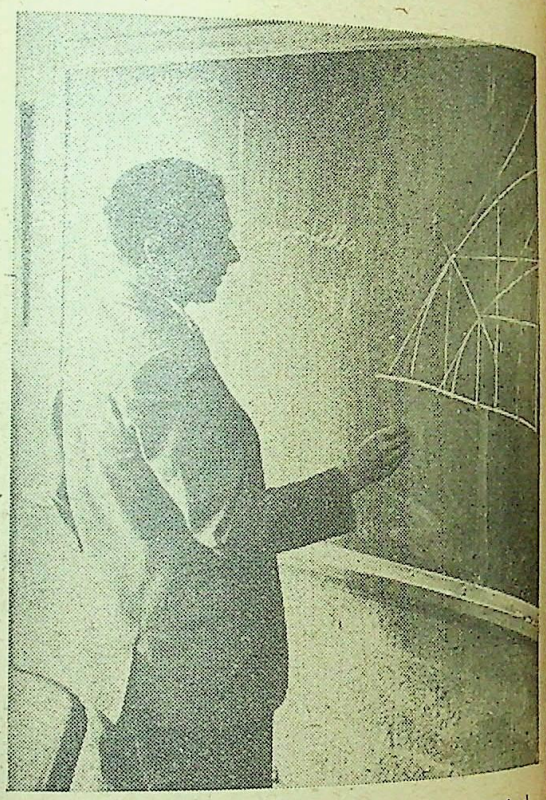


An Australian and an American research fellow concentrate on a presentation by a seminar college



Dr. Willy Kraus, a German scholar, at the Johns Hopkins seminar

The University was founded by a Baltimore merchant, Johns Hopkins, who, mindful of his own lack of schooling and the medical needs of his city, resolved before his death to leave the bulk of his fortune for "the good of humanity." He was determined to establish a university, and a great hospital with a medical school and a training course for nurses in connection with it. The University, including the famed School of Medicine, Hygiene and Health, is the realization of his wish.



Paul Streeten, Don at Balliol College, Oxford University, England, uses the black-board in discussing his to-be-published study

It was the declared intention of the first trustees of the University to found an institution which would be characterized by academic freedom and mature scholarship rather than by inflexible curricula designed to prepare students for a particular calling or to give them general knowledge. While sharing with the traditional college the obligation of transmitting the intellectual heritage of the past, the University recognized the additional responsibility of expanding the bounds of knowledge through research. Emphasis is placed on graduate research and particularly on research which is coordinated and conducted with the keeping in close touch and sharing the research on co-operation of other universities in the United States and throughout the world.—*USIS*

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THE SCIENTIST AND THE POET

By JITEN SEN

Deep friendships between great men transcend the privacy of personal relationship, grow immensely beyond the boundaries of two individual lives, and the family of man is enriched and ennobled. Such friendships are usually formed at an early age, between childhood companions, and deepen as they grow up—seldom between grown-up men, men of experience and outstanding intellect, whose minds mature at a much earlier age. When such a phenomenon occurs, one has the feeling that it had been so ordained, by him who guides our destinies, for a definite purpose of His own. Two comets, moving in their own orbits through eternity, have been destined millions of years ago to come together for a short while at a particular moment in history chosen with care by the Supreme Being. What His purpose is remains unknown to most but the world witnesses a glory it is but rarely its privilege to see.

Writing of Napoleon's first meeting with Goethe, Emil Ludwig says:

". . . (it) shows the godlike kinship of a genius with his brother genius. It is as if two elemental forces hovering on high had recognised each other through a rift in the clouds, and had, despite themselves, stretched out arms to one another until the tips of their forefingers had met; then the mists of time once more rose between them."

Such was the friendship between Jagadishchandra Bose and Rabindranath Tagore. But in their case not only had "the tips of their forefingers met," their souls also fused into one, inasmuch as they had more in common with one another than had Napoleon and Goethe. Men of a stature difficult to comprehend today, pioneers in their respective fields, all their work and themselves—dedicated to the land of their birth, they met almost at the turn of the last century, when Jagadishchandra was about forty and Rabindranath three years younger.

The renaissance in Bengal had already started, and whichever way one turned one met a man who was writing the history of the country in the history of his own life. Amidst them the poet was searching wistfully, and sometimes unconsciously, for the *rishi* of old, the *jnanatapasvi*, who would lead the country once again to the heights it had once attained—supremely unconscious of the fact that he was himself such a *rishi*, and that time was waiting expectantly to set the stamp on him. Meeting the man of science he felt that his search had ended. Thus began a friendship that was to last thirty years, till the death of the older man.

The saga of that friendship is told in *Chithipatra 6*, recently published by Visva-Bharati. Thirty-six of Rabindranath's letters to Jagadishchandra and seven to his wife, who was his ministering angel, have been included. The 170 pages of notes and appendices contain letters from Jagadishchandra, Romeshchandra Dutt and Sister Nivedita to Rabindranath, also the poet's writings on the scientist, including two articles on his discoveries published in *Bangadarshan*. The notes contain exhaustive and valuable data, giving the background, and supplement the main letters, making the volume a complete whole. Sri Pulinbihari Sen, who has compiled and edited these, has given many proofs of his resourcefulness and devoted and painstaking work. It is well-known that his researches have brought to light many unknown facts about the poet's early life. The present volume is another example.

Rabindranath writes of the friendship (p. 125A):

> "Years ago when Jagadishchandra, in his militant exuberance of youthfulness, was contemptuously defying all obstacles to the progress of his endeavour, I came into intimate contact with him, and became infected with his vigorous hopefulness. There was every chance of his frightening me away to a respectful distance, making me aware of the airy nothingness of my own imaginnings. But to my relief I found in him a dreamer, and it seems to me, what surely was a half-truth, that it was more his magical instinct than the probing of his reason which startled out secrets of nature before sudden flashes of his imagination. In this I felt our mutual affinity but at the same time our difference, for to my mind he appeared to be the poet of the world of facts that waited to be proved

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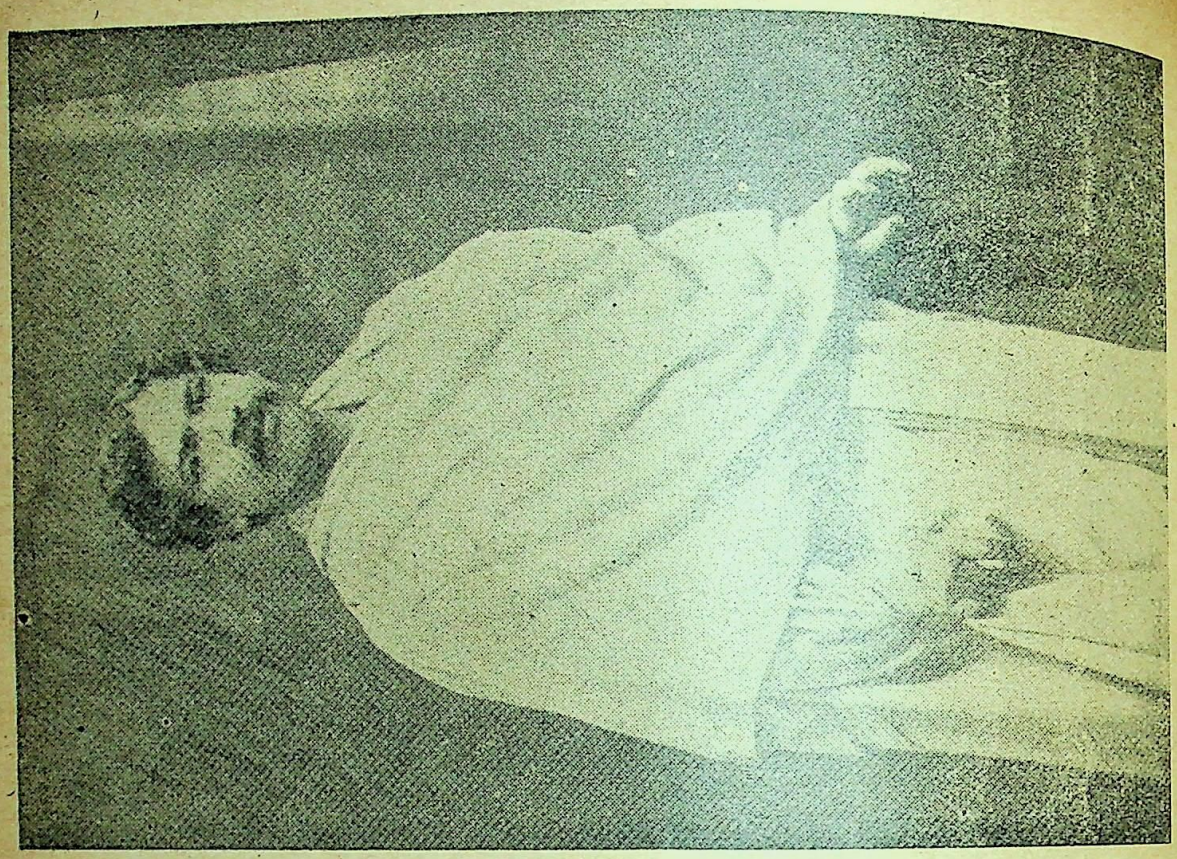
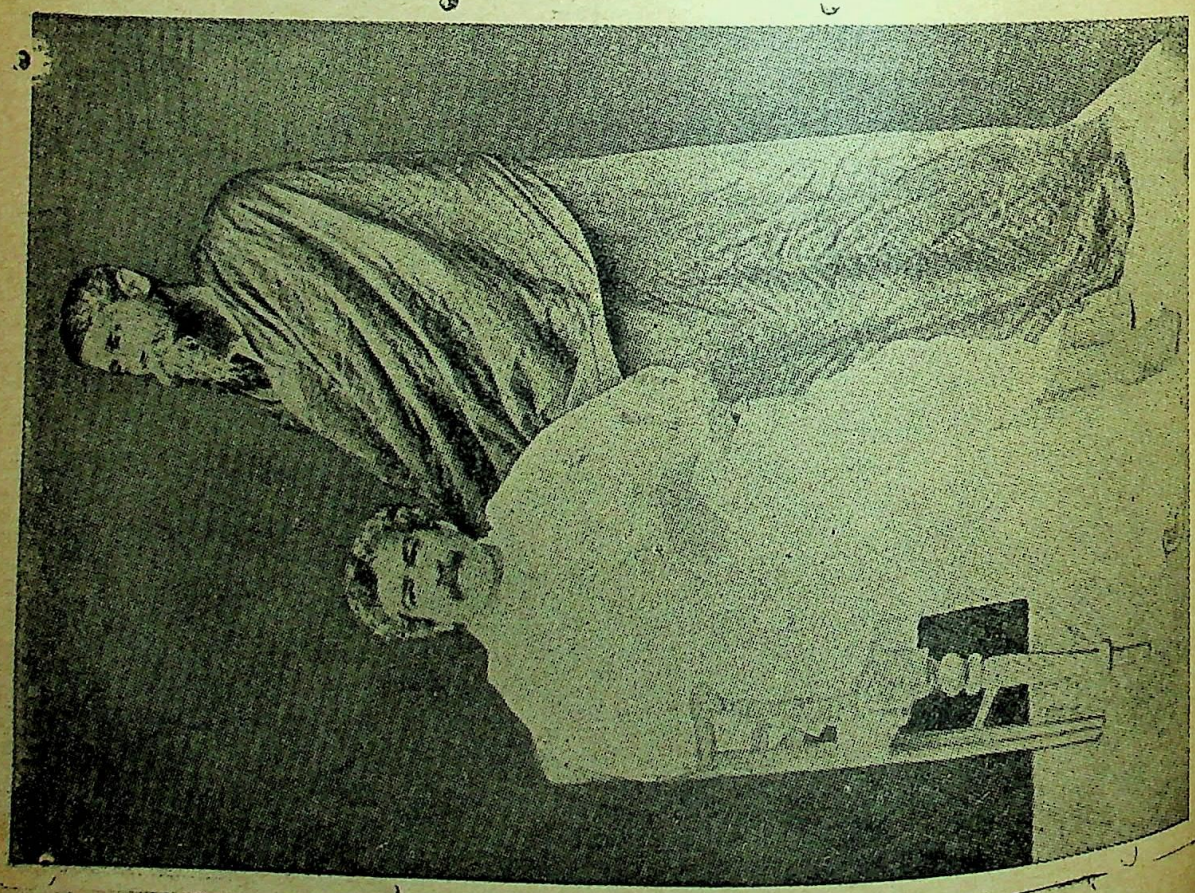


Jagadish Chandra Bose in England (1901)



Jagadish Chandra Bose and Rabindranath Tagore

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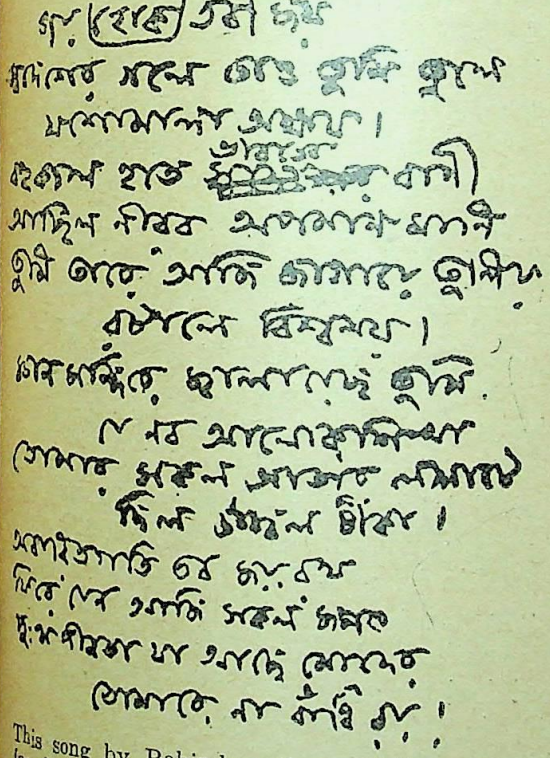
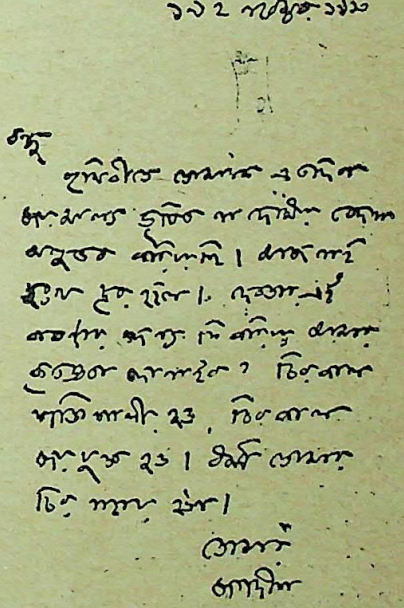
by the scientist for their final triumph, whereas my own world of visions had their value, not in their absolute probability but in their significance of delightfulness. All the same, I believe that a part of my nature is logical which not only enjoys making play-things of facts, but seeks pleasure in an analytical view of objective reality. I remember often having been assured by my friend that I only lacked the opportunity of training to be a scientist but not the temperament. Thus in the prime of my youth I was strangely attracted by the personality of this remarkable man and found his mind sensitively alert in the poetical atmosphere of enjoyment which belonged to me."



This song by Rabindranath, specially composed for the occasion, was sung in a meeting held for the reception of Jagadish Chandra Bose

The lengthy quotation was necessary to explain the strange friendship between the poet and the man of science, and the best way to do so was to quote the words of one of them.

There is another explanation. He believed, Jagadishchandra once wrote to Rabindranath, that there was no such person as the world's greatest scientist or the world's greatest poet; such a person could be born only when the scientist and the poet were merged into one. This, at first, seems a fantastic theory. What can there be common between the man of cold facts and the man of the dream world? Ordinarily none. But what the poet has said above and the man of science on many occasions, prove that it is not so fantastic after all. There was no dearth at that time of outstanding men in Bengal. Why, then, this fusion of spirits of two whose fields of work are usually considered so different? Rabindranath's love for science is well known. What is not so well known is Jagadishchandra's literary talents. His book *Avyakta* and his letters to Rabindranath reveal surprising gifts in the field of literature. When Jagadishchandra started making his mark in Europe, Rabindranath read up a few scientific books and wrote two articles on the former's



Jagadish Chandra Bose wrote to his friend Tagore expressing his great joy at the award of the Nobel Prize to Tagore

discoveries in the resurrected *Bangadarshan*. Their lucidity and the grasp of intricate scientific problems they showed earned high praise from Jagadishchandra. It is also not generally known how the man of science inspired many of the poet's works, how avidly he read them, how they in his turn inspired him, and what infinite trouble he took, in addition to his own arduous work, to get them translated and published in England. This was possible because the two, supreme in their own respective fields, transcended them and met where absolute truth prevails.

This is not the proper place to evaluate

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Jagadishchandra's scientific discoveries, nor is the present writer competent to do so. It is also not possible to review the life of this remarkable man in the short space of a magazine article. But certain incidents must be narrated, if only for a proper estimate of the volume. A scientist cannot, by the very nature of his work, expect the same large audience as a poet. Therefore, it is not surprising that Jagadishchandra's name is known to only a few. But Jagadishchandra was not only a man of science, he was a patriot, he was a fighter. And it is painful to find that when we are reminded of India's "tradition" on every occasion, and by anybody who can find a press, not one word is said about this man who embodied in himself all that was highest and most sublime in the India of the past. It has also become the fashion among a sect of writers to call Rabindranath an unrealistic poet. Whether he was so or not can be discussed elsewhere. That he was among the most realistic of men is shown by the fact that it was he and he alone that went to Jagadishchandra's aid when the latter was in very great financial trouble, when the Government of the day was putting all sorts of obstacles in his way, and when most of his countrymen were supremely indifferent.

The man whose discoveries the whole scientific world acknowledged as epoch-making could not get leave from his professorial duties in Calcutta because the Government thought that the college work would suffer! Rabindranath urged him to take leave without pay and even resign from the post, as his researches in England were of far greater importance than his teaching work. Not content with mere urgings and advice, he collected twenty-five thousand rupees from the Maharaja of Tripura, with a promise of more to come, and sent the money to Jagadishchandra in England. Seeing his plight Rameshchandra Dutt wrote to Rabindranath urging him to come to the scientist's aid. He could have wrtiten to others but did not for obvious reasons. Not being content with financial aid also, Rabindranath wrote to Sister Nivedita for details about Jagadishchandra's work. Her reply (p. 187) is a revelation of his genius and how this genius was "subjected to continuous annoyances and petty difficulties—with the evident earnest desire of those who were about him to end his distinction which was personally galling to them."

It is a sad irony of fate that while the Government in India refused to extend his leave because his teaching work would suffer, he was offered a chair in a famous British University. His startling theory on the living and the "non-living"—that the latter also responded to shocks—had unsettled the work of many top scientists in Britain. They naturally refused to give in without a fight. One of them, Professor Lodge, was later so impressed that he said to Jagadishchandra:

> "You have a very fine research in hand, go on with it."

Then abruptly:

> "Are you a man with plenty of means? All these are very expensive and you have many years before you, your work will give rise to many others all very important."

Jagadishchandra, who was then in great financial straits, avoided all talks of finance. But Lodge and other scientists, would not be baulked. Next day a colleague of theirs, Professor Barret, told Jagadishchandra:

> "We had a talk last night (Lodge was one of us). We thought your time is wasted in India, and you are hampered there. Can't you come over to England? Suitable chairs fall seldom vacant here, and there are many candidates. But there is just now a very good appointment (a newly-created professorship in a famous University) and should you care to accept it, no one else will get it."

Another, Professor Waller, the great physiologist, was so excited by Jagadishchandra's work that, from being an antagonist, he later said:

> "It appears that your work will probably upset mine. Truth is truth and I don't care a d— if I am proved to be in the wrong. So come and work; I shall place my laboratory at your disposal. Teach me or let us work together."

Jagadishchandra refused both offers because teaching would take a lot of time off his research work, and because he was longing to return to the land of his birth. But what a difference between the reactions of great minds, whose life-time of work would be proved useless by the man's theories, and those of the petty men

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whom he was "subjected to petty annoyances," because his distinction was "personally galling to them."

Another aspect of Jagadishchandra's work was his refusal to allow his researches to be used for commercial purposes. At the time when he had great difficulty in paying the wages of his research assistant in England, he was informed by Dr. Muirhead, of Messrs. Muirhead & Co., well-known manufacturers of electrical goods, that the Company had greatly benefited by his researches on wireless telegraphy. Dr. Muirhead requested him to keep his later discoveries secret, so that his own company could reap all the advantages, and offered Jagadishchandra a share of the profits. The struggling and almost starving *jnanatapasvi* flatly refused. At that time came a request from the International Congress on Wireless Telegraphy, then in session in Rome—Sgr. Marconi's country—for Jagadishchandra's advice on wireless telegraphy and details of his latest discoveries which he gladly gave.

A very sketchy attempt has been made above to present a picture of a great man, whom his countrymen have almost forgotten, and his deep friendship with another great man. It would be a mistake to look upon that friendship merely as "kinship of a genius with his brother genius." It went deeper than that. The two men were throw-backs to the ancient days—not in their outlooks, which were modern—but in their attitude to life. They represented perfection in *niskam dharma*, the *rishis* of the ancient *tapovana*, the *jnanatapasvis*, the seekers after truth, in this world but not of it. The friendship was also very beautiful and homely. Rabindranath's letters to Jagadishchandra's wife, admitting his very earthly weakness for her cooking, Jagadishchandra's solicitude for Rabindranath's tiny daughter, whose suitor he declared himself to be, all these present one with a picture of undescribable sweetness—particularly in men who soared at such terrific height. It is expected that more will be written about Jagadishchandra, not to discharge our debts to him, but to acknowledge them.

Chithipatra 6 has broken new ground in that it not only gives a picture of the poet's life only belles letters can give, it also throws light on some of his activities hitherto known to few. Visva-Bharati Publishing Department have earned the gratitude of all by editing and publishing this deceptively small volume.

TRIBHUVAN RAJPATH—AN EPOCH IN INDO-NEPAL HISTORY

Army Engineers' Magnificent Achievement

A new chapter in the history of India and Nepal has been opened with the successful completion by Army Engineers of the 72-mile long Tribhuvan Rajpath, the first national highway linking the two countries. The new road is an outstanding achievement of the Army Engineers since Independence. Having handed over the road recently to King Mahendra, Army Engineers who have wound up their establishments have finally returned to their normal duties in India.

Named after the late King Tribhuvan, and described as one of the most picturesque hill roads in the world, it connects Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, with the existing land communication to the Indian border at Raxaul. A regular motor traffic up to three-tonners can flow along this road almost all the year round. The distance from Raxaul to Kathmandu is about 140 miles of which Tribhuvan Rajpath is 72 miles. Keeping up a moderate speed, a motorist can easily cover the entire distance in about 9 to 10 hours.

Prior to May, 1955, that is, when the Tribhuvan Rajpath was cut to its full formation width, there was no road communication to Kathmandu from outside world. The existing means of communication was difficult and fairly complicated. The last town on the Indian border is Raxaul from where the Nepal Government Railway takes off and terminates at the rail head of Amlekganj, about 40 miles inside Nepal territory.

An all-weather 30-mile long road connects

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Amlekganj with Bhimphedi, the existing road head. Between Bhimphedi and Kathmandu there exists an electric ropeway which can only be utilised for transporting stores and cannot be used in its present form for carriage of passengers. Bhimphedi is also connected with Thankot (a place six miles west of Kathmandu), by a bridle path, which crosses two mountain ranges at heights of 6800 and 7200 feet. Till the opening of Tribhuvan Rajpath, this bridle path was the only land route between Bhimphedi and Kathmandu and all stores which could not be

Army Engineers dynamiting granite rock for the construction of Tribhuvan Rajpath, the first National Highway of Nepal

transported over the ropeway, had to be manhandled across this path. The first air route to Kathmandu was established when a detachment of Indian Army Engineers arrived in Nepal in 1951 and constructed a temporary runway at Gaucher, about five miles from the town of Kathmandu.

The necessity of a proper road communication to connect Kathmandu and other places in Nepal with outside world had been long felt. It was towards the end of 1951 that the Government of Nepal came up with a request to the Government of India for the construction of a road which will ultimately link up Kathmandu with the existing road between Amlekganj and Bhimphedi. Due to the difficult nature of the task in finding a possible route through the rugged hills, the task of initial reconnaissance was entrusted to the Army Engineers.

Early in 1952, two reconnaissance parties were sent to Nepal, who surveyed possible routes for a period of three months or so. These parties had to carry their own rations and other requirements for the whole period of the survey and lived on whatever fresh supplies that were available locally. It was a stupendous task, trekking through this wild unknown country, however, with typical and traditional spirit that these Army Engineers always possessed, they surmounted all the difficulties and found a possible route to open up the valley of Kathmandu from the southern plains and link up with the Indian border.

At a conference at which the representatives of Government of Nepal and India were present, it was decided to accept the Western alignment as this offered the best possible route for opening up and developing the country and also for connecting Kathmandu with the southern plains. The task of constructing this road was entrusted to Indian Army Engineers who started work on it in October, 1952.

The Nepal road project was the first large-scale civil engineering project to be undertaken completely by our Army Engineers since Independence. The original plan was to construct the road from both ends, the major effort, however, was to be concentrated at the southern end only, as it was then considered impossible to transport construction and other plant to Thankot over the existing bridle path. A scheme also existed to airlift two D4s (bulldozers) to Kathmandu. After a thorough reconnaissance of the bridle path, it was found that it was possible to take over it bulldozers, however, the risk involved was considerable. The bridle path in parts is sheer rock, and even laden ponies and mules cannot easily negotiate them. The gradient in some portions is 1 in 1, and a slightest error in judgement would mean certain death to the operator and total destruction

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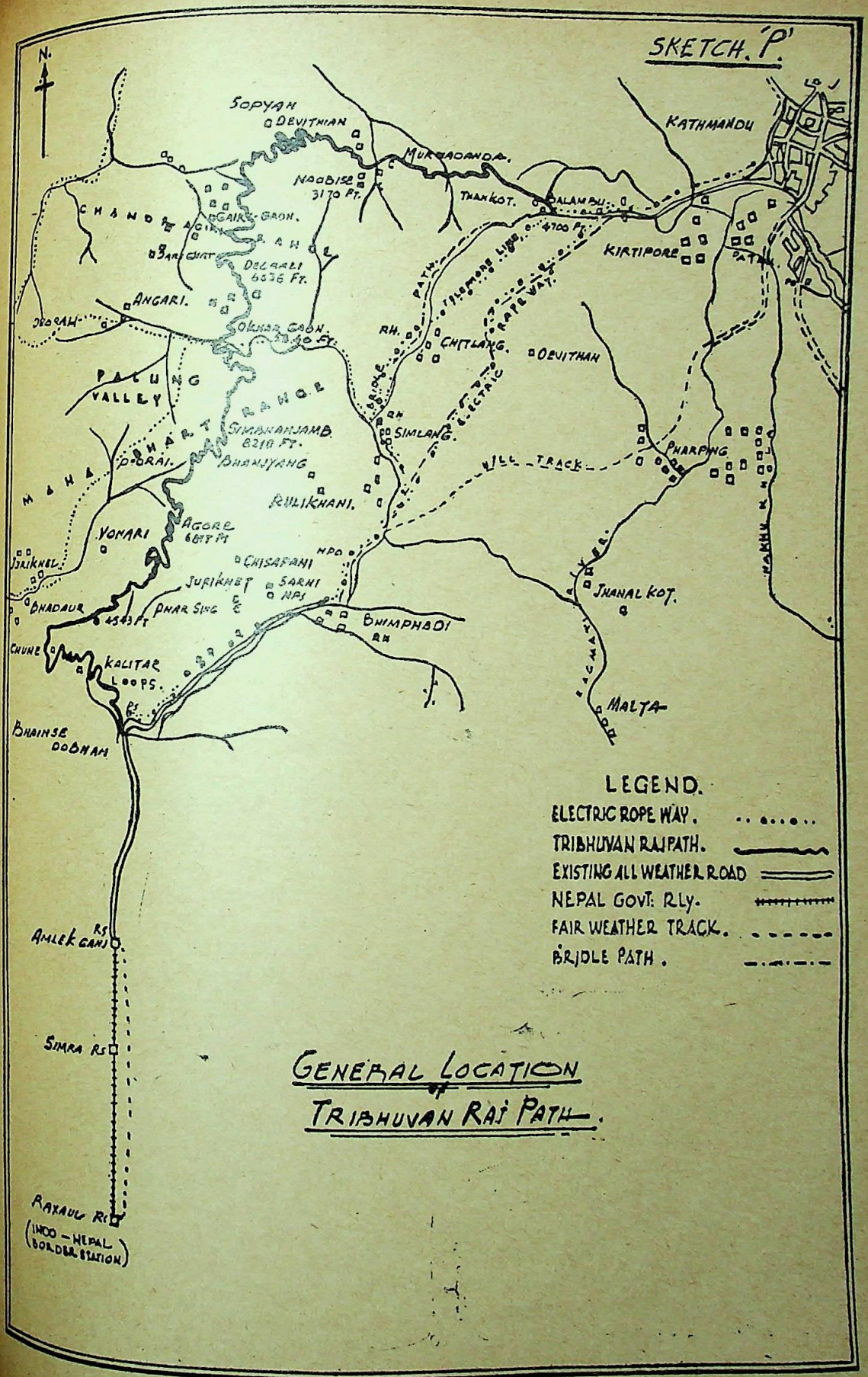

Tribhuvan Rajpath

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his machine. In November, 1952, however, the decision was taken and orders issued to transport dozers on their own steam across the bridle path. It was with great risk, the dozers were driven along the bridle path, a risk which could only be taken by the Army operators under such circumstances. This immensely accelerated the road construction work and by early 1954 Kathmandu was linked with India with a fair-weather road.

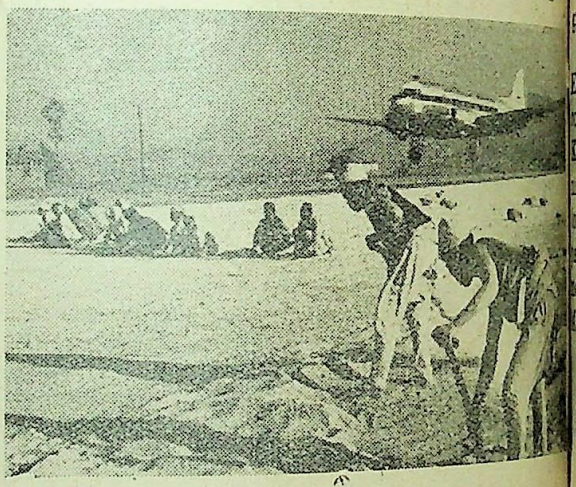
The monsoon of 1954 brought havoc to that country. It partly damaged the newly-cut jeep track, washed away vast portions of the existing Amlekganj-Bhimphedi road along with a number of large bridges on it. Communications to the life-line of Nepal were completely cut off. Nepal's supply-system got completely paralysed. Typical of Army Engineers, they came forward in aid of the people of Nepal to fight with this natural calamity. They worked round the clock for days and within a short period they brought the situation under control.

Work on the widening of the jeep track started in full swing during October, 1954. It was at this time that more Army Engineers moved into Nepal to repair the existing Amlekganj-Bhimphedi link road which had been badly damaged during the flood of 1954, and also to construct a permanent runway at Gaucher in Kathmandu.

By May, 1955, the new jeep road was cut to its full formation width, and side by side with this Amlekganj-Bhimphedi road was also completely repaired and the permanent runway at Gaucher completed.

During May, 1955 (though the road was not opened till then to public traffic) two convoys of 20 three-ton lorries each, drove along this road for the first time in the history of Nepal, carrying rice as gift from India for their monsoon stocking in the valley. Thereafter from October, 1955, till December, 1956, when the road was completed in all respects, hundreds of other vehicles have gone along this road all the way to Kathmandu, carrying food, machinery, commercial goods, petrol, oil and various other necessities for the people of Nepal which otherwise would have taken months and years to reach them to Kathmandu, although the construction was still in progress. The construction of the road was completed by the end of Dece... ber, 1956, as scheduled.

The Indian Army Engineers conquered t... ranges of Himalayas, shook the mountains b... blasting it with solid granite, cut the ro... through rocks, boulders and jungles, over t... Mahabharata range and Chandragiri ranges ... heights of 7,000 to 8,000 feet and built a ro... a road which represents the friendship betwe... the two countries, a road which has created ... landmark in the history of Nepal and also ... Indian Army Engineers, a road which ... opened up a country which had hitherto re... mained cut off from the rest of the wor... isolated and undeveloped. A magnifice... achievement! Hereafter a pilgrim proceeding ...



Building a permanent air-strip at Gaucher

Pashupatinath or a visitor desirous of seeing ... country in its true perspective with valle... covered with carpet of greeneries, with ran... and peaks all round covered with silver-wh... snow all over, may take a drive on this T... bhuvan Rajpath, through the loops of Kal... and Sopyang, over the ranges of Mahabhara... and Chandragiri, along the Maman ridges ... across the rich fertile valleys of Naubise ... Polung and will have nothing but praise for ... magnificent scenery all along the road. ... pleasant and interesting journey.

It is also worth mentioning here that ... construction of Tribhuvan Rajpath is not ... only work executed by the Army Engine... during the period 1952 to 1956. They also ... undertaken other engineering work during ... period. They repaired the damaged road bet... Amlekganj and Bhimphedi by constructing ...

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large number of retaining and other protective works, replaced the washed-away bridges, piers and abutments. About 30 miles of this road was brought into a serviceable condition within a period of six months only. Construction of a permanent airfield at Gaucher in Kathmandu was completed by 1955 by the Army Engineers which was six months ahead of schedule. One of the interesting features in the construction of the airfield was that all the construction plant, stores and vehicles were airlifted and while the aircrafts were landing on half portion of the temporary runway, the permanent work on the other half continued. At Gaucher airfield the Army Engineers also have constructed a modern terminal building, freight shed, hard standing ground and taxi tracks.

Within the valley of Kathmandu the Army Engineers also repaired the badly-damaged road from Thankot-Kathmandu and from Kathmandu to the old city of Patan. This 8-mile road, which was to be completed with black-top surfacing was taken in hand in the early part of 1956 and handed over to the Government of Nepal before the coronation of King Mahendra on May 2, 1956.

A short narrative of this nature gives only a brief outline idea of the nature of work executed by the Army Engineers in Nepal. One has to go to Nepal to understand and realise what tremendous hardship our Army Engineers underwent in fulfilling a stupendous task which will always remain a monument of Engineering skill.

Addressing the Army Engineers at a reception at Kathmandu on July 3, 1957, Shri P. Ghosh, the Communication Minister of Nepal, said:

> "We will ever remember with gratitude the manner in which the Government of India has helped us by building this road for which it spared hundreds of its experts under the able leadership of some of its most experienced officers like Col. Ratnaswami and Lt.-Col. Grant.
>
> "We remember also with pleasure and pride the 5,000 to 8,000 Nepali workers' contribution of their labour and blood to this achievement. The sacrifice of nine Indian and twenty-two Nepali lives in this sacred and noble effort will ever be a beacon to guide us in the path of duty."—*PIB.*

———:O:———

CARPENTRY INDUSTRY

By S. R. UPADHYAY

A co-ordinated development plan of the carpentry trade of West Bengal will be very timely. Carpentry is the oldest of the crafts. It has been practised for more than three thousand years. The form of tools used by the artisans is almost the same throughout the length and breadth of West Bengal although the products differ according to local needs and customs. An average village usually contains a house or two of carpenters for village needs (such as bullock-cart, ploughshare, door-frame, shutter, etc., and also toys and inlaid furniture which require skilled artisans).

A close study of the production, procurement and working of the carpentry trade usually reveals that the timber used is local, that the products are made to order, and the working condition is most ill-proportioned. Timber is scarce as both the road-side trees and the forest reserve are speedily dwindling. The products made are also pre-dated as they do not meet the changing taste of the present age. The working tools and workshops are inadequate for planned production or for better products.

The new C.D.P. and N.E.S. Blocks have a very good picture of the local timber trade and it has been found that every block desires to have with it some sort of aids or aiding institutions to improve and co-ordinate the products of the carpenter who is found in every village of the unit. There is a complete possibility of creating small co-operative units of carpenters

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who are born artisans and who if given proper help will definitely improve the trade earlier than an outsider in this craft. These co-operatives can easily tackle the problems of raw materials (timber), working funds (from industrial loans) and better workshop conditions with improved hand tools (achieving multi-purpose operation in simpler efforts). There can be a system of collecting orders from potential buyers and distributing the same to the members of these co-operatives. The products may also be delivered back in the same way.

These co-operative units will need, not of course a training centre (carpentry) attached to it, but essehtially the services of some trained persons who will be in a position to demonstrate and give shape to the underlying idea in the use of materials from the co-operative pool, in the use of better and modern hand tools, and in the production of standard articles as far as practicable, besides producing to orders.

The timber industry being in the hands of village carpenters as already shown is not very apparent to the common eye. It lacks in the spectacular bigness of the large-scale industries like that of cement and steel. But a scrutiny as regards the uses of different materials will show that timber ranks with iron, steel, coal or cement inasmuch as no project can do without it.

Recent years have seen a tremendous progress in the Ply Wood industry which is but a branch of the timber industry. Modern machinery is in free use in this branch, whereas the main industry is, more or less, in the hands of the artisans.

It has been felt by one and all that the scarcity of timber resources is alarming and something must be done to stop the wanton devastation or arbitratory use of the precious raw material. This calls forth for standardisation of products including the timber of quality of particular products, channelling the production in a scientific manner ensuring efficient use and stepping up production of standard components by planned output through modern timber workshops.

It has been felt by the furniture trade of this State that in case no standardisation is reached the consequences will be disastrous. It has been further held that if the components of standard furniture can in any way be made interchangeable the whole trade will get a nucleus or a starting point of mechanical production. In the field of furniture the tendency of a man to possess articles of special feature is inborn and hence the diversity of products. But this tendency can always be channelised to the use of standard furniture if proper manufacturing becomes possible. In the first instance the standardisation of size, dimensions and quality is to be achieved. Then it is to be decided how many of the components can be made interchangeable. And, lastly, the economic manufacture and distribution of these items throughout the State to make them available even to a remote worker for assembly, is to be made feasible. The work of standardisation has been taken up by the Indian Standard Institute in many respects. The existing industrialists can also help in the research of tabulating the interchangeable parts, and a well-laid modern Timber Workshop can always produce articles to specifications. These done, the ordinary trader will always find interest in serving as stockists of these parts.

The salient features emerging are:

(1) Creating of co-operatives for village carpenters to introduce better working methods better procurement and distribution, and better production, thereby raising the standard of living.

(2) To start with definite intention of standardisation of products both as regards material and quality and to effectuate a source of continuous supply of standard products throughout the State.

For success of this programme it should be based on a policy of gradual development, with the closest co-operation of the administration and the executive.

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INDIAN NATIONAL EVOLUTION

1757 to 1920

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, Advocate

With the victory at the battle of Plassey in 1757 the East India Company became the *de facto* sovereign of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. They set up and pulled down puppet Nawabs at their pleasure. In the trial of Radha Charan, the Vakil of Nawab Mubarak-Daula, the Supreme Court in Calcutta refused to recognise the sovereignty of the Nawab over the provinces calling him a 'phantom' and 'a man of straw' with nothing left to him but 'an empty name'.

Since the East India Company assumed the rights of a ruling power its activities were subject to scrutiny from time to time by the British Parliament and every renewal of its Charter was preceded by an inquiry on behalf of the British Government. The great interest evinced by Edmund Burke, Sheridan and Fox in the last quarter of the 18th century served to focus public opinion on the Indian problem. Although the impeachment of Warren Hastings failed in its objective it exposed the oppression and the tyranny to which the Indians were the unfortunate victims.

Admittedly Raja Rammohun Roy was the prophet of Indian Nationalism and the father of Modern India. Rammohun Roy stands in history as the living bridge over which India travelled from her immeasurable past to her incalculable future. He was the mediator of his people harmonising in his own person, often by means of his own solitary sufferings, the conflicting tendencies of an immemorial tradition and the inner enlightenment. We find that he led the way from the orientalism of the past not to, but through, western culture towards a civilization which is neither Western nor Eastern but somehow vaster, nobler and larger than both. He preserved continuity throughout by virtue of his religion which again supplied the motive force to his progressive movement. The power that connected and restrained as well as widened and impelled was religion. During his voyage to England he chose to sail by a French ship from the Cape of Good Hope so that he might be able to pay homage to the Flag of Liberty.

The British Indian Association in Bengal was started in 1851, for securing the right of greater participation in administration for the children of the soil. Ram Gopal Ghose assisted by some land holders and wealthy men founded this first political organisation of our country. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra and Ram Gopal Ghose carried on public work for decades. The Bombay Association had a shorter career with a vigorous record to its credit under the leadership of men like Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai and Mr. Naoroji Furdunji. It owed its origin to Dadabhai Naoroji and Jagajjadha Sankar Seth. The East India Association, however, superseded this body in the seventies of the last century.

The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 contrary to its name was no mere revolt of a disgruntled army. The episode of the greased cratridges was simply the spark which exploded the vast powder magazine of popular discontent which had long been accumulating. The constitutional significance of it was that it demonstrated to the British people once for all the impossibility of governing India without associating Indians with the administration in some way or other. Emperor Bahadur Shah, the last scion of the Moghul Dynasty, became the focal point for the country-wide rebellion. The heroic exploits of Nana Saheb, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Tantia Tope and Kunwar Singh are unforgettable. Even according to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the fundamental cause of the Mutiny was that the Government had no means of knowing the wishes of the people.

Again in Bengal the Indian Association was founded in 1876. The moving spirit of this body was Surendra Nath Banerjee and the first Secretary was Ananda Mohan Bose. By that time there were as many as 475 newspapers mostly in Indian languages. Surendra Nath Banerjee attended the Delhi Durbar in 1877 and conceived the idea of organising a gathering of the people and princes of India. In 1878 he toured Bombay and Madras Presidencies to stimulate public opinion on the reactionary policy pursued by Lord Salisbury in reducing the age-limit for the Civil Service Examination to 19 years and to

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present an All-India Memorial to Parliament on that issue.

In South India public life was really inaugurated by the *Hindu* which grew from strength to strength and has now become a great organ of public opinion with a reputation extending beyond the frontiers of our country. Its founders were Messrs. M. Veera Raghavachariar, Hon'ble Rangayya Naidu, G. Subrahmania Ayyer and N. Subbarao Pantulu. In 1881 the Madras Mahajan Sabha was started. In Poona the Sarvajanika Sabha which sprang up about the same time as the *Hindu* was started was the medium through which public life was carried on by men like Rao Bahadur K. L. Nulkar and S. H. Chiplanker. The Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, Theosophy and the Ramakrishna Mission contributed their quota to speed up the national evolution. Swami Dayananda Saraswati, founder of the Arya Samaj, enunciated the concept of Swaraj in 1875. Swami Vivekananda who made history by attending the Parliament of Religions in Chicago was regarded as a Political Sanyasin. Even his British disciple, Sister Nivedita, became an object of attention of the Police and the C.I.D. All these movements were really so many threads in the mighty rope of Indian Nationalism. It is said that the idea of founding a national organization was conceived in a private meeting of 17 men after the Theosophical convention held at Madras in 1884.

Mr. Allan Octavian Hume who had been a British Civil Servant in India for 30 years came into possession of seven volumes of reports of seething revolt incubating in various districts based upon the communications of the disciples of the various *gurus* to their religious heads during the seventies of the last century. Hume resolved to open a safety-valve for the unrest. The story is that when Hume went to Lord Dufferin the then Viceroy of India to get his blessings for the project, his Lordship suggested that the movement should have a political basis on the ground that the Government required a loyal opposition.

Intelligent interest in public life and nationalism as a co-ordinated and concerted force came to the fore with the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Well-meaning and sympathetic Britishers like Yule, Sir William Weddernburn, A. Webb, Sir Henry Cotton and Dr. Annie Besant presided over its deliberations in 1888, 1889, 1894, 1904 and 1917 respectively. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who later became the Prime Minister of Britain, would have presided over the Congress in 1911 but for his wife's death. The royal reception given to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh in 1889 at the Congress was considered to be the pride of kings and the envy of Prime Ministers.

In this connection it is meet and proper that we should recall the honoured names of our British friends. William Ewat Gladstone got repealed the vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. He directly approved the Congress movement in 1888. Eardley Norton, the son of Sir John Bruce Norton, a well-known public man in South India, whose protrait is still hung in the Pachayappa's hall at Madras, is a famous figure. The younger Norton who dominated the Bar in Madras and Calcutta and held his own against every Judge spent the best part of his early life in India and laboured like his father for India's uplift. Though he was the Prosecuting Counsel in the Alipore Bomb Case in which Sri Aurobindo was successfully defended by Deshbandhu C. R. Das, he made history by attending the Congress year after year. He joined the Congress deputation which visited England in 1890 to impress on the British public and their leaders about the necessity of liberal reforms. He moved the Congress resolution for self-determination, with a moving speech at the Oxford Union. Mr. H. Morgan Browne seconded a resolution at the 10th session of the Congress for an enquiry by the House of Commons into the finances of India. Mr. John Adam, a well-known educationist of Madras stood by the Congress in the earlier days. General Booth, urged a scheme by which the poor destitute multitudes could be settled on the waste land of the country. Captain Banon and Captain Hearsay respectively proposed and seconded a resolution at the Congress in 1888 to stop procuring women for the British soldiers in India. John Bright entered Parliament in 1[illegible] and evinced continued interest in India till 1[illegible] W. S. Caine, the great temperence reformer, Mr. Samuel Smith, Dr. R. V. Rutherford and Dr. Clark, all M.Ps., visited India. This is merely illustrative and not in any way exhaustive. But the Congress remained basically

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loyal to the British regime. In fact, resolutions affirming loyality to the British Crown were passed at the successive sessions of the Congress.

The Congress passed through all the stages. Beginning as an annual gathering of flourishing lawyers and the landed aristocracy, it gradually opened its doors to the middle-class intelligentsia. It endeavoured to prevail on the powers-that-be by all possible means. It supplicated, prayed, petitioned, protested, argued and demonstrated. Up to the Surat Session in 1907 stalwarts like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Dinshaw Edulji Wacha dominated the organisation and moulded it according to their lights. In the meantime, the intransigence of the imperious Curzon, the partition of Bengal and the consequent revolutionary upsurge caused a great stir. Lokamanya Tilak in Maharashtra, Bepin Chandra Pal in Bengal, Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab and Kasturi Ranga Ayyengar in Madras thoroughly understood the impulses that brought about this upsurge. They wanted the Congress to become active and effective. Hence at Surat Lala Lajpat Rai, the sturdy patriot, was pitted against Sir Rash Behari Ghose, the self-sacrificing lawyer-politician, but the next session at Madras witnessed the unrivalled reign of the latter.

In spite of isolated acts of political terrorism indulged in by some emotional and misguided youths, Nationalism was geared to constitutionalism. Though Lokamanya Tilak proclaimed that Swaraj was his birth-right, his creed was responsive co-operation. Later Mr. N. C. Kelkar preserved and propagated the ideals of the Lokamanya, with the zeal of a missionary to the last breath of his life. After the partition of Bengal had been annulled, Bepin Chandra Pal practically retired from active politics. Sri Aurobindo who loomed large as a stormy petrel in Indian Politics during the Swadeshi Movement retired to Pondichery to meditate on the higher values of life. The *Hindu* of Madras became the exponent of moderation and caution in the pursuit of nationalist ideals. Lala Lajpat Rai as the President of the Calcutta Congress in 1920 could not persuade himself to believe in the desirability of the Gandhian creed of non-violent resistance. But he stood by the nation during the boycott of the Simon Commission and became the victim of a brutal lathi-charge and died as a consequence of it.

The part played by Dr. Annie Besant in India deserves special attention. We have had a number of distinguished persons, undoubtedly famous, great in their own way, in their own times and in their respective fields, but small in stature when compared to this dynamic personality. She touched life at many points. She was a free thinker, an orator of international reputation, a prominent politician, an eminent journalist, an ardent social reformer, a great educationist, a connoisseur of art, an ambassador of our culture, the foremost leader of religious thought, and what not. Her whirlwind campaign to secure Home Rule for India was the first All-India Movement for Self-Government here and now. Her internment endeared her to the people. With her, ideological differences never led to estrangement of personal relations. She had the greatest respect for Gandhiji. Her attachment to the Congress was not diminished by her disapproval of its later-day policies and programmes. When the Congress Working Committee was banned in 1930, she was grieved and as an ex-president announced her membership of that body. Her spirit of renunciation was unique. After developing the central Hindu College at Benares, she cheerfully handed over the same to a staunch Sanatanist like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who transformed it into a University. Like William Blake, to her religion was politics and politics was brotherhood. In spite of the fact that during the later part of her life she became the object of vilification and misunderstanding (Mr. Khaparde of Maharashtra went to the extent of describing her as a Putana —the demon who wanted to suckle Sri Krishna with her poisonous breasts), she loved India and her people to the last breath of her life. In the words of Dr. Md. Alam, "She was the mother of Mother India." "The memory of the magnificent services rendered by her to India," in the words of Gandhiji, "will live as long as India lives." "Her radiant spirit," observed Mrs. Sarojini Nadu, "rekindled India's faith in her own ideals and destiny."

The role of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in spite of the brief span of his life was eventful. He was the youngest President of the Congress. He was the first public man in India who

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interested himself in the plight of Indians abroad. He tackled the varied problems of the country with exceptional ability and constructive statesmanship. He was noted for his clarity and correctness. His speeches are still read with interest by students of public affairs. He was the first to recognise the necessity for an organisation of whole-hearted and wholetime public workers. Taking the idea from Mahadev Govinda Ranade, he founded the Servants of India Society at Poona. This brotherhood of selfless workers continues to function unobtrusively even today under the lead of Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, President of the "Indian Council of World Affairs." The traditions are kept alive and the precious heritage is preserved with meticulous care.

It may not be out of place to describe in brief the distinguished roles of men that guided nationalism in the nineteenth century and the early part of the 20th century. W. C. Bonnerji, though occidental in his habits from the buckling of his shoes to the lighting up of his cigarette and spent the latter part of his life in England, presided over the first and the eighth sessions of the Congress and paid his homage to Mother India. Dadabhai Naoroji was by common consent the Grand Old Man of India. He presided over the 2nd, 9th and 22nd sessions. Dadabhai Naoroji who came to be known as the Grand Old Man of India was the most respected and best loved publicman of his generation. Scaling over the communal barriers built by no less a person than Sir Syed Ahmed Khan of Aligarh, Baddruddin Tyabji, Ex-Judge of the Bombay High Court, Nawab Sayyed Muhammad, R. M. Siyani, and Hassan Imam presided over the 3rd, the 13th, 28th, and the 33rd Sessions. Sir Pherozshah Mehta, the uncrowned king of Bombay, who brought into vogue walk-out as a form of political protest, presided over the 6th Session. P. Anandacharlu of Madras with no props but aided by sincere workers presided over the 7th session. Surendra Nath Banerji, the trumpet-voice of India, presided over the sessions of the Congress held in 1895 and 1902. Of the other Presidents of the Congress Sir Sankaran Nayar was a curious amalgam. He resigned his membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1919 as a protest against the atrocities in the Punjab. Like a boomerang which bursts no one knows where, his attacks were unexpected, and for his book *Gandhi and Anarchy* he had to pay Rs. 3 lakhs as damages and costs to Michael O'Dwyer, the Lt. Governor of the Punjab. Romesh Chandra Dutt was a prince among his peers. His superiority was observed in every gathering he adorned with his presence. Yet this distinguished civil servant, such was the reactionary tendency in those days, never rose beyond the position of an officiating Commissioner of a Division, though the Maharaja of Baroda appointed him as his Prime Minister after retirement. Bhupendranath Basu enrolled himself as a volunteer in the 2nd Session of the Congress held at Calcutta in 1886. But the young volunteer, the newest recruit in the service of the Congress, had the Field Marshal's baton concealed in his knapsack and in 1914 became the President of the Congress. He was one of the central figures in the anti Partition and Swadeshi Movement in 1905. In 1916 he was elected as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council and in the following year he was selected by Lord Chelmsford to fill the vacancy in the India Council where he became the central figure and brought about a transformation. The stiffness of the bureaucratic mien disappeared. His room was the rendezvous of the Indians. An Indian having any business at White Hall or in the neighbourhood would tumble into his room, stay for a few minutes and relieve the strain of the hard life by a quiet chat with its occupant who was all things to all men in the best sense ready to advise and assist. Lord Sinha who presided over the Bombay Session in 1915 was the first Indian to get all the honours and positions that were hitherto denied to Indians. But when he found that he would have to order the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi he resigned the Governorship of Behar on the plea of ill-health. A. C. Mazumdar, the first historian of the Congress, presided over the next session at Lucknow. Ananda Mohan Bose, Pandit Bishen Dhar, Chandravarkar, D. E. Wacha, Lal Mohn Ghose and Madholkar were noted for their erudition and grasp over public problems. Pandit Motilal Nehru presided over the Amritsar Session in 1919, described as the twilight of the Gandhian era in the wake of Rowlat Act, Jalinwalabag Massacre and the Khilafat agitation.

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On the eve of the parting of the ways, Mr. C. Vijaya-Raghavachariar of Salem presided over the Congress in 1920 at Nagpur, when Gandhiji became the undisputed leader of this organisation and moulded it according to his lights for nearly three decades. The only Congress veteran who never faded away was Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya. This Sanatanist and sweet-tongued orator held the Congress audience spell-bound for hours year after year. Gandhiji very rightly respected him as his elder brother. He was indeed an invaluable link between the older and the younger generation. He did not hesitate to court the rigors of jail life during the Gandhian era in spite of ill health, advancng years and the incidental infirmities. The fact that he was chosen to preside over the two banned sessions of the Congress in 1932 and 1933 at Delhi and Calcutta during the dark days of repression proclaims the esteem and confidence he enjoyed. Differences he always had with the official policy of the Congress, but he never deserted the organisation which he built brick by brick and in whose service he grew grey.

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A PLEA FOR STATISTICS

By Prof. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.com., LL.B.

"Nature's great book is written in mathematical language," said Galileo. For a proper understanding of nature, its laws and phenomena it is necessary, therefore, to know this language of mathematics, which in its essence consists of various systems of methods of measurement. One such system among others is statistics. Numbers and their manipulation for use in practice form the central theme of this science. Its scope is, consequently, co-extensive with the efficiency of numbers to represent ideas in any field of knowledge. Statistics substitute definiteness for vagueness in our ideas; or as Dr. Yule puts it:

"The *sometimes* of the cautious is the *often* of the sanguine, the *always* of the empiric, and the *never* of the sceptic: while the numbers 1, 10, 1,000, and 10 000 have but one meaning for all mankind."

On a wall of the Biometric Laboratory at University College, London, where much of the present science of statistics has been developed, is written the following motto:

"When you can measure what you are speaking about and express it in numbers, you know something about it, but when you cannot measure it, when you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meagre and unsatisfactory kind."—Lord Kelvin

The growth of statistics is coeval with the growth of national organization. As soon as tribes were united into coherent confederacies or distinct nations, it became necessary for the ruler to collect facts concerning his domain for the purposes of apportioning land, levying taxes, classifying the inhabitants and determining the military strength. The Ancient Egyptians had a centralized form of government administered with the aid of systematic statistical knowledge of the economic conditions of the country (*e.g.*, regular returns were made of the level of the Nile, on which the prosperity of the country so much depended). In India, numerical data were compiled as long ago as 300 B.C. during the rule of the Maurya kings, and subsequently during the reigns of Asoka, of the Guptas and the Moghul rulers. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is replete with statistics of land, prices, wages, population, etc., collected during the Maurya rule (300 B.C.) and *Ain-i-Akbari* with those relating to Akbar's reign (1556-1605).

For over a decade, the Indian economy has been subjected to exceptional stress and strain. The accelerated growth of population, the relief and rehabilitation for never-ceasing influx of displaced persons, shortages of raw materials, of essential consumer goods, of avenues of employment and of housing, the low level of nutrition and of the standard of living of our countrymen, the menace of devastating floods, of pests and locusts to agriculture, our industrial backwardness—all constitute the immediate problems for which we must provide an answer. Further, in finding solutions to these problems, considerations of social justice and the need for a progressive reorientation of the country's economy along the lines suggested in the Constitution have to be borne in mind.

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Within this broad perspective, there is the further problem of choice between competing objectives. Maximum production, full employment, lower prices, greater equality of incomes —all these—cannot, under certain conditions, go together. Each one of these objectives is, in itself, desirable, and there is, therefore, need for a balanced emphasis on each. The task of economic statesmanship is, therefore, to work in terms of a scheme of priorities as between these objectives, laying more stress on some and less on others. This problem of balancing competing objectives is implicit in all economic decisions and is brought out to the fore in the planning perspective of our under-developed economy.

Viewed against this background, the role of statistics in reconstructing India in the post-freedom era is no less significant. They affect everybody and touch the life of the nation at many points.

Place of Statistics in Business and Industry

Some one has said that when the history of modern times is finally written we shall read it as beginning with the age of steam and then progressing through the age of electricity to that of statistics. This may be only a pardonable exaggeration on the part of an over-enthusiastic statistician. But the fact remains that, consciously or unconsciously, a large part of modern business is being organised around systems of statistical analysis and control.

With an urge to industrialise the country during the Second Plan period, the problem of industrial statistics has also come to the fore-front. In most of the advanced countries, industrial statistics are collected under the following heads:

1. Capital—(a) authorised, issued and paid-up capital; (b) fixed and working capital.
2. Labour—(a) number of heads employed, their race and sex; (b) wages and salaries paid.
3. Cost of production—(a) quantity and value of raw material consumed; (b) other items.
4. Output—(a) quantity and value of the main product; (b) quantity and value of the bye-product.
5. Power used—details of consumption and cost.
6. Contribution of each industrial unit to the national income.
7. Factors influencing industry in the country.

Such detailed statistics are indispensable for every long-range planning by the Government or the industrialists. They are also required by every potential investor who not unnaturally wants to shed his fears about the concern in which his savings are going to be locked up.

The modern entrepreneur lives in an environment of prices. This world of prices in which the businessman functions constitutes a coherent, consistent, well-articulated system of interdependent parts, a system which encompasses all the business activities of the entrepreneur. Since the system is beyond the control of the individual he must adapt himself to it, and must base his activities upon as complete an understanding of the system as he may obtain. Intuition can no longer be the basis of business judgment. Under intuitive or rule of thumb methods of administration it is impossible effectively to control large business units. Questions of expanding production, increasing inventories, raising prices, developing new markets and the like may all be answered statistically. For this hit-and-miss methods must necessarily yield place to planning. Thus, for instance, the output of machines can be compiled with a view to obtaining a "standard output" to act for all machines working under similar conditions. Variations from this standard would then be disclosed and can be enquired into with a view to adjustment thus leading to greater efficiency from both plant and worker. Tabulated results of advertising will show the best type of advertisement, the best medium or media in which to advertise, the district or town from which the best results are obtained and even the best days on which to advertise. Census statistics will supply a wealth of information as to the likely areas in which to develop a market, for all other things being equal, the best districts upon which to concentrate the efforts will be those which have the greatest density of population. From the data showing the occupations of the population

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will be possible to estimate the quality of the markets available in the different areas. The occupational lists will also show the apparent supply of labour both skilled and unskilled available for different industries in the various districts. Similarly, the report showing the distribution of the population by age and sex will be useful for studying the problem of future labour supply.

Financial institutions such as Banks and Insurance Companies can only carry on their business by the intelligent utilisation of the past experience. The extent of reserves necessary to be maintained in order to meet normal calls made upon the bank and the premium and death tables are all based on statistics.

PLACE OF STATISTICS IN ADMINISTRATION

Statistics are useful in administration in providing raw materials for planning and legislation. In the development of a plan, statistics in the first place, call attention to and describe the nature of economic and social problems. Secondly, they measure the importance of these problems and place them in a proper perspective. In the absence of this function, an individual who does not easily take an impersonal view of things, can make a mess of democracy. For instance, the views of a Member of Parliament are coloured by his knowledge of his constituency; a businessman tends to view all economic problems from the standpoint of his particular industry; a slum-dweller sees good housing as the most urgent, and a comfortable inhabitant of a prosperous town thinks there is nothing much wrong with the world. In all these circumstances, it is due to the strength of statistics that they paint a broad, impersonal picture. Lastly, statistics act as a guide to policy, that is, they point out solutions to the problems described. Is a policy of embarking on public works the best way of curing unemployment? Is a protective tariff really good for industry as a whole? Answers to all such questions can be given statistically.

The budget which is awaited so eagerly in these days of heavy taxation would be impossible if production were it not for the work of the statistical sections of the various departments concerned. Similarly, local authorities need statistical information to enable them to adjust their supplies of various public services to the needs, both immediate and future, of the districts they serve. When building a new housing estate for example, water, gas, electricity, sewers, schools, transport, and so on, have to be provided in quantities that are sufficient but not excessive.

PLACE OF STATISTICS IN OTHER SCIENCES

The science of economics is closely dependent on statistics. Economic laws refer to mass or group phenomena. The laws of demand and supply, for instance, refer to the behaviour of the mass and not to that of an individual who may behave in an unpredictable way. In studying this mass behaviour numerical data or statistics spring into being.

The connection of statistics with biology is almost as close as with economics. In all biological tests and experiments, two important questions have to be asked: "What is the most economical way of arranging the tests to give an average result of required accuracy?" and "How many tests must be made to attain this accuracy?" Statistical methods provide the answers.

Of late, statistical ideas have also been imported into physics and chemistry. The old conception of matter as an aggregate of elementary particles, *viz.*, atoms contained nothing statistical, since all the atoms were alike. When, however, the particles were given different characteristics the aggregate became a statistical proposition and the laws of its behaviour statistical laws. The statistical approach is not often necessary if the physicist is interested only in the properties of matter in the mass, *i.e.*, the behaviour of the aggregate of elementary particles, but it is necessary when he attempts to relate such properties to observations on the elementary components.

Vital statistics, epidemiology and public health are rightly regarded as being statistical, since they are concerned with masses of people. In agriculture, correlation methods have been used to determine what factors influence such things as the quantity and quality of crops and the weight of cattle. Similar correlation and sampling methods are employed in many engineering tests of materials and articles.

An occasional application of statistics to literature is also not infrequent. Frequency distributions of the lengths of sentences have

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been used to characterise one aspect of the style of authors. A striking and most interesting statistical investigation in the literary sphere is a study of Shakespeare made by the late Prof. Caroline F. E. Spurgeon and described in her book *Shakespeare's Imagery*. She presents tables of the frequencies of various types of images used by Shakespeare in five of his plays and in certain writings of Bacon and other contemporaries. In the Preface of her book, Miss Spurgeon asserts that "... in the case of a poet ... it is chiefly through his images that he, to some extent unconsciously, 'gives himself away'." She reaches this conclusion and others that there are two minds behind the works of Shakespeare and Bacon.

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BEAUTIES OF THE MOGHUL CAMP

A Paradise on Earth

By BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI,
Hony. Fellow, The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

The Moghuls have no longer the former glory. The sun of their power is set for ever; but its glamour is all afresh in history.

Their love of power is proverbial. Their administration might have been sound or not but their sense of beauty and pageantry is almost unequalled in world's history.

A nation of sturdy soldiers bravery was bred in their bones and they had, moreover, an innate eye for the picturesque and grand marked by a critical instinct for details and proportion.

Their Tajmahal is thus a dream in marble, while their magnificent edifices of pointed spires and cupolas are just reckoned as wonders of architecture.

Hunting or travelling excursions of the Moghuls were wonderful, too.

Astrologers came from far antipodal points of the empire to the capital, counted rosary or carved signs and figures and then, prophesied the prospect of the imperial itinerary. If the forecast was a favourable soothsay, the emperor started on his venture; if it rang ominous he would abandon it complacently. When he happened to embark on journeys throughout a vast and far-flung kingdom, huge concourse of people comprising army, sentry, police, footmen, attendants, accompanied him with mobile units like munition store, muniment room, commissariat —all clustering the imperial procession.

A foreign traveller like a Niccolao Manucci is therefore just and tacit when he says: "The Moghul Camp is almost a huge Delhi."

Besides the above, the emperor often had immensely varied equipments, dress and fitments for personal comfort and use. He had also a sort of drapery chamber moving with him during his sojourn. This chamber contained all valuable, rich and gaudy dresses, clothes and robes used by members of the royal family.

Hundreds of camels, horses and elephants were required for their carriage from station to station.

Then, there were mammoth pavilions, tents and camps specially to be carried on the backs of pack mules.

Fancy goods like porcelain, glass, emerald wares, toilet, scents, ornate drawers, polished reflecting, tables, luxury-furniture, gilded diamond-set looking-glasses were conveyed on shoulders by a large train of royal porters.

After the drapery-chamber had reached the proper site, the army officer would see to it that every care was taken for its safety and security.

Then, began the task of clearing of thorns and stubbles from the chosen locality for the royal camps. For this, the service of lance-corporals had got to be requisitioned. The whole camping ground would sometimes be an oblong or square having a perimeter of about ten miles or so.

A wall of canvas or twilled stuff eight to ten feet high circuited round the borders of the ground. In the mid-way of the wall of this camping ground stood an arch-way similar to that of the Delhi Fort. Miniature parapets, battlements, towers, and steeples would also be furnished for decoration of this camp city.

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In the vast ground would be pitched hundreds of pavilions and tarpaulin sheds on a very sound, sanitary and engineering plan.

The central or the main pavilion was meant for the emperor and was called "amkhas." In the hall of the *amkhas* was laid out soft pliant carpets, while overhead hung canopies set in gold, silver, tinsel, and brocade; whereas in the middle was placed the dazzling gold and diamond throne—all wonder and enchantment to the bewildering eye.

In this hall the emperor took his seat and consulted or held discussions with the ministers. The traveller Bernier says that the emperor would twice come over there during the day and hold inspection into records to see how justice was done, judgement delivered, and fairness maintained.

Such a gathering as would put in appearance before the emperor-in-council was called "mokam."

Not far from the *amkhas* or the durbar-chamber was the *gosalkhana* meaning the rest or *siesta*-house, where the emperor, after the strenuous rigour of a hard day's work lounged in cosy, cosy sofas aglow with gold and pearls, smoking fumes of soothing tobacco vapours wafting around an elysium of heavenly aroma and grace from a gorgeous pipe, or heard appeals from chieftains, government officials or the public.

With the approach of dusk, the whole camp-city would be ablaze in wondrous illumination of chandeliers and flamboyant torches like a fairy city.

Next to *gosalkhana*, came the secret-chamber called *kalabatkhana* where all confidential intelligences were being properly attended to or despatched by the officers.

This was, of course, a whit smaller than the former ones but it was perhaps the most important seat of administration; and hence no one except a high official could gain an access in its precincts without let or hindrance.

Far away from the secret-chamber were the royal pavilions in rather gorgeous and glittering ensemble of stately but picturesque height. Silk, muslin, cotton and golden laces were hung on their sides and fringes whereas huge silver-decorated door-mats and shimmering blankets in mauve and pink composed floor-coverings and furnishings.

Then came the *rangmahal*, the colourful pleasure 'salon' of the Moghul emperors with all its varnish, aroma, glamour and brilliance running riot in varied gamut and patterns.

This had nice screens hung on silken cords and supplied the most dainty relish of music, dance and pleasantries for which the Moghul palate was just so proverbially fastidious.

The Moghul queens as well as the Begums were very keen and captious about toilet and used rather a peculiar face massage and pomade, perhaps the best amongst the cosmetics of the time, and also used scents mostly preserved in caskets having silver lock and key.

Beautiful streets ran through this camp-city in neat and orderly fashion: each having been lined up by rows of tents. A few paces off the main gate, stood the music-stand, where veteran royal pipers would often play the tune of an enthralling song.

A little ahead of this place was built the sentry-box where every officer of the army kept an incessant round of watch and ward every hour by rotation.

A majority of tents would be occupied by officers, soldiers, servants and other menials; while munition, food and essential records were kept in well-protected tents.

Curiously enough, the Moghuls were very fond of pet animals and hence, large varieties of beasts and birds would accompany them during their tours. Thus, in their camping city specially made tents were erected for the upkeep of elephants, steeds, dogs, buffaloes and cats.

These would help the emperor during hunts or in the display of a kind of mock-fight to the amusement and fun of the royal dignitaries.

This vast camp had its market held in spacious halls of canvas within its enclosures. There were small restaurants that supplied drinks, medicated syrup, delicious fruit-chips, varieties of condiments and confectioneries.

The Moghul Emperor was very fond of the Ganges water, that was often boiled, filtered, cooled with ammonia and finally preserved in cold storage.

The procession that accompanied the emperor on the occasion of his visit to any province or city was singularly charming.

He rode either a horse or a well-caparisoned

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elephant; sometimes, his throne would be carried on shoulders of gorgeously-dressed bearers.

Elephants decked in a motley of varied ornaments, painted in sandal, offered a majestic fore-ground of the imperial train. The *howdas* or enthroned seats on elephant-back would look like so many little golden castles in colour, design, magnificence and opulence. Only royal members would be seated on these glittering *howdas*.

At the four corners of each *howda* were erected small columns of gold and silver, over which floated a canopy of the finest velvet with pearl-sewn tassels.

When the procession started, the prominent officials and the princes would follow it up on horse-back.

There would be at least a hundred elephants in a State-procession. In front would proceed the foot-men carrying what are called *assasoti* long thick clubs of silver, each on every foot-man's shoulder. At the upper ends of these rods were soldered effigies of various animals like fish, crocodile, etc., etc.

Then followed the band of musicians—*nakibs*—blowing trumpets and singing sweet imperial anthems. Behind them came the commanders, called *mansabdars*, each on his charger with lieutenants following close upon their heels.

Then, paced up in rhythmic gait or true and majestic canter, squadrons of cavalry and infantry with a panoply of mails and drawn-up swords, displaying grandeur. Thus, looking at the camp of the Great Moghuls, one would be reminded of the beautiful motto in Persian calligraphy on the wall of the interior of the ever-memorable Dewani Khas: "If there be a paradise on earth it is this; it is this; it is this!"

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY (Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, 1956): *Vol. I. Pp. 332. Price Rs. 10.*

The twenty-six papers comprised in the special issue of this well-known Indological Journal cover the fields of archaeology, history, literature, religion and philosophy. For lack of space it is possible to notice here only the most important of these contributions. Under the head 'Archaeology', special mention should be made of the article No. 18 (*Significance of Buddha Images on Ancient Indian Coinage* by S. V. Sohoni), in which the writer, after identifying the figure on a much-discussed coin of Maues and the Buddha figures on certain types of Kanishka's and Huvishka's coins, throws out the ingenious suggestion of the origin of the Buddha image in the indigenous scroll-like narrative reliefs from which the figure of the Master was taken over by the Scythian rulers and used in the new medium of stone or metal. This furnishes a vindication, by a complete new argument, of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's view of the indigenous origin of the Buddha image which was disputed by Dr. W. W. Tarn. Mention may be made also of No. 19 (*Chakra in Brahmanical and Buddhistic Scriptures* by B. R. Sharma) giving a learned account of the significance of this symbol from the Rigvedic times onwards and leading to the conclusion that "the symbolism of *chakra*, the conception of *chakravartin*, and the phrase 'turning the wheel' are definitely pre-Buddhist" (p. 90). Reference may also be made to No. 13 (*Sites in Rajgir associated with the Buddha and his disciples* by D. N. Sen) giving an exhaustive list of identifications of those sites by a veteran student of the subject. Another interesting pa-

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is No. 1 (*The Botataung Pagoda, Rangoon*, by Maung Ohn Ghine) containing the story of discovery of the relic-casket inside the old Buddhist *stupa* which was destroyed by British bombing during the last War, the antiquities comprising a unique terracotta plaque with the figure of Buddha and an inscription (of which however we have unfortunately the briefest notice). On the other hand, one fails to understand why the old papers of V. H. Jackson on the identification of two ancient sites in South Bihar (No. 20) and the identity of the so-called Bodh-Gaya plaque by the late Dr. D. B. Spooner, Vincent A. Smith and Sten Konow (Nos. 21-23) should be reproduced in full without any fresh light being thrown upon the problems concerned. Under the head 'History' we have the useful paper No. 15 (*A Revaluation of Buddhism in Bihar and the Uttar Pradesh*, c. 635-1197 A.D., by Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar) bringing together epigraphic and literary evidence (part of the latter being repeated simultaneously in No. 3) to indicate the survival of Buddhism in those areas down to the 12th century A.D. The painstaking account (No. 2) of Buddha's wanderings in Anga and Magadha derived from references in the Pali canon by B. C. Law may also be mentioned in this connection. Under the head 'Literature', we may notice No. 11 (*Cultural importance of Sanskrit literature preserved in Tibet* by A. S. Altekar) containing an unnecessarily prolonged description of the Sanskrit MSS. recently discovered in Tibet along with a detailed account of three MSS. in the collection of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute of Patna. This is usefully supplemented by No. 16 (*Jnanasrimitra and his works* by Anantalal Thakur) containing an important notice of the works and teachings of a great Buddhist philosopher hitherto known only from quotations, which are comprised in the collection lastnamed. The remaining papers mostly come under the head 'Religion and Philosophy', the least satisfactory being No. 25 (*Magical beliefs and superstitions in Buddhism*) containing a long and rambling account disfigured by numerous printing mistakes in the spelling and transliteration of proper names. Mention may be made lastly of the thoughtful paper No. 14 (*Influence of Buddhism on Indian thought and culture* by Satkari Mookerjee) covering, though not comprehensively, a very wide and important field.

U. N. GHOSHAL

PROGRESS OF A PILGRIMAGE: *By Suresh Ramabhai. Akhil Bharat Sarv Seva Sangh. Rajghat, Benares. Price Rs. 3-8.*

"Six years have since passed. Now all those who take his (Gandhiji's) name, all those who received his love bounteously, all of them like me are on trial"—said Acharya Vinoba Bhave on the sixth death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi (January 30, 1954). The Acharya understates. The nation as a whole fathered by the departed great is on trial.

Vinoba's mission of begging land for the landless from village to village is called Bhoodan (Land-gift): From this majestic parent stem have sprouted such noble branches as 'Sampattidan' (property-gift), 'Buddhidan' (Intellect-gift), 'Shramadan' (Labour-gift), 'Jeevanadan' (Life-gift) and 'Gramadan' (Village-gift). Like Gandhiji, whose disciple and follower he claims to be—and he is so in reality—Vinoba pours out his ideas in his post-prayer discussions every day and these discourses are a record of the development of Gandhian thought since the Mahatma left his mortal coils. A record of Vinoba's 'Pada Yatra' (trek) from village to village is "a record of the progress of the unique moral and social revolution he has set in motion."

Vinoba launched the 'Bhoodan' movement in violence-shaken Telengana six years ago when Ram Chandra Reddy surrendered his land demanded by the landless Harijans of the Pocham-palli village. The wiseacres maintained that this first land-gift and those which followed immediately "had been made because of the background of Communist terror." Subsequent events, however, showed that people responded to Vinoba's call even when there was no communist or other terror lurking in the background. Doubting Thomases now took the field and argued that enough land for the country's landless millions could not be obtained by begging. Vinoba decided to make Bihar a test-case and an example. From the Uttar Pradesh he crossed into Bihar on September 14, 1952 and left the State for West Bengal on the New Year's eve, 1955, after a stay of 839 days. He had fixed Bihar's quota of land-gift at thirty-two lakhs of acres. More than twenty-two lakhs of acres (22,32,474.36 acres) had been collected before he left.

The Bhoodan movement, in Vinoba's own words, is "essentially a moral movement." "Mine," says Vinoba, "is not so much to pro-

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vide food to the hungry as is to bring it home to the people that before they take their food, they must share it with others. I want to create an atmosphere of *giving* in this age of *taking* so that *non-possession* and *co-operation,* in place of *ownership* and *competition,* may be the basis of life." What is Vinoba's ultimate objective? In his own words, "Through Bhoodan I want to bring equality in the *political, economic* and *social* spheres. I want that every village must have its own arrangement of education, industries and crafts, land-distribution, defence, marketing and every village should have a *Mandal* to decide about the things to be sold or purchased from without. This is what I call Sarvodaya. This is also the foundation of *Samya-yogi Samaj.*"

Will the objective be achieved? Will Vinoba's target—collection of five crore acres of land by 1957—be reached? They may. They may not. But Vinoba, the "man of meek majesty" will yet go down in history as one of the great Indians of all times. He is one of the very few, who enables us to retain our faith in humanity, its sins of commission and omission notwithstanding.

Suresh Ramabhai gives in simple English a thrilling account of Vinoba Bhabe's progress through Bihar. He and his associates are all pilgrims in the truest sense of the term. The shrine of *'Sarvodaya'* (good of all to the fullest extent) is the cherished destination, Vinoba's trek through rural India is a unique pilgrimage and a more apposite title for the book under review could have been hardly thought of.

The book bears the impress of the author's sincerity. Maps showing the "pilgrim's progress" through Bihar, a chart showing districtwise the total land-gifts collected in Bihar, an index and a few well-reproduced photographs add to the value of the book. Printing and binding are quite good.

MAHARANA PRATAP: *By Sri Ram Sharma. V.V.R. Institute, Hoshiarpur. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The volume under review is the reprint of an earlier edition and shows that it has been received well by the reading public. Maharana Pratap Singh of Mewar (1572-1597), who took a vow to make his "mother's milk resplendant," is one of the great immortals of history. The learned author faithfully narrates the life-story of his hero and rightly concludes, "A great general, a brave warrior, a successful organiser, a prince among men, a generous foe, Pratap's name is sure to be honoured wherever these virtues are respected." The simple language and the lucid style of the book make it pleasant reading. An index, an exhaustive bibliography, and a number of pictures, among others, add to the charm and usefulness of the slender volume under review.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION: *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 151. Price Re. 1.*

An *ashrama* as Gandhi conceived it is a social laboratory away from the madding crowd but ever in touch with society, where social problems are studied and solutions offered by detached spirits. To read these pages, therefore, is to see a great soul in his social laboratory. Gandhi says:

"The reader has, perhaps, now seen that the *ashrama* set out to remedy what it thought were defects in our national life from the religious, economic, and political standpoints."

As with the individual so with the nation, character is the foundation of all progress. So in order to build sturdy characters who would be leaven to society he insisted on the observance of certain rules of conduct by *ashramites.* The book relates the nature and way of observance of these rules of conduct.

Here is a pilgrim on his march with his associates. The reader may join the company.

There are three appendices. The first narrates the object of the *ashrama* and the observances necessary for the fulfilment of that object. "Gandhi on the Observances" is the head of the second. The third gives the rules for Sevagram Ashram.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

MAURITIAN AFFAIRS: *Hind Kitabs Ltd., 32-34, Vir Nariman Road, Bombay. May, 1957. Price Rs. 2.*

This booklet is intended to be an introduction to the present state of affairs in Mauritius. The island has a remarkable record of corporate life, and with the march of events it seeks more and more to strengthen its position and in the present volume we are presented with reproduction of articles on the subject of Mauritius. Culturally, politically and historically there is a bond between India and Mauritius and we may hope that this bond will grow

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stronger and stronger in course of time. The booklet is a link, or is supposed to supply a link in addition.

One wonders if a continued narration of the events in the 19th and 20th centuries would not have contributed more to the understanding of the problem which the Mauritians have faced and which they will solve.

P. R. SEN

THE FUNDAMENTALS OF HINDUISM —A Philosophical Study: *By Satish Chandra Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Philosophy, Calcutta University. Published by the author and to be had of Messrs. Das Gupta and Co., Ltd., 54-3, College Street, Calcutta. Pp. 178 + xiv. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, the esteemed author of the book under review, is an experienced lecturer in Indian Philosophy and the learned author of three important works on the same subject. His excellent introduction to Indian philosophy has been widely appreciated and already translated into Hindi by Jha and Misra. In the present volume the author gives a philosophical interpretation of Hinduism as a religion in the light of Western thought, since he keenly feels an urgent need of such a study in our times. "The object of this book," observes the author, "is to present the fundamental principles and doctrines of the Hindu religion with its philosophical background, partly implicit in the religion itself, but more fully and explicitly stated in the different systems of Hindu philosophy. Those who are not conversant with Hindu philosophy are, therefore, apt to misunderstand and misrepresent Hindu religion."

This book divided into twelve readable chapters with an index and a bibliography of fifteen valuable works referred to, is meant to serve the purposes of the University students as well as general readers interested in Hindu philosophy and religion. In the first chapter the thoughtful author attempts a decent definition of Hinduism and the Central teaching of its original scriptures and observes that it is a monistic religion. "Hinduism may thus be regarded", the author rightly remarks, "as a unique form of monotheism which believes rather in the unity of gods in God, rather than the denial of gods for God." In the following chapters the nature of God, conception of self, theory of the world, doctrine of rebirth, law of Karma, doctrine of bondage and liberation, Raja-yoga, Bhakti-yoga, Jnana-yoga as well as Karma-yoga are discussed with profound scholarship and clarity with profuse quotations from our main scriptures. In the second chapter while describing the immanent nature of God the erudite author gives to my surprise a suitable quotation from my Bengali translation of the Chandi. I am afraid, the erudite author is not aware of my English rendering of the Devi-mahatmya published years ago in Madras, from which it would have been easier to quote the same. During the masterly treatment of subjects mentioned above, basic scriptures like Rig-Veda, various Upanishads, Gita, Devi-Bhagavata, Prakarma Panchika, Vishnu Bhagavata, Manu Smriti, Yogasutras, Brahmasutras and others as well as Western authorities like William James, Martineau, Harold Hoffding and the like are quoted aptly. The book has been immensely interesting, informative and authoritative and rightly deserves a perusal by the public and students concerned.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

TOWARD PLURALIST SOCIETY: *By K. K. Sinha. Published by Writers' House, 211, Park Street, Calcutta-17. Pp. x + 208. Price Rs. 8.*

In this collection of essays, Shri Sinha, a well-known journalist and prominent leader of the Radical Democratic Movement analyses some of the current problems facing the Indian Society to conclude that it is only through the promotion of a pluralist society, offering scope for development equally to the other forces along with the political one, that one could hope to achieve an improvement upon the existing order. The essays are an index of the wide range of the author's interest and knowledge. The topics discussed range from the problem of loneliness in life to economic planning of society, India's foreign policy, the role of political parties, the personality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and so on. The author's manner of presentation of the topics is provocative and the reader would find much food for thought in the discussions even though he may not always agree with the author. The book, taken as a whole, is a welcome addition to the literature dealing with socio-economic criticism. The price however seems to be a bit too much for this country.

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

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HINDI

HAMARI ARTHIK SAMASYAEN: *By G. P. Gupta. Rama Prasad and Sons, Agra. Pp. 359. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a collection of the author's fifty essays, written from time to time, on our various economic problems, such as, Food, Rural Reconstruction, Industry, Five-Year Plan, Colombo Plan, Capital, Labour, Banking and Commercial Education. They are marked by a basic background, which can easily enlighten the mind of the lay reader.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ISHU KHRIST: *By Kishorlal Ghanashyamdas Mashruwala, Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Reprint from Revised and Enlarged Edition in 1941. Published in March, 1957. Price ten annas only.*

The 1st edition of this book dates as far back as 1925, and it was intended to be of a series of biographics of great men who were supposed to be incarnations of God. Mashruwala certainly had no faith in the work of proselytizing associated with Christianity but he had deep reverence for Christ, and he had the conviction that Christianity as he understood it had something yet to give to the world. It is surprising to note what immense care he took in order to present the story as a thing fresh and bright.

It is divided into three parts—the first part deals with the life of Jesus Christ, with the background of John the Baptist, the birth and activities of Jesus, his worship of Truth, persecution and crucifixion; the second part contains the two sermons and the eighteen allegories and also some sayings of Christ; the third part deals with short but critical observation and a short glossary of about 3 score words.

Even in preparing this glossary Mashruwala shows how thorough he had been; he had in his text given the names as pronounced by a Jew of learning, but in the glossary he gives the corresponding English term because it is only the latter that we are conversant with. It is a work of striking originality and deserves to be translated into other modern Indian languages.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Gilbert Murray

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Derek Stanford pays deservedly high tribute to Professor Gilbert Murray, world-known intellectual and humanitarian leader, who recently passed away at the age of ninety-one. Professor Murray's verse-translations of classical Greek dramatists helped bridge the gulf between the modern man outside the pale of classical education and the culture in which much of Western intellectual life is rooted :

On May 20th Gilbert George Aime Murray died at Boar's Hill, Oxford, aged ninety-one. A great Hellenist, a great humanist, and an indefatigable worker for peace, this holder of the Order of Merit combined the preciser claims of scholarship with the broader obligations to mankind in general. Nineteenth-century liberalism was fed by three streams of thought : by Evangelical Christianity, by Utilitarian ethics and economics, and by Classical Graeco-Roman culture. Dr. Murray's liberalism derived from the third source. Active in so many contemporary affairs, he was essentially a nineteenth-century liberal, not in the mode and direction of his thought, but in his high principles and moral idealism.

A few of the offices held by him indicate his two cardinal concerns. From 1908-36, he was Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. From 1923-38, he was Chairman of the League of Nations Union; and from 1928-40, he was President of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. To some, then, Dr. Murray was known as a researcher into Greek culture; to some, as a singularly popular translator of the Greek dramatists; and to others, as a practical planner of peaceful policy between the nations. But these three activities were in fact united, and derived from his passion for civilization, which the study of Greek first opened to him. What, for many savants, has begun and ended as a philological passion—a somewhat confined cult of the letter—became, for Gilbert Murray, a fountainhead of culture; a source of courage, sanity and wisdom. Viewing the classics, in the words of Scott Holland, as a record of "dead heroisms," he was led to promote their spirit and lesson in terms applicable to the present day. Thus history, which others may regard as a knowledge of the dates of battles, pacts and kings, was for him something richer, more alive and philosophic. It was, as Lord Acton put it, "a continuous development, not a burden on the memory but an illumination of the soul."

Dr. Murray's view of politics and culture was not that of the specialist, a point he illustrates in his *Greek Studies* (1946) by the following anecdote :

"Two members of the House of Commons were once discussing why it was that Mr. Gladstone, when compared with such highly able and industrious colleagues as Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, seemed to tower above them by a sort of 'greatness' of mind and character. 'One thing is' said one of them, 'that Mr. Gladstone spends his spare time reading Homer and Plato and Dante and the Bible, whereas Dilke and Chamberlain mostly read bluebooks.'"

Now Dr. Murray readily conceded that the Plato-reading statesman today may appear rather the amateur when set beside the politician who considers himself "a solicitor of the nation" (whose function is to attend to his "clients' interests, not to indulge in unselfishness on their behalf or to secure them a reward in heaven"). Nonetheless, Dr. Murray believed that civilization and its amenities are best preserved by those who have learnt to bridge the gap between statistics and the ancient classics—the different disciplines of the blue-book and of Homer. Certainly the element of Hellenic thought colouring his discussion of peace is responsible for no untempered idealism. The student of *hubris* or calamitous pride, revealed in the great Greek tragedies, knows that man is prone to evils not to be sentimentally dismissed. But this does not mean that a cynical theory of raw opportunism (or *realpolitik* as the Germans once called it) is any more justified than a programme of naive utopianism. Between these two conflicting extremes, Dr. Murray sought out a third way : one of idealism founded on fact.

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As might be expected from a Greecian, Dr. Murray's pacifism was of a qualified order. His theory of peace is set forth in the first chapter of his book *The Ordeal of This Generation* (1929). He begins by repudiating the idea of it as "a negative thing, a mere respite from action and feeling." Peace, he tells us, drawing upon Aristotle's definition of happiness, is "unimpeded activity"—the condition in which man can most satisfactorily answer, without interference, the call of the "good life." This dynamic notion of peace finds a place within it for strife and competition, but the strife which it considers permissible and natural is not the politicized violence of war, which Dr. Murray humorously describes as "one particular development of the principle of strife, just as Bluebeard's household was one particular development of the principle of marriage."

He continues :

"War is not an instinct, it is a form of state action. It is not an element in human nature, it is part of a political programme."

One of the objections to a hypothetical condition of uninterrupted peace is that it would cause mankind to stagnate as a pond whose waters are long unstirred. Dr. Murray replied to this by distinguishing between idleness and leisure. The former he sees as negative, as time expended but unfulfilled; the latter as positive, as time freely used for self-development. The first he considers as a peculiarly barbarian state of duration; the second (which he says was "invented by the Greek") as indispensably bound up with the growth of the individual mind. Regarding the opinion that looks to war as a school of character, Dr. Murray's retort is trenchant. He remarks :

"It is like looking to famines and pestilences to secure the improvement of public health and keep the industry of doctors up to standard. It is like wishing businessmen to have rascally partners and bankrupt creditors, in order to secure their impeccable uprightness and fortitude in paying their debts, and thus promoting the ultimate prosperity of the country."

If we subject Dr. Murray's campaign for peace to a searching criticism, we may perhaps consider that, on the theoretical side, it has been based too solely on concepts drawn from Graeco-Roman culture; and that the virtues of other civilizations—Oriental and Islamic, for example—have not sufficiently been co-opted. The world we know now, so politically divided, is united by transport to a degree which the European humanist even between the last two wars could hardly have anticipated.

While most of us have heard of Walter Pater's statement that all art aspires to the condition of music, a notion we may not have entertained is that all harmonious creations of man, from literature and philosophy to law and civic planning, derive from the Greek idea of "music," or measure or proportion, as we may term it. To find, then, on this assumption an ardent international policy-constructor figuring as a servant of the Muses is what our logic would lead us to expect; and in just such double reins has Dr. Murray's imagination run. When the volumes of other poets were selling in their scanty tens and hundreds, his translations of the Greek dramatists were being purchased in their tens of thousands. It is true that the young Mr. Eliot devoted some of his more opinionated sallies to these renditions, but even that could not confound their popularity and in many schools where no Greek is taught they are often included in the English "set reading."

It is not the place here to renew these old wars, but those who seek to revisit the field may turn to Mr. Eliot's essay *Euripides and Professor Murray* (1918). Two points, however, may be remarked upon. First, that it is odd to have Mr. Eliot attacking Dr. Murray for falsely rendering the original Greek when the chief poet in his own camp to have attempted similar tasks, namely Mr. Pound, is such a notorious mistranslator. At least we can be sure that Dr. Murray knew the meaning of the Greek, whereas with Mr. Pound this assurance cannot be given; and, secondly, that Mr. Eliot is incorrect in describing Dr. Murray's Greek verse-translations

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as "insignificant" Pre-Rephaelite writing. The poetic convention of the "Aesthetic School" left no room for the comic element—a talent quite demonstrably possessed by Dr. Murray as his versions of Aristophanes make plain. In verse, his chief gift was that of lyricism; in prose, that of easy natural clearness. In the translation of his choruses from the Greek drama it was more the buoyant melody of Shelley than the slower-moving music of Rossetti and his group which influenced Dr. Murray.

Spirit, Spirit, lift the shaken
Splendour of thy tossing torches!
All the meadow flashes scorches:
Up, Iacchus, and awaken!
Come, thou star that bringest light
To the darkness of our rite,
Till thine old men leap as young men,
leap with every thought forsaken.

There was a hardihood about Dr. Murray which many deep thinkers are inclined to lose. A long look at the worst neither daunted nor sapped his energy. Thus, he was able to write that the "physical world is not only non-moral, it is more alien from man than the human mind can conceive," yet add the following all-important rider :

". . . . in my opinion, whatever bearing (such) arguments may have on a transcendental theory of ethics they do not touch a human theory. If sin has no effect on the solar system. neither has prussic acid; but it remains poisonous."

It was this characteristic of brave common sense which enabled him to face the future without an intellectual loss of nerve. "Of course all is in danger," he admitted in his series of broadcast lectures *Hellenism and the Modern World* (1953). "But I see no reason to doubt that our Christian or Hellenic civilization is on the right road : certainly no reason to lower our traditional standards or abate our old courage."

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Uniqueness of Gandhiji's Philosophy of Truth

Adam Adil writes in *The Bombay Civic Journal*:

In the East and West, from time immemorial, sages and seers have evolved philosophies of truth; but these philosophies were mostly mystical or metaphysical, understood by the learned and wise. But Gandhiji's philosophy was not mystical or metaphysical; it appealed to the imagination of the common man, for, Gandhiji's experments with truth were conducted in a life so natural to the common man. His teachings were reasoned out with acute common sense, applicable to the common and universal. Herein lies Gandhiji's unique greatness.

To Gandhiji only truth was the ultimate value of life and the universe. To many philosophers and seers before him, there were other ultimate values besides Trutth. To Plato it was Goodness and Beauty, to Epicurus it was pleasure, to Philo it was peace, to Kabir in India it was perfect bliss, to Tagore it was beauty and joy, and to Lin Yutang it is the living of life itself. To Gandhiji, however, truth included all such values, and therefore, it was the supreme value.

Again, to him every aspect of truth was real, capable of being translated into practice in everyday life.

Keats had sung, 'Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty.' But Keats had not reached the summit of realisation either in respect of Beauty or of Truth. What he referred to was aesthetic beauty —the beauty of external form. Even granting that Keat's conception was of a higher order, he tried to reach Truth through Beauty. But Gandhiji chose the other way round. Instead of finding Truth through Beauty, as many poets and artists have done, he preferred to discover Beauty through Truth. He said, "To my mind Socrates was most beautiful because he was the most truthful man of his times, though he was regarded physically the ugliest in Greece." He asks the artists to do likewise and says, "Whenever men begin to see Beauty through Truth, then true art arises."

As for the ethical significance of truth, Gandhiji seems to agree with the conception of early Judaism, which took truth to be faithfulness and consistency of good character.

Gandhiji remarks. "The word Satya (truth) is derived from 'Sat' ('to be'), then 'Satya' is being—Nothing but Truth has existence—Better that Truth should be called 'God' than 'God' 'Truth'—I worship God as Truth only." Again, "My uniform experience has convinced me that there is no other God than Truth. Where there is Truth, there is knowledge, pure and simple."

During his visit to the continent of Europe in 1931, Gandhiji was asked why he regarded Truth as God. He replied, "In my early youth I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scriptures are known as the thousand names of God. I came to study Islam, I found that Islam too had many names of God. I would say, with those which say 'God is Love, that God is Love. But deep down in me I used to say that though God may be Love, God is Truth after all. If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself God is Truth. But two years ago (1929), I went a step further and said that Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements that 'God is Truth' and 'Truth is God.' I came to that conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth, which I began nearly fifty years ago. This definition gave me greatest spiritual satisfaction."

What is the path that leads to Truth? To Gandhiji the path that leads to Truth is love which embraces everything in the universe. And he found and stuck entirely to a new conception of love. To him love was no mere sentiment. It was the sternest and most practical reality. Love, in its practical implications, was 'Ahimsa' non-violence. "Search after Truth without non-violence is impossible. Truth and non-violence are inseparable like the two sides of a coin. Non-violence is the means and Truth is the end." Again, "To see the universal and all-pervading spirit of Truth face to face, one must be able to love even the meanest of creation as oneself."

He insisted that in the march towards Truth, hatred, violence anger, over-indulgence and evil passions must be given up. And the successful search of truth meant complete deliverance from the conflict between love and hatred and happiness and misery.

Gandhiji believed that at last love and non-violence must succeed, preparing the way for the era of truth. "The unreal is bound to be conquered by the real," and "on this path there is no defeat."

He says, "If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of Truth, you must reduce yourself to zero." Again, "The seeker after truth must be humbler than the dust." "Humility is the fount of courage."

Gandhiji insisted on prayer: "One discovers truth by patient endeavour and silent prayer."

The seeker after truth must welcome the people's scrutiny of his character. He must admit mistakes, be open to correction and atone for the wrong done. "Confession is a means

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even greater purification." He must be frank and plain of speech. "He will not malign his enemies and flatter his friends." He must think Truth, speak Truth and act Truth. "A life of truth is a life of service." "Freedom from all attachments is the realisation of God as Truth."

Gandhiji also desired that the seeker after truth must keep an honest account not only of the money he spends, but even of the minutes, hours and days he expends. For, not a single pie, not a single minute, hour or day should be wasted.

As regards the innate relation between Truth and Satyagraha, Gandhiji remarked, "Satyagraha is Truth Force. Truth is its soul and spirit. Therefore it is called Soul Force."

Gandhiji knew, however, that the path of Truth was not an easy one. "This path is straight and narrow as a razor's edge, though for me it has been the quickest and the easiest."

Speaking of his own search for Truth, he observes, "Far be it from me to claim any degree of perfection for my experiments with Truth. I claim for them nothing more than does a scientist who, though conducting his experiments with the utmost accuracy, fore-thought and minuteness, never claims any finality about his conclusions, but keeps an open mind regarding them."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Infra-Red Radiation in the Atmosphere

A New Weather Factor?

Walter Theimer discusses about Infra-Red Radiation in the Atmosphere in the *Deutsche Korrespondenz*, August 20, 1957:

Dk. Hamburg—In our atmosphere there is a constant current of infra-red radiation. Infra-red rays are heat rays of great penetration the use of which in medicine and technology is well-known. In the atmosphere these rays cause a considerable turnover of energy, and it is thought that these energetic processes constitute a new factor in the formation of the weather—a factor that has so far passed unnoticed. Within the framework of the International Geophysical Year this radiation process is going to be studied on a global scale. The German Research Association will take part in this world-wide scientific effort with two operations. Three German scientists have arrived in the Central American Republic of San Salvador to observe infra-red radiation in a tropical atmosphere. In Germany, a series of high-altitude ascents will be arranged by the Aerological Station of Munich with a view to investigating infra-red radiation in the upper troposphere and the lower stratosphere (6 to 12 miles). A useful method for these investigations has been worked out in Germany in the last few years.

Pilotless Ballons Radio from the Stratosphere

On the basis of laboratory experiments, scientists had previously been able to form some idea as to radiation processes in those altitudes. In 1954 and 1955, Munich scientists were the first to send pilotless balloons up into the stratosphere for the purpose of radioing back data on the infra-red radiation observed. The German Research Association had organised the experiment as a joint enterprise by the Meteorological Institute of Munich's University, directed by Professor Geiger, and the Aerological Station of the German Meteorological Service at Munich under Dr. Muller.

During the night, small pilotless balloons were sent up from the aerodrome at Munich-Riem. They carried an ingenious device for measuring the radiation current. The device, weighing only 40 grams, consists of four very thin aluminium plates, two facing upwards and two facing downwards. The plates are blackened in order to increase the absorption of radiation. They absorb the infra-red rays travelling across the dark atmosphere and are warmed in the process. The degree of warming varies with the intensity of the radiation, which in turn varies with altitude. "Thermistors" are connected with the aluminium plates; they serve as "measuring antennae." They consist of semi-conducting material like the transistors from which the second part of their name is derived. Now semi-conductors have one important property: their electric conductivity increases greatly with rising temperature, *i.e.*, their resistance decreases as the temperature goes up. Thermistoric resistance is used to control low-frequency waves impassed by frequency-modulation on the carrier-wave of a small radio-transmitter carried by the ballom. A receiving station on the ground registers the signals of this radio-sounding apparatus by means of an automatic frequency-recorder.

The balloon itself is doomed. At a great altitude it bursts owing to its internal gas pressure (it is hydrogen-filled), a sufficient balancing external pressure now lacking. A parachute unfolds and carries the instruments, the total weight of which is less than 3 lbs., safely to earth. Unfortunately they are not always found. The radio transmission ensures immediate registration of the automatic observations, however, regardless of the later fate of the instruments.

The Radiation Current

The air is composed of gases, such as oxygen and nitrogen, the molecules of which are diatomic, and some additional constituents, such as carbon dioxide, ozone, and water vapour, have triatomic molecules. All these atoms vibrate, they perform all sorts of nodding movements and the molecules as a whole rotate incessantly. The restless particles need a constant supply of energy for these caperings, and they get it in the shape of radiation coming from them. They absorb from solar radiation, from radiation emitted by neighbouring molecules, and from rays coming up from the surface of the earth. They re-emit the energy absorbed, radiating it away as infra-red rays of their own. This radiation increases with temperature and with the density of the atmosphere.

The sun is the largest source of energy. How about at night? Infra-red processes con-

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...ue, but with the sun absent. They are now better mesurable than they would be in daytime, when the sun's enormous radiation eclipses all the minor processes. This is why observation balloons are sent up at night. Now consider any layer of the atmosphere. It receives infra-red ray from below, emitted by the earth and the lower ranges of the atmosphere, and it also receives the "counter-radiation" coming from the reaches of the atmosphere above it. The difference between the two is known as the radiation current. It is a measure of the energy lost by the surface of the earth and the part of the atmosphere below the given altitude, as far as this loss is due to infra-red radiation. Measurements of the radiation current at various altitudes yield a "radiation balance-sheet," and they allow scientists to calculate the cooling or warming of all layers of the atmosphere, caused by loss or increase of energy due to infra-red radiation. Such cooling or warming is plotted against time and yields an important graph of the rate of change of temperature.

Temperature Variations in the Stratosphere

The Munich experiments resulted in a graph of the infra-red radiation current, plotted against altitude, on the whole similar to that theoretically calculated, but with appreciable differences in detail. The balloons reached an altitude of nearly 12 miles, one flight taking about two hours. It was found that the radiation current, measured in calories per square centimetre and minute, increases with increasing altitude, since the atmosphere gets thinner and the number of absorbing gas molecules diminishes. However, just below the tropopause, the point of lowest temperature somewhat above 6 miles, a maximum of 0.3 to 0.4 calories appears, whereupon the graph takes a turn and shows a somewhat reduced radiation current. True, there are fewer and fewer gas molecules as we go further up, but as it is warmer again in these high layers, the "counter-radiation" from above is now of more influence. At some 7 miles, the current is more or less stabilized to 0.23 calories, not very far from "isothermism" or constancy of heat. This stabilization was traced up to nearly 12 miles.

The rate of temperature change caused by infra-red radiation at the various altitudes is quite appreciable. The graph bulges fairly strongly either side, especially between 6 and 9 miles, which means there are fairly rapid temperature changes in the upper troposphere and the lower stratosphere, reaching two degrees centigrade per hour and more. The amount of clouds and the tiny water vapour content of the stratosphere are of considerable thermic influence.

According to Dr. Wolfgang Pohl of Munich, who took part in these investigations, it is possible that infra-red radiation causes energetic changes in those upper reaches of the atmosphere, which may influence meteorological events originating in the stratosphere. More and more meteorologists are coming to believe that important weather processes actually start in those altitudes. Temperature changes of two degrees centigrade per hour may well indicate energy shifts capable to influence the formation of the weather. Still, global measurements are required to prove or disprove this bold hypothesis.

The Dead Sea Scrolls

A New Episode in Their Story

Daniel-Rops of the French Academy writes in the *News from France,* August 1957 :

Since their discovery the Dead Sea Scrolls have been the theme of an extraordinary archaeological story, the episodes of which have for the last ten years aroused the enthusiasm not only of scholars, but also of the general public. Indeed, almost exactly ten years ago, a Bedouin of the Taamires tribe, a shepherd living north-west of the Dead Sea, while looking for a stray kid, entered a grotto in the cliffs and came across a pile of scrolls covered with writing. The identification of the grotto, the reading of the texts, and the determination of their authorship have been so many enigmas which, one after another, have given rise to discussions.

Is the discussion about these documents going to receive a fresh stimulus? Last year, the debate was centred round the identity of a personage mentioned in the manuscripts : the "Chief Justicier." Certain people saw in him a prefiguration of Christ, a theory which was vigorously attacked by many scholars, and not only by those who were Christians. However, today, what is in question is quite different: a theory has been elaborated which is so new and so revolutionary that, if it is admitted, it will bring toppling down all the fine scaffolding of the hypotheses laboriously built up during the last ten years. This thesis has been launched by a French writer of Venetian origin, H. L. del Medico, in a book entitled *L'Enigme des Manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (The Enigma of the Manuscripts of the Dead Sea, Plon).

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The hypothesis which has been more or less accepted by the majority of historians and archaeologists can be summed up in a few words. The manuscripts discovered in the grotto of Ain Feshka and subsequently in other neighbouring grottoes, formed the library of a Jewish religious community around the beginning of the Christian era. This community had established itself in the solitude of the desert in order to pray in peace. The monastery of the community has, indeed, been discovered: it now forms the ruins of Khirbet Qumsan, a kilometre away from the grotto, where the discoveries were made. It was excavated by the Bible School of Jerusalem. It seemed possible to give the following historical scenario: the monks of Qumran left their monastery in the year 68 of our era, when the Tenth Roman Legion, led by Titus, was campaigning in the region during the "Jewish War;" before fleeing they left their books in the grottoes, hoping to find them again later on. Could these monks be identified? The archaeologists and the historians thought they could: they were the Essenes, a Jewish sect mentioned by ancient authors such as Flavius Josephus, Pliny the Younger, and Philo of Alexandria. By comparing the texts of the manuscripts with the descriptions given by the writers, the archaeologists thought they had found the correct solution to the problem. The monks of Kumran were the Essenes.

In the book written by H. L. del Medico, nothing remains of this harmonius edifice. For him, the Essenes never existed: they were invented by the Jewish chronicler, Flavius Josephus, and Pliny and Philo, who had never set foot in Palestine, added to the legend. The ruins of Khirbet Qumran are not those of a monastery, but those of a small abandoned Jewish fort, temporarily used by a potter, near which, quite by chance, was a cemetery. The manuscripts do not date, as was thought, from before the time of Christ: they were subsequent to him, and this explains the connections between them and Christianity. They were not hidden during the Jewish War because they were valuable religious possessions; on the contrary, the so-called hiding-places were ghemzah, burial grounds for defective works, those which were out-of-date or unsound, because the Rabbinical rules forbade men to destroy religious books. It is thus clear that on every point del Medico differs from all that has until now been proposed by the most qualified scholars who have examined the question.

M. del Medico's views cannot be brushed aside as those of an amateur. He is a scholar, an archaeologist who has already proved his worth, one of the men who deciphered the Hittite tablets, he is also the editor of Cone... *anite Bible* discovered by him in the tablets of... *Ram Sharma*. His thesis is based on every... convincing arguments: one has only to read the... chapter in which he analyses the descriptions... of Flavius Josephus, Pliny and Philo in order... to see how these three authors invented the... Essenes: his demonstration is impressive... There is no doubt that men as qualified as himself will reply to his arguments: Father Daniélou, who is himself about to publish a book on... the subject (in which he admits the Essene... hypothesis), has already announced that he will... reply to H. L. del Medico. The educated... public, who are only passionately interested... spectators will at the end of the discussion... have to consider the different theses offered by... the specialists in order to make up their minds... But there is something satisfactory for the... mind and comforting for the heart in the fact... that, in spite of the many causes for anxiety to... be found in our troubled century, eminent men... are offering their views on such a subject and the... man in the street is following the debate with... keen interest.

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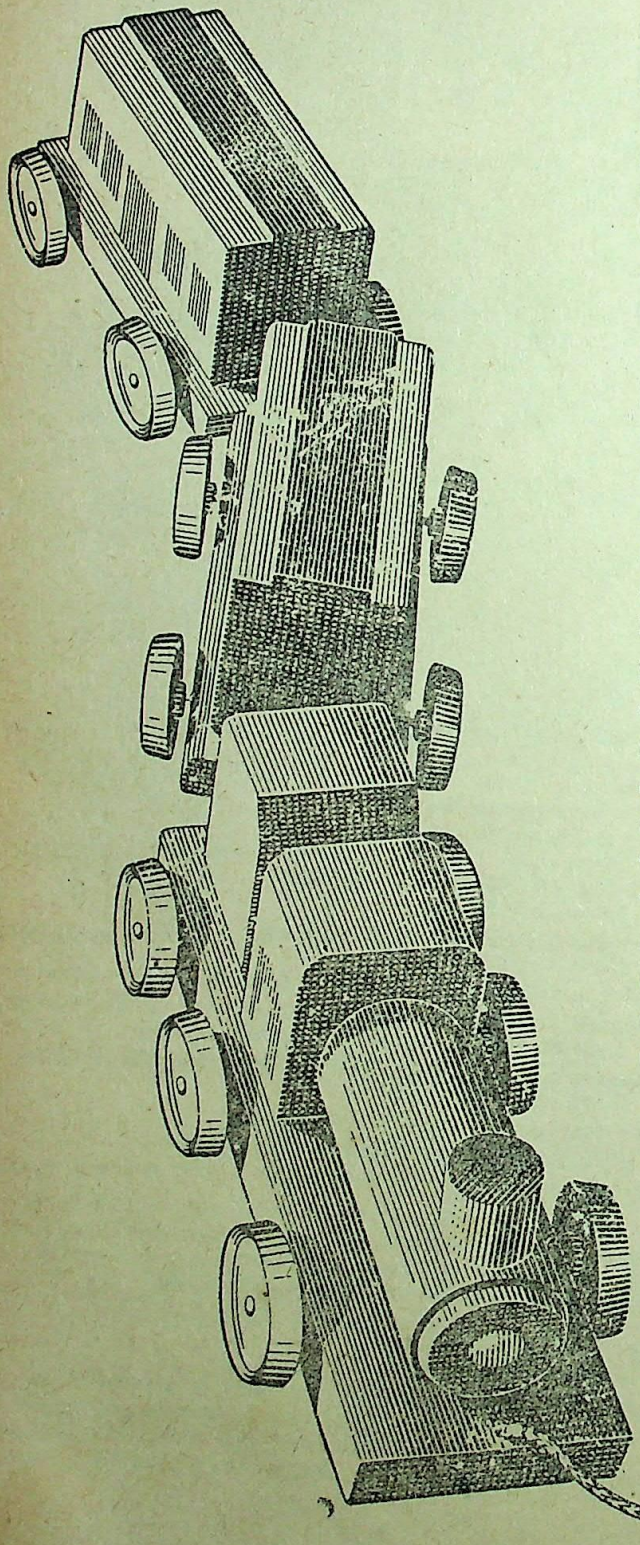

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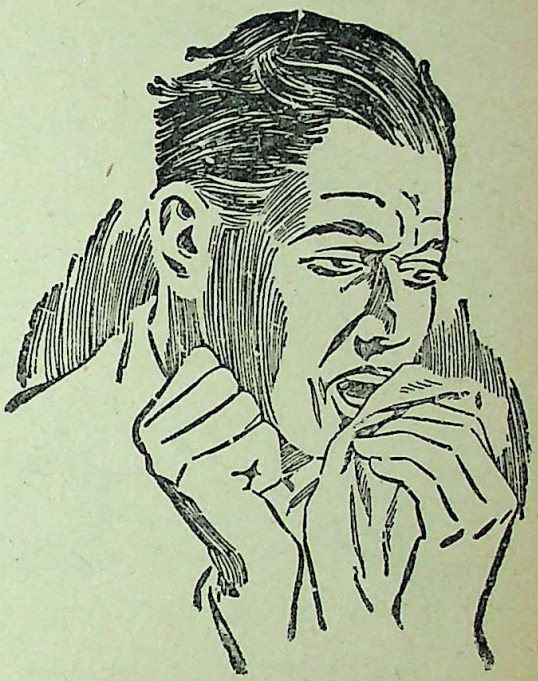

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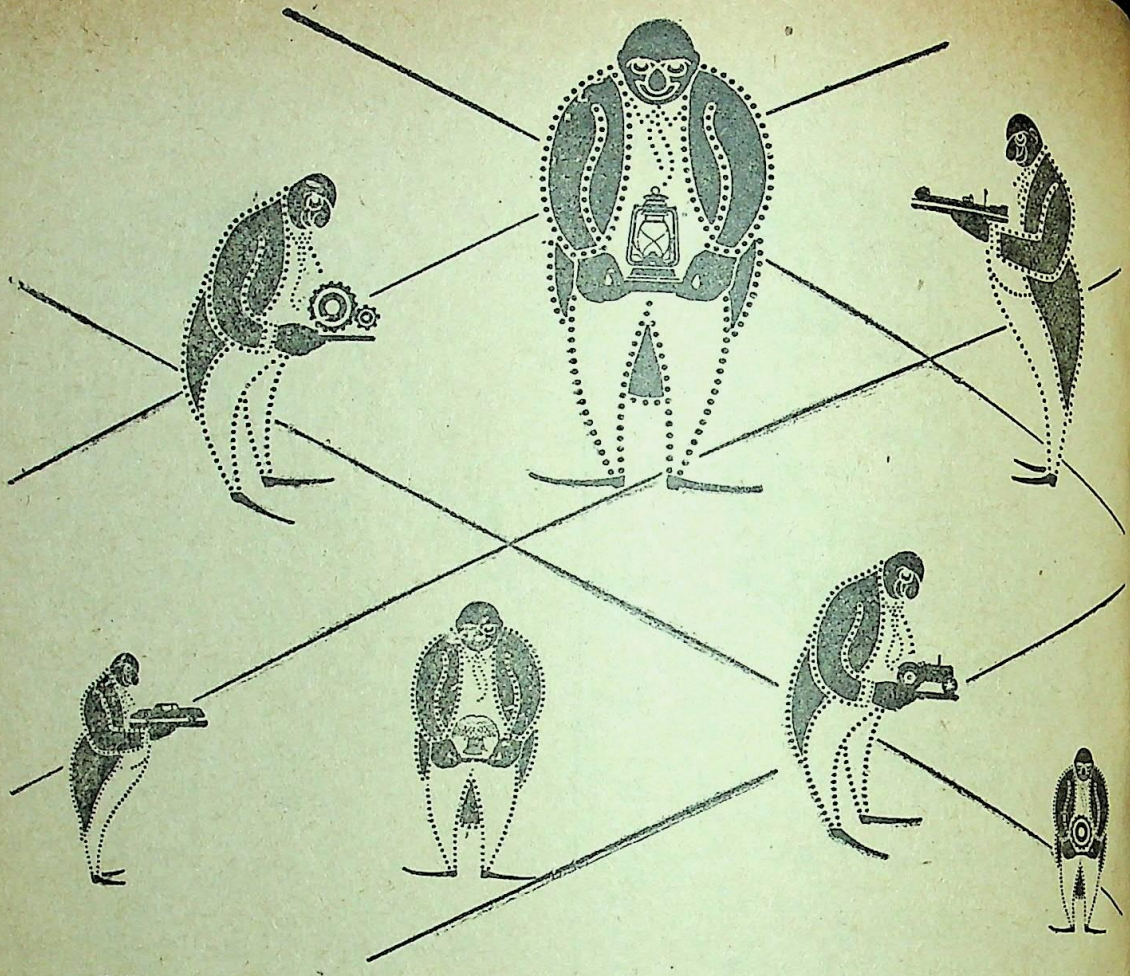

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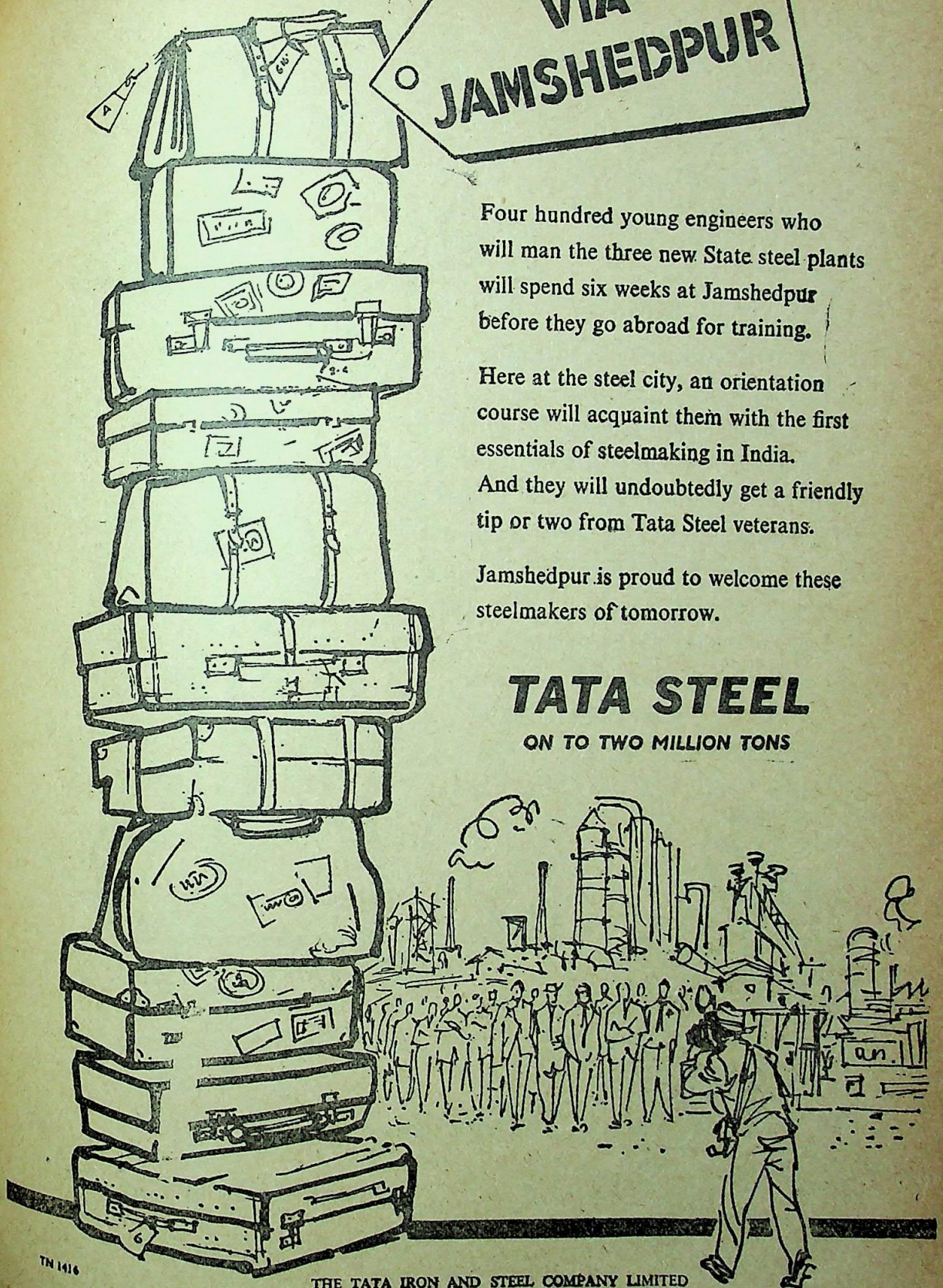

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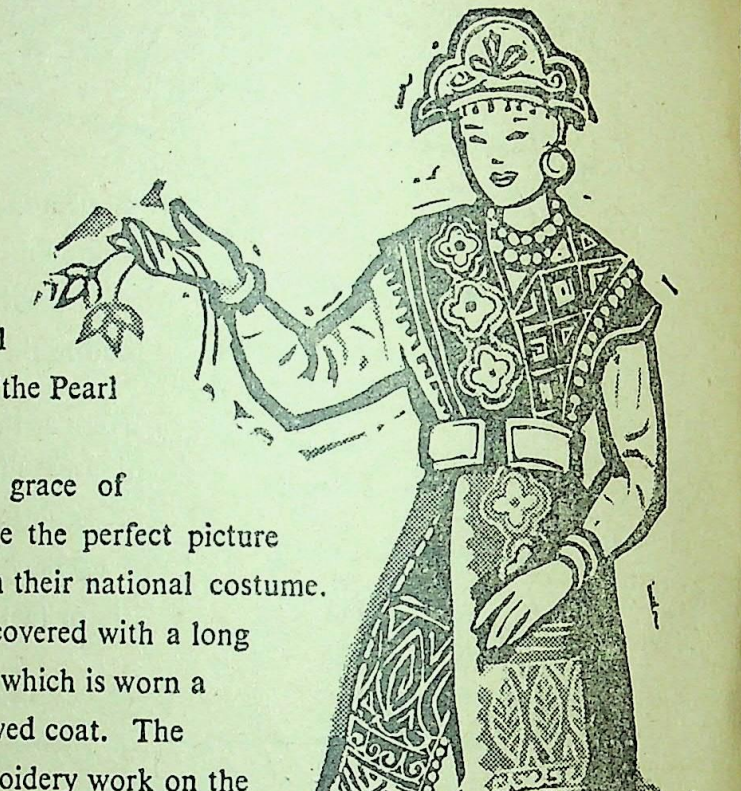

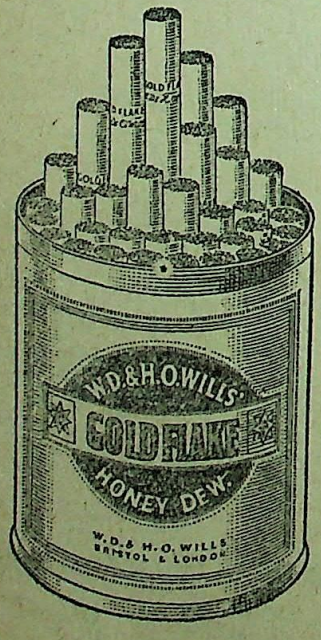

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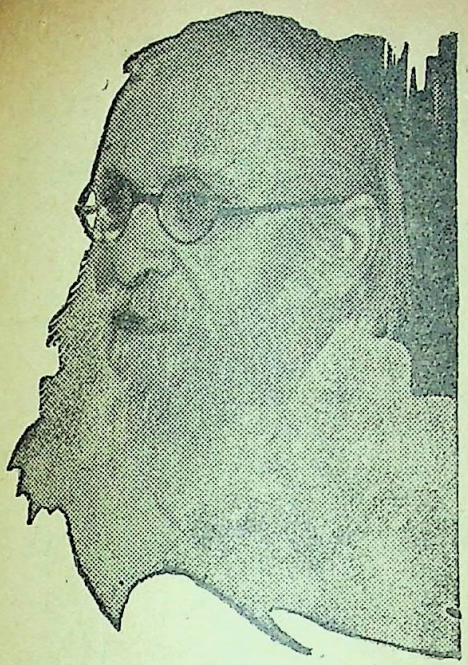

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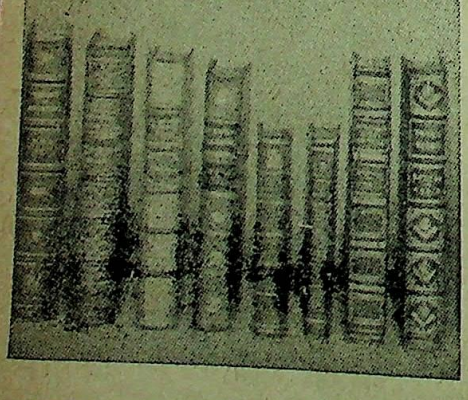

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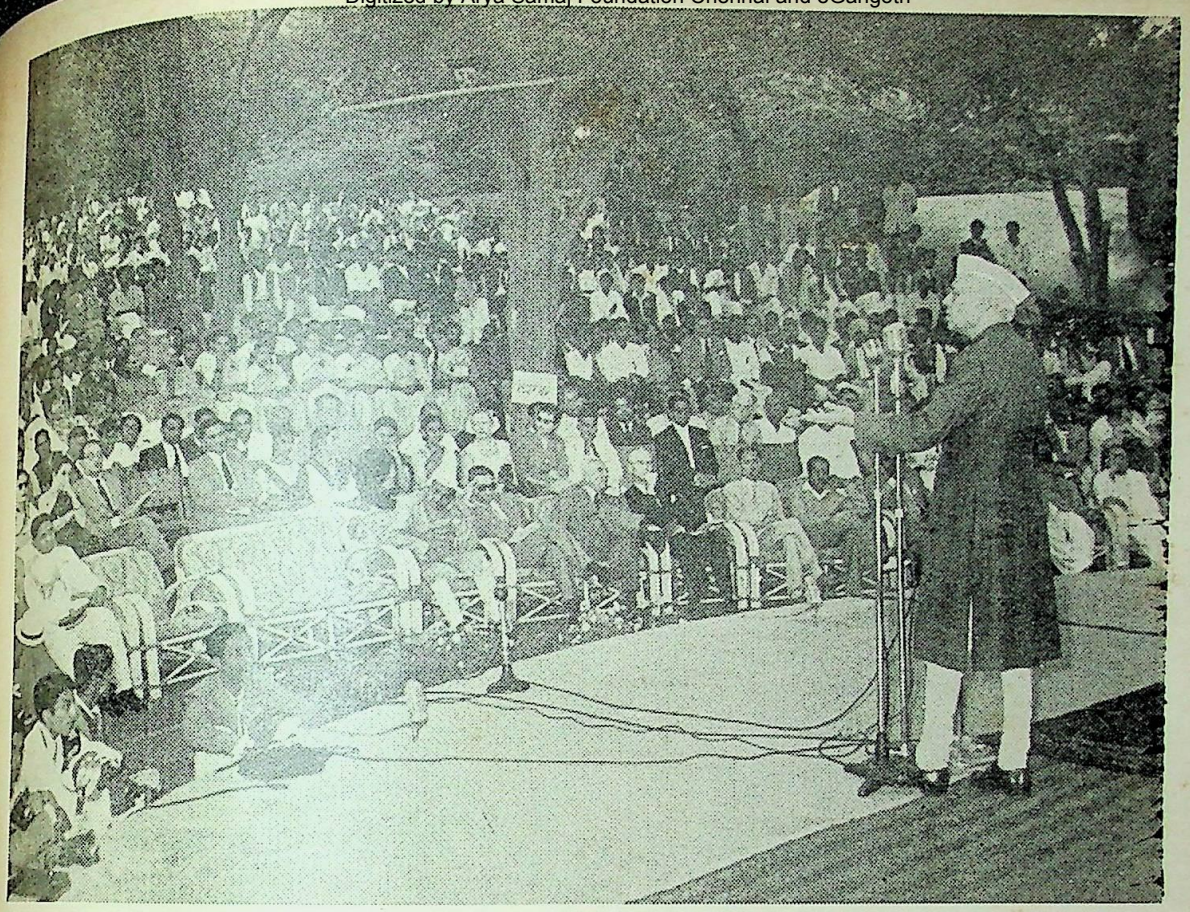

Prime Minister Nehru speaking at the inauguration of the Fourth Inter-University Youth Festival at Talkatora Gardens in New Delhi on November 1

Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, in conversation with members of the Agricultural Delegation from the U.S.S.R.

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PORTRAIT (*water colour*)
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NOTES

The Government and the People

There is an age-old superstition that Delhi is the burial-ground of the Rulers of India, in the sense that whoever has tried to rule India from Delhi, has faced a decline and/or fall.

The significance of this superstition is becoming apparent in the case of the Congress Government, within the short period of a decade. The nature of the Government has changed, inasmuch as it is no longer a National Government, in any but a limited sense of the term. The Rulers are already behaving like the autocrats who occupied the seats of the Imperial Hierarchy in the days gone by. They are intolerant of any criticism, and being omniscient and omnipotent, they need no advice. And they are destroying the very people who put them in power, namely, the intelligentsia of the middle class, many of whom have suffered more and made far greater sacrifices in the cause of freedom than anyone in the seats of the Mighty, excepting Pandit Nehru. This in itself has resulted in the raising of a barrier between the people and their Rulers, for in any democracy it is the intelligentsia that serve as the contact-channel between the administration and the masses. In countries like India, where the communications are poor and the great majority of the people are illiterate, they serve as the vital link between the people and their top-ranking executives. Only crass ignorance or drunkenness with power can prevent the realisation of this axiomatic truth.

The Government has committed many grievous mistakes and has permitted vast wastage of resources and moneys in the past, through over-confidence in their own poor, inexperienced brains. Tame statisticians have produced highly flattering but largely imaginary figures, on the basis of which the mighty ones have patted themselves and all their following on their backs. Further, they have waxed eloquent over their achievement, and have provided material for rosy dreams out of those figments.

There are shortages everywhere, including the vital necessities of food, shelter, clothing and medical treatment. We leave aside education as the Government evidently believes, along the line with their British mentors and predecessors, that the more ignorant the people the better for the Government. But the shortage that is exercising the mind and reason of the heads of State, is that of money and resources for the securing of foreign exchange. For without that the precious Plans are on the rocks!

Other shortages do not seem to worry the Powers-that-be. And strangely enough, they do not seem to matter to the opposition either, else there would have been a more constructive criticism—or at least more substantial criticism—of the Plan and the planners. What we find in its place can be dismissed as political dickering of the flimsiest type. The Congress says it is unable to carry through the Plan in its entity, therefore the opposition wants the entire Plan to be carried through. At what cost and at whose cost? That is immaterial for the purposes of the opposition. As if the people do not matter and their trials and tribulations are of no consequence.

The Nation and the country is facing one of the most critical periods in our time. A complete assessment of resources and commitments is indicated, as also some saner heads in the counsels of the planners.

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The Prospects of the Plan

The nation's anxieties about the future of the Second Five-Year Plan was reflected in the debates in the Parliament in the middle of November. Mr. Nehru, as usual, made a long speech but it did not help either the members of the House or people outside to understand what exactly the government was going to do about the Plan. A question repeatedly posed by Acharya Kripalani and several other members was what precisely was included in the Plan now and how much it would cost. But that question remained unanswered by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Nehru had to admit that certain stressses the country was passing through could have been reduced with more careful planning. But he did not think this would have made any major difference to the overall planning. The present crisis, Mr. Nehru told the House, had one good effect: it had dissipated the complacency resulting from the success of the First Plan and good harvests.

"It is astonishing," Mr. Nehru said, "how for everything a State Government asks the Central Government for help and the Central Government asks some foreign country for help. It is a case of everybody asking everybody else for help without getting down to do things oneself."

While Shri Nehru was certainly right in this criticism he rather tended to overlook his share in the growth of such a shirking outlook. The evil lay at the root inasmuch as the Second Five-Year Plan itself was oriented to large-scale foreign aid. If the Government sincerely desires the people to be self-reliant it must eschew policies which inhibit the growth of this spirit. In that case whatever planning was to be made should be made on the basis of the possibilities of raising most of the required resources internally. While India should not spurn foreign aid, she should not condition her development to external stimulus and aid to any large extent.

The Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, in his speech on November 21 was more informative than the Prime Minister. In reply to questions he said that Government had not yet decided upon which of the projects would be cut, but some of the power projects and one or two of the fertilizer plants might be dropped. The crucial problem before the Government, Mr. Krishnamachari added, was to secure foreign exchange for the core projects (steel, coal, railways, major ports) and others on which considerable expenditure had been incurred already. In other words, about 700 crores of rupees worth of external assistance would have to be secured in the next 18 months.

International Monetary Developments

The annual reports of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the year ended 30th April, 1957, reveal interesting developments in world monetary affairs. During the year between May 1, 1956, to April 30, 1957, the IMF sold currencies to its members in dollar equivalents of more than $1,114 million. Further, in terms of the stand-by arrangements concluded or extended during the year under review, the IMF authorised the sale of different currencies equivalent to $1212.28 million. During the year Argentina and Viet Nam were admitted as members. The total purchases made by the member-countries during the years 1948 to 1957, amount to $2,350 million. During 1956-57, the sales of currencies made to the U.K., France and India account for nearly 75 per cent of the total sales. The high level of drawings from the stand-by credit arrangements indicate the heavy deficits incurred by the member-countries in their foreign trade. The mounting pressures on the balance of payments position of the member-countries resulted in heavy drawings from the IMF. Of the total stand-by credit amounting to $1,212 million the United Kingdom's share alone comes to $738.53 million and this is near-about 60 per cent of the total amount. India has drawn her full quota of stand-by credit granted by the IMF and this was to the extent of $200 million.

The IMF was set up not only to extend credit facilities to member-countries to tide over their temporary difficulties in their balance of payments position, but also to bring about a condition of free and multilateral convertibility in international trade. But free convertibility is still a far away objective and the temporary deficits in the balance of payments position of member-countries have become chronic

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and practically no longer temporary. The question of convertibility is closely linked up with the question of trade deficits and convertibility may be regarded as the condition precedent to cure the chronic deficits on a permanent basis. The Fund's achievement in the direction of convertibility is disappointing as quantitative trade restrictions are increasingly being resorted to by member-countries. In this connection the Fund's annual report observes that in assessing the significance of this record, it should be borne in mind that nature of the Fund's financial business does not by itself provide an adequate indication of the measure of its success in performing the functions which have been entrusted to it. Much of its work arises in connection with such important questions as par values and alterations in its members' exchange systems. The yearly consultations with the countries which maintain exchange controls afford valuable opportunities for facilitating the general attainment of the objectives of the Fund; and there has been increasing activity in the provision of technical assistance both to its members and to other international organisations. The Fund admits that there is no direct correlation between the effectiveness of the Fund's work in these spheres and fluctuations in the scale of its financial transactions.

One of the main objectives of the Fund is to secure fixed rates of exchange for the currencies of the member-countries and with that end in view the par values of currencies have been fixed. The decades before the Second World War experienced the difficulties that resulted in multiple exchange rates. Although in the initial years of the Fund's existence, fixed exchange rates were followed as a rule by the member-countries, in recent years the rule is followed more in breach than in observance. Of the present 60 members of the Fund, 38 are reported to have resorted to multiple currency practices of varying degrees of importance and complexity. The Fund maintains that complex multiple rate systems damage the economies of the countries that follow such rates. The feeling has been gaining ground that countries maintaining multiple rate system derive undue advantages over those following unitary exchange rates in these days of keen competition among the countries in foreign trade. Multiple currency rates no doubt become necessary to make recovery in a country's balance of payments position and in that case the restriction on varying rates should be withdrawn and all member-countries should have equal rights in this respect.

The Fund points out that in almost all the countries there has been a drive towards inflationary spending for economic development. In all countries, the maintenance or re-establishment of internal stability continues to be an essential condition for the attainment both of this and other legitimate economic objectives. Inflationary pressures are commonly associated today with balance of payments deficits; they are often the result of efforts to push forward too rapidly with economic development. The Fund, however, sounds a note of warning against overspending that ultimately creates inflationary gaps. Overspending in relation to available resources creates inflationary pressures, and the inflationary tendencies bring about an adverse trade balance for the country concerned.

While discussing the movement of capital in international spheres, the IMF points out that there has been a shortage of finance capital in recent years on account of worldwide pressure on limited capital supply. The demand for capital is progressively rising, while the supply and the growth of capital have not been able to maintain the pace in the same degree. The increasing demand for capital is being attributed to the following factors: "Introduction of new techniques of production and almost complete transformation in methods of manufacture in many branches of industry, on account of new inventions, as well as important changes in agricultural methods; persistent spirit of optimism which has characterised the business world in planning new industrial investment; growth in population which has also expanded the labour force; insistent demand for increased public and private investment in social services and amenities; and urgency of the need for capital in the less developed countries which have embarked on schemes designed to raise the current low standard of living of a large and often rapidly growing population."

The IMF notes that the growth of industrial capital has not been able to keep pace with the growing demand for it and as a result over-

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speeding in relation to available resources has been an outstanding characteristic in the post-war economic developments. The typical peace-time inflationary boom has again made its re-appearance following a rising level of earnings by the people and an expanding volume of Government expenditure on economic development. This overspending results in persistent inflationary pressures. The measures adopted to cope with the problem of inflation have often been inadequate or they were not applied sufficiently early to provide a timely check on overspending. The volume of world industrial production marks a general slackening during 1956 and this is attributable to limitations of productive capacity and labour supply. The rate of increase in the aggregate world industrial production in 1956 was only 4½ per cent as against 10 per cent in 1955. The lower industrial output has brought about a fall in the aggregate world export trade and the rise in world exports was only 8 per cent in 1956 as against 10 per cent in 1955.

The annual report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development reveals expansion in the operations of the Bank, and also expansion in the economic activities of the member-countries. The industrial investments in member-countries have received further momentum on account of higher domestic capital formation and also increased external assistance. The Bank records that in a large number of countries the gross fixed investments was running at about 20 per cent or more of the national output in 1956-57, and in other countries the pace of industrial output is much larger than that of in pre-war years. With the admission of Argentina and Viet Nam, the Bank's membership now stands at 60. During the year ended 30th June, 1957, the IBRD granted 20 loans to 15 countries for an aggregate amount of $387.86 million as against $396.05 million covering 26 loans to 20 countries in 1956-57. The IBRD total loan commitments incurred from 1946 to 1957 amount to $3,107.97 million, covering 170 loans to 45 countries. In the initial years of the Bank's existence, its loan operations to industrial enterprises were insignificant. In recent years, however, the Bank has been giving increasing assistance to industries. The loan analysis reveals that of the total loans granted amounting to $3,107.97 million, industries have received $439 million, representing 14 per cent. Of this amount, industries in Europe have received $185 million and those of Asia have received $172 million. The IBRD has now turned its attention to underdeveloped countries and in consequence these regions of the world are receiving more assistance from the IBRD. Of the aggregate loan amount of $3,107.97 million granted to member-countries, Europe accounts for nearly one-third, while Asia's share stands at $575 million, that of Western Hemisphere at $678 million and Africa's share stands at $367 million.

In view of the dearer money rates prevailing all over the world, the IBRD has raised its lending rates. The lending rate (including the commission of 1 per cent) on the long-term loans of the Bank was raised from 5 to 5½ per cent in January of this year and this was further raised to 5⅝ per cent. During the current year the separate rates of interest for long-term and short-term loans has been abolished and a uniform rate of interest is now being charged for these kinds of lending operations. This has been necessitated on account of a sharp rise in the cost of borrowing in the capital markets of member-countries. The IBRD's own funds are limited and that is why it is forced to raise funds for its borrowing members by raising funds in the capital markets of the member-countries. The Bank has three main sources of funds, namely, its own paid-up capital, loans taken in the capital markets of member countries and by way of extending guarantee to the loans raised by member-countries themselves in the world capital markets. Another source of funds is the sale to other investors of the borrowers' obligations held by the Bank. In 1956-57, the Bank raised funds to the extent of $56.9 million by such sales of obligations, as against $72 million in the previous year. The fall is accounted for by shortage of funds in the capital markets. India is the third among the leading borrowers of the world and the largest borrower among the Asian countries. India has received a total assistance so far for $240.1 million, as against Australia's $317.73 million and France's $267.50 million borrowing from the Bank.

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The most important requirement today is the establishment of a sound basis for international economic relations by creation of conditions under which the flow of international investment could be stabilized over substantial periods. This is essential both for the attainment of structural equilibrium in international trade and for the efficient development of the world's under-utilized resources. Past experience indicates that foreign investment, if left to private initiative, tends to be extraordinarily unstable; it tends to dry up in period of depression and thus at the very time when its cessation does the greatest damage to the maintenance of world prosperity.

India's Food Problem

Ever since the attainment of India's independence in 1947, the shortage in the production and supply of foodgrains has been a major problem in this country in so far it eludes any solution, notwithstanding the increase in food supply on account of the achievements of the First Five-Year Plan. The position today is exactly what it was ten years ago, that is, the ever yawning gap between the growth of population and the production of foodgrains remains unbridged. Targets in foodgrains were placed so as to make India self-sufficient in food supply and hopes were raised annually that India would be self-sufficient in food production in the next year or next few years. But unfortunately the date of achieving self-sufficiency has to be pushed back continuously and the main reason for this shortfall was attributed to the conspiracy between man and nature in this country. Nature brought the droughts and the floods when they are not needed and man reaped the harvests of profiteering prices taking advantage of the shortage in food supply. So the attainment of self-sufficiency in food production ever remains a wishful thinking because the sufficiency in production has became as elusive as the will-o'-the-wisp. The one good thing that has been said by the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee (under the Chairmanship of Sri Asoke Mehta) is that the food deficit in India is bound to remain as a chronic feature of our economy. The deficit to the order of nearly 20 lakh tons shall be a permanent feature in our agricultural production and this finding may dispel the hope that India will attain self-sufficiency in food production in the near future.

In the opinion of the Committee, there is no quick solution to India's food problem simply because there is no feasible way to reach the solution immediately. We shall have to remain content with the conclusion of the Committee that in a developing economy a tendency for prices to rise is unavoidable and for that suitable preventing measures, as suggested by the Committe, shall have to be adopted. Given normal conditions, the Committee estimates that even at the end of the second Plan. there will be a deficit of 20 lakh tons. In the coming few years, India shall have to import foodgrains to the extent of nearly 20 to 30 lakh tons. In the future, the Committee estimates that given normal conditions, the demand for foodgrains will rise to 7.9 crore tons in 1960-61 as against the estimated production of 7.7 crore tons that year. The deficit thus will be about for 20 lakh tons and if there is a sharp inflationary trend, the deficit may further be larger. Among the vulnerable areas where there are chronic food deficits, the Committee mentions the eastern and northern districts of West Bengal, Eastern U.P. and Western Madhya Pradesh. As regards these vulnerable areas, the Committee suggests that the Union Food Ministry should set up special cells to anticipate difficulties arising out of floods and drought to locate the scarcity pockets and intial prompt measures to deal with them. The following figures will show the production and availabilty of foodgrains :

PRODUCTION OF FOODGRAINS (in million tons)

Foodgrains	1956-57	1955-56	1954-55	1953-54
Rice	28.14	26.85	25.14	28.26
Wheat	9.07	8.57	8.78	7.88
Other cereals	20.04	19.05	22.21	22.17
Total cereals	57.25	54.47	56.13	58.31
Pulses	11.44	10.82	10.98	10.56
Total foodgrains	68.69	65.29	67.11	68.87

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GROSS AVAILABILITY OF FOODGRAINS

	1957	1956	1955	1954
Gross foodgrains production (Million tons)	68.69	65.29	67.11	68.87
Import (Million tons)	3.72	1.44	0.71	0.81
Change in stocks „	—0.66	+0.61	+0.74	—0.17
Exports „	Nil	—0.06	—0.19	—0.01
Gross availability „	71.75	67.28	68.37	69.50
Population in millions	392.4	387.4	382.4	377.1
Gross availability per capita per day (In ounces)	18.0	17.1	17.6	18.1

In the opinion of the Committee, the main causes for the rise in foodgrains prices are: a sizeable increase in population, expansion of money supply at a rapid rate, and shortfall in production in the preceding two years. In 1957, the shortfall in production has been nearly offset by larger output of foodgrains, but the residual effect of shortfall still lingers and as a result of this the prices of foodgrains have been on downward trends. Arrivals in markets have also slowed down and certain areas of the country have been experiencing chronic shortages on account of failure of crops due to unfavourable weather conditions. These vulnerable areas where scarcity of food supply persists serve as "epicentres" to create a condition of bullish tendency in other centres and also aggravate the general inflationary trends. It is a characteristic of free markets that in the face of rising prices, traders hold larger stocks fearing shortfall in supply and this results in scarcity in supply. According to the Committee, the experience of the last few years has shown that unrestricted private trade is undesirable because it tends to aggravate price fluctuations and impede the course of planned development. The Committee, however, prefers a middle course between complete control and complete freedom in trade. The Committee rightly points out that full control in the sense of complete rationing and procurement that prevailed up to 1953 does not also seem desirable under the present circumstances. The Committee feels that full control should be resorted to only in case of emergency, such as war or famine or extreme inflationary pressure. It should not be visualized as a permanent feature of developing economy. One, with the memory of control in India, would like to abhor any control of foodgrains in the form of rationing. Food control resulted in the artificial scarcity causing much inconvenience to the people.

The Committee, therefore, suggests that the real solution of the food problem lies somewhere between complete free trade and complete controls. Controls should be of a countervailing or regulatory rather than restrictive type. The main purpose behind the control should be to stabilise prices of foodgrains and also the prices of related goods. The Committee, however, discourages any rigid integration of the price structure as that is neither desirable nor practicable. It was a great blunder on the part of the authorities to allow export of foodgrains and the step was evidently premature and unpremeditated. The Committee also supports this view. The failure of the Government to build up an adequate buffer stock is another main cause of the soaring prices of foodgrains. The Committee finds that the Union Food Ministry is not much to be blamed for the food shortage in the country. The Union Food Ministry suggested to maintain a minimum reserve stock of 1.5 million tons of foodgrains, to buy foodgrains in the open market at reasonable prices for building up buffer stocks. It was also in favour of importing 8 to 10 million tons of wheat for five years from the USA under P.L. 480 with a view to build up the stock. But these suggestions were not accepted, and the Committee does not state clearly why and by whom these proposals were rejected.

On account of higher production and supply of foodgrains in 1954 and 1955 an undue optimism prevailed in the official circles. This optimism led to slackening or at least prevented the accelerating of efforts for increased food production in many of the States in India. The pace of food production suddenly took a downward turn in 1956 and also relatively in 1957. In calculating the volume of food production only the output of rice and wheat should be taken into consideration. Pulses do not constitute staple food of the people speaking generally and for most of the people the pulses are just subsidiary food forming part of the curry. In 1954, the production of foodgrains reached the peak point of 68.87 million tons, and there was falling production in the succeeding two

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years. In 1957, the production figure is provisionally placed at 68.69 million tons. In terms of the growth of population, there has been falling production ever since 1954. The rate of growth of population is 1.25 per cent or 1¼ per cent. In absolute numbers this comes to a rise in population by 45 lakhs a year. This year the food shortage will be to the extent of 4 million tons and just to maintain the per capita gross availability of foodgrains for 18 ounces a day, India shall have to import this quantity of 4 million tons from abroad. This growth rate of population is based on the census figure of 1951. The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee estimates that between 1956 and 1961, India's population may rise at the rate of 1.5 to 2 per cent per year. Anyway there has been an increase in the rate of growth of population in the country and to that proportion the production of foodgrains lags far behind. The higher rate of population growth is accounted for by the fall in the death-rate without a corresponding fall in the birth-rate of the people.

The Committee makes the assumption that during the Second Plan period, the consumer demand for foodgrains will rise by about 14 to 15 per cent. The rise in the demand for foodgrains on account of a rise in the number of population has been estimated at 10 per cent and there will be a further increase by 5 per cent in demand for foodgrains following the rise in the incomes of community. Further, as the incomes of the relatively lower strata of people rise, the demand for finer quality of foodgrains will also register an upward tendency. Those who are now forced to use millet on account of poverty will switch on to rice or wheat with a rise in incomes and actually this is happening with these people. As a result of this, there has been a shortage in the supply of rice and wheat. It will, therefore, be prudent to exclude the output of pulses from the calculation of the volume of foodgrains in this country as this gives a picture which is unrealistic and inaccurate. The Committee assumes that the output of foodgrains by 1960-61 will rise to only 7.7 crore tons as against the rise in demand to 7.9 crore tons. The breakdown of the total demand between rural and urban areas has been placed at 6.6 crore tons and 1.3 crore tons respectively. The estimated rise in production in 1960-61 at 7.7 crore tons represents an increase of 1.03 crore tons over the output in 1955-56. This increase is only two-thirds of what has been visualised in the Second Plan, the rise in production being estimated at 1.5 crore tons. But this estimate of the Committee is much too premature to rely upon. Given a favourable weather condition, the output may even surpass the estimates of the Second Plan.

The Committee has done a good thing and it is the disclosure that the achievements of the State Governments in the sphere of food production as well as other agricultural output are most disappointing. The agricultural production is entirely a State subject and the initiative and responsibility primarily lie with the State Governments. Whether in budgetary affairs or in matters of production, agricultural or industrial, the State Governments have cut a sorry figure. The State Ministries today consist of mediocre people who have neither the experience nor the foresight to formulate and pursue the plans of economic development. Most of the Ministers are nothing but magnified clerks and the market value of most of them is even less than that of an ordinary clerk. Had there been competitive examinations for the present State Ministers, most of them would have been proved misfit by the Public Service Commission. Political patronage is the only qualification in selecting the majority of the Ministers in the State and no wonder their performance in administrative sphere is a failure.

In the opinion of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, India shall have to import foodgrains of the order of 20 to 30 lakh tons a year for the remaining period of the Second Plan. The Committee, however, assumes several conditions and in case of their variation, the assumptions of the Committee may not turn out to be correct. As for example, the Committee's estimates are based on the assumptions that (1) the demand for foodgrains will not be higher than what has been estimated by the Committee, (2) the estimated increase in food production will materialize, (3) the necessary amount of foreign exchange will be available to finance the import of foodgrains and also the import of nitrogenous fertilizers. The import of fertilizers will alone cost about Rs. 100 crores of foreign exchange over the Plan period. The estimates

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of the Committee are based on so many "ifs" that the fulfilment of these "ifs" depends on various other "ifs".

The Committee has failed to drive home the real cause of food shortage in the country and it is that the present food shortage is not an isolated phenomenon, but it is a mere manifestation of integrated problems. India has the highest percentage of culturable land in the world, and still it is a pity that India cannot just produce enough food to feed her people. The defect lies in our land system, irrigation system and also in the administration of agricultural finance and in the system of farming by individual cultivators. All these factors are inter-connected and it is not the question of how to keep down the prices of foodgrains, it is the question of how to produce more and more of foodgrains. Instead of appointing the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, the Government should have appointed a Committee to make recommendations as how to increase our food production. The land system calls for reorganisation on the basis of co-operative farming and mechanical cultivation should be made compulsory. India's productivity per acre of land is just one-third of that of Egypt or Japan. There is no reason why India should not increase her land productivity and that would result in three-times larger output than what is produced today.

India and the Atomic Age

Dr. D. N. Wadia, Geological Adviser to the Government of India, Department of Atomic Energy, chose the theme "India and the Atomic Age" for the nineteenth Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Memorial Lecture at the Bose Institute, Calcutta on November 30. In his lecture Dr. Wadia made some points about the future of power development of India which deserve greater recognition than is afforded by the audience in a closed-door meeting.

Man's progress toward civilisation has been marked by his mastery over one mineral after another. Periods of civilisation are therefore known as "Stone Age," "Bronze Age," "Iron Age" and "Coal Age." The world was now on the threshhold of "Uranium Age" which opens up vast possibilities for development.

The total coal reserves within about 4000 ft. depth of the earth's crust are about 1800 Q (a Q is 38000 million tons) and the petroleum reserves taking account of future discoveries may be 4½ Q at the most. The net heat content of the total coal and oil reserves capable of being utilized by man is estimated at 27.2Q (all these reserves are not immediately utilizable). It has been estimated that the world's known coal reserves would be exhausted before 2050 and existing reserves of oil would last for only 30 to 40 years. In India, the prospects are no way better.

"Within a few years," Dr. Wadia said, "India will have to follow the example of Britain, where electric power for town and factory supply is already being produced by nuclear energy at nearly competitive rates with coal. The whole of Punjab, Rajputana, Bombay and Western Deccan are devoid of coal and are over a thousand miles away from the coal fields. These parts of India will soon be in a situation similar to Britain, where they will find the cost and difficulty of hauling vastly increased tonnage of coal offset by the advantages offered by reactor-generated electricity, evn if it is slightly more expensive in the beginning."

The President of the Geological and Mining Society of India had estimated that India would have to invest 3000 crores of rupees by 1976 in order to get the required power supply through petroleum. It appeared that atomic energy would be capable of doing the job in a shorter period of time and at a much less capital cost and for less running cost. Dr. Homi J. Bhaba, Chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, estimated that the erection of an atomic power generating reactor would cost little more than that of a thermal station and that electric power from an Atomic Reactor could be supplied to consumers at cheaper rates, about 0.7 of an anna. The capital cost of a Reactor of 25 megawatt electric capacity would be Rs. 25 crores, that is Rs. 1,470/- per kilowatt—figures which did not compare unfavourably with the cost of erecting a thermal station of equal capacity.

The possibility of getting power from energy not only provided the hope of arresting the threatened extinction of future world's civilisation (the proved available energy from known deposits of Uranium and Thorium would equal to 1700 Q against only 27 Q contained in

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coal and oil) but would also revolutionize the entire economics of power supply. This new source would be able to meet man's need for the next thousand years.

The basic minerals required for production of nuclear energy are uranium, thorium, lithium, beryllium, zirconium and graphite. India can produce 10 to 15 thousand tons of uranium and between 250,000 to 300,000 tons of ethorium. She has also deposits of the other minerals. With better exploration further reserves may also come to light.

"A development in atomic research which we eagerly look forward to in India," Professor Wadia said, "as one which will raise India's potential in the atomic field to the level of the best endowed countries of the world, is the convertibility of thorium to uranium 233 and its use as the fission fuel in place of uranium in atomic reactors . . . The conversion of thorium into uranium 233 in a breeder reactor is no longer a mere speculation, it has emerged into practicability in actual reactor tests. Sir John Cockroft, Director of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment, Harwell, recently announced in New York that Britain would switch over to thorium from uranium in its atomic programme in a few years."

The Naga Unit

The Naga Unit comes into being on the first of this month. The unit consists of the Naga Hills district of Assam and the Tuensang division of the North East Frontier Agency. There are mixed feelings about the new unit and the omens for the future are not very bright. "Besides having to win over the rebels," the *Statesman's* Jorhat correspondent writes, "the administration will be obliged to reconcile a large section of the Naga people, especially in the Tuensang Frontier division, to the new administrative set up, and dispel the fears and misgivings of the tribal people in the plains who have made the Tuensang division their home. The Naga people of this division allege that they were not represented at the Kohima Convention of August, where the one-unit plan was rejected."

The *Vigil* in an editorial article on the subject writes:

"... the manner in which this problem has been dealt with since Independence bears marks of ineptness and lack of understanding as regards its nature and size. The Bardoloi Committee, that is, the Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly on the North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas, which reported in 1947, not only dismissed the Naga demand for independence as an extremist fantasy, which perhaps was natural but it did not take into its serious consideration any other proposals that might have prevented the later unfortunate developments. What the Sub-Committee recommended was incorporated into the Constitution. It is unfortunate that even the States Reorganisation Commission, when it had the opportunity, did not recommend any change. The Commission would not disturb the *status quo* in regard to the Naga Hills district and the Tuensang area of the N.E.F.A., relying on the Assam Government's view "that the Naga Hills district has been relatively quiet during the last two or three years and that there are indications of the people of the area abjuring violence in favour of peaceful methods." Thus as the Constituent Assembly, following the Bardoloi Committee, misled itself, Parliament, following the S. R. C., did likewise. As the power to make decisions has remained more or less in the hands of the same set of people, the confidence for the future can hardly be unbounded."

Nationalisation of Text-Books

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes:

The Rajasthan Assembly might have thought that it acted wisely in rejecting a resolution which asked that nationalisation of text-books be ended in the State, but the fact remains that the grounds for the demand—though the attempt had failed—remain sound, for it is undeniable that the Government has not been able to rectify past defects by publishing the books in time.

Even after six weeks had elapsed after the reopening of the schools in Rajasthan in August last for the current academic year, the nationalised text-books for Classes I to V were unavailable or in short supply. It was announced earlier that the books would be available in June! What is inexcusable is the complete silence maintained then both by the Nationalisation Board and the State's Ministry of Education.

It was belatedly explained that the printing of the books was delayed due to "uncontrollable factors" like unavailability of offset paper and panchromatic films. These explanations have

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hardly counted with the people harassed by the chaos created by instruction without text-books. The Rajasthan Government must think twice before extending the nationalisation to taxt-books of higher standards. The idea is claimed to be beneficent, but its fulfilment is clearly otherwise.

Police Excesses in Jails

On August 24 the Punjab police made a lathi-charge on the undertrial prisoners, in Ferozepur Jail, belonging to the Hindi Raksha Samiti. As a result one person, Mr. Suken Singh, died and 309 other undertrials were injured, twenty-nine of them grievously. On the insistence of the public the Government appointed Mr. S. B. Kapoor, Judge of Punjab High Court, to enquire into the matter.

The Punjab Government recently published only extracts from the report of the enquiry. Mr. Justice Kapoor said, "While use of some force initially was necessary, the force actually used exceeded all proportions of the requirements of the situation." The magnitude of the beating by the police, he said, was "probably unprecedented in the annals of the history of jails in Punjab."

The Judge held that the beating of peaceful undertrials was a criminal offence; but it was difficult in the present case to fix individual responsibility. "There was incontrovertible evidence that the undertrials were beaten up inside their barracks and even in the latrines and bathrooms." The Judge added, "The primary responsibility for the excess committed was that of Mr. Sher Singh, Deputy Superintendent of the Jail."

No comment is required.

Institute for Teaching English

Dr. K. L. Srimali, Union Minister of State for Education, said in reply to a question by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh that the Government of India proposed to set up an Institute in Hyderabad to improve the teaching of English. Mr. C. R. Narasimhan asked what was the reason for bypassing the Universities in the matter of teaching English and setting up a new institute at a cost of 40 lakhs of rupees. Replying Dr. Srimali said that there was no question of bypassing the Universities. There was a general feeling among educationists and the Universities themselves that there had been a general deterioration of standards of teaching of English. To improve the situation by making available some special training courses for teachers of English the institute was being set up.

Karachi and Lisbon

Commenting upon the Pakistani-Portuguese overtures the *Hitavada* writes:

"India had known for some time that a Karachi-Lisbon axis was at work. The foreign policy of the Pakistan Government is to give the maximum embarrassment to India and this has been openly declared by Pakistan's Ministers. Irrespective of the rightness or wrongness of a question, Pakistan takes the opposite side of India in almost all international conferences. No wonder, then that the Interior Minister of Pakistan spoke at Madrid in support of Portugal on the issue of Goa. He said that the cause of Portugal was just and that Pakistan would be on the side of justice. Justice indeed! The recnt visit of the President of Pakistan to Portugal was intended to strengthen the Karachi-Lisbon axis and to cause embarrassment to India. But India is not surprised at this development."

The Institute for World Economy

The Institute for World Economy at the University of Kiel which was founded in 1911 by Dr. Bernhard Harms is one of the most important schools of economics and social research in Germany. It was here that the late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar studied world economics. Professor Sarkar translatel the German term "Weltwirtschaft" (meaning World Economy) into the Bengali "Vishwa-Arthaniti." Now directed by Dr. Fritz Baade the Institute possesses a library that is regarded as the largest economic library in Europe. In the economic archives there are 1.6 million clippings of articles from daily German and foreign newspapers, magazines and news services. There are supplementary archives, *e.g.*, the business supplementary archives. Furthermore various materials are compiled from and about universities, economic associations and institutes, leading industrial organizations, banks, major industrial enterprises, traffic and insurance companies, national and international trusts. This material can be used by anybody interested —information is also given by letter upon request. The Institute conducts research in the changes of the structure and the market tendencies of world economy—though since the war it

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concentrated on German economic problems. The results of the studies on the changes in the major European national economies since the end of World War II is serially given in the semi-annual publication *Die Weltwirtschaft* (The World Economy). It is, however, through the quarterly *Das Weltwirtschaftliche Archiv* (Archive of World Economics) that the Institute maintains contact with scholars and specialists abroad.

In our country the growing need of economic experts is being keenly felt. There is abundant recognition of the utter lack of research facilities in the field of economics as in many other branches of the Social Sciences. In the background of our own situation the accounts of the activities of the German Institute strike one as a distant ideal. Yet a knowledge of others' achievements and problems often help one to determine one's own steps.

Bertrand Russel on World Peace

In an open letter to President Eisenhower and Soviet Communist leader Nikita Khruschev published in the London Weekly *New Statesman*, Earl Russel made a powerful plea for Soviet-American understanding. If the two leaders could agree on mutual co-operation, Earl Russel said, it would ensure for years to come a life of labour and achievement and joy surpassing anything known in even the happiest eras of the past."

Earl Russel pointed out that while the differences between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. needed to be emphasized in public discussions, the points of mutual contact were far larger than the differences. Neither of the two countries stood to gain by a new world war which the militarists of both the countries were preparing to make. Efforts at world domination had failed in the past and there was no doubt that it would fail again, no matter who tried it. There would however be a difference: the magnitude of disaster that would result from such an attempt would be immeasurably greater than in the past, it would perhaps mean the extermination of the contenders as well as of others. Unrestricted diffusion of nuclear weapons would shortly lead to a position where there would be many more countries dangling the threat of atomic weapons in order to get their demands satisfied. Insane rulers, experience showed, would not be restrained from such blackmail by the fear that their citizens would also perish. Russia and America, by agreeing not to manufacture these weapons themselves and by refusing military or economic assistance to any country which persisted in the manufacture of such weapons, could effectively stop the diffusion of nuclear weapons.

The Russo-American agreement for peace, as Earl Russel noted, would also mean a great economic gain for these two countries inasmuch as they could thereby save nine-tenths of their present expenditure on military efforts and employ that toward peaceful construction projects.

Police State in South Africa

South Africa is, perhaps, the only police-State in the world in the fullest sense of the term. The white rulers of the land have left no stone unturned to make the misery and humiliation of the natives, coloureds and Indians complete in all respects. The character of the Union of South Africa as a police-State is best understood with a reference to its Pass-laws which are far more stringent than any in operation in any part of the Communist States of Europe. In South Africa, the non-whiters to whom the country belongs are obliged to carry an identity card which a non-white must be able to produce wherever and whenever called upon to do so. The rigidity and width of these Pass-laws are so comprehensive that if any one was arrested on a street an able prosecutor wonld have no difficulty in securing his conviction under one or the other provision of these laws. Mr. James Fairbairn in an article in the London weekly *New Statesman* has described how the government of the land conspires with the white employers in the country to abduct persons belonging to the non-white races to serve as slave-labourers for the whites. She has specifically referred to the abduction of Nelson Langa, a street sweeper employed by the Johannesburg city council. Nelson was illegally arrested by the police and sent to a private jail of a rich white farmer—built at a cost of £5.000—where he was forced to work as a slave. Fortunately for Nelson one of his cousins came to know of this abduction by the police and through great effort ultimately succeeded in securing Nelson's release by the Supreme Court. There were two significant points: Though Nelson was arrested by the regular police force of the country, a thorough check showed that there was no police

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record of this arrest or of any official charge against Nelson. It was only through private investigations that Nelson's relatives could discover the truth which the government acknowledged before the court. The historic decision of the South African Supreme Court, Mr. Fairbairn points out, "hinged on one point that Nelson's cousin was in possession of Nelsons's pass, thus enabling his attorney to prove that Nelson was already in legal employment. Passes carried by arrested men have a way of being 'unavailable' to attorneys. The subsequent hearing for costs revealed that Nelson's labour contract, which he claimed was made under duress, bore the signature of a Native Affairs Department official as having explained its terms to both Nelson and his future employer —and the same official's signature as the employer's agent."

Having failed hitherto to succeed in its efforts to stifle the Africans through its repressive laws the government has now swooped down upon the African intellectuals who provide the articulate leadership to the movement of the coloured people against white chauvinism. The government has, therefore, launched, at the beginning of this year, a so-called "treason trial" against 156 leaders of the movement for securing the lawful rights of the non-whites in the Union. Of the arrested 105 are Africans, 23 Europeans, 21 Indians and seven coloureds; 138 of them are men and 18 women. The arrested persons come from all strata of society representing doctors, lawyers, journalists, teachers, students, ministers of religion, factory workers, trade unionists and workers. "Their views, as publicly professed in the past," points out Mr. Gerald Gardiner, a distinguished British legal expert who was in South Africa on a fact-finding tour on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists at the Hague, "ranged from 'Christian', 'pacifist', 'moderate', to 'extreme left'." Among the arrested are Mr. A. J. Luthuli, Christian President-General of the African National Congress, Professor Z. K. Mathews, an African, acting head of the Fort Hare University College; South Africa's two leading African attorneys and one of the country's two African members of the Bar. Clearly the government's aim is to cut off the leadership of the African nationalist movement. The government has already introduced in Parliament one other measure—the Segregation of University Education Bill—which, when passed, would successfully prevent the emergence of a new generation of African intellectuals.

It has been widely recognised that the trials are a mockery. The definition of treason in South Africa is wide enough to include even verbal protest against the measures of the present government. Supplemented by the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 under which the Governor-General can declare a man "Communist" (no matter if he is not one) and secure his conviction, the Treason Laws are now considered by the South African government to take all the measures it might like to take to suppress the demands of the non-whites in the country. The government has collected 10,000 documents as evidence against the "accused". As Mr. V. C. Berrange, one of the defence counsel, remarks: "It must be rare indeed, for a case not to be capable of proof without 10,000 documents. The duration of the preliminary hearings have lasted more than nine months to the great loss and inconvenience to the defendants, many of whom have lost their employment and most of whom have to live separated from their homes and families. Again, the strain of having to sit through the hearings five days a week and about five hours a day for such a long period, almost continuously, is naturally telling upon many of the defendants. In two cases both the husband and the wife have been arrested, the children left to be cared for by whoever took pity on them.

The fate of these African patriots certainly deserve the attention of the intellectuals of the world. The enormity of the crimes now being perpetrated by the present government of South Africa in the name of law and order and the defence of Western civilisation is in no way different from, but, perhaps, much greater than the Communist trials in Hungary or the USSR. In the latter countries, the government consists of the people of the land, while in the former an alien race is oppressing the legitimate owners of the land.

The Second Soviet Sputnik

The Soviet Union startled the world by launching a second artificial satellite on November 3,

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The second sputnik was much bigger than the first one, it weighed about half a ton (the first one was 183 lbs.) and was circling the globe every 102 minutes at an altitude of 930 miles (1500 kilometres). The first sputnik circled the world every 96.2 minutes. The longer time required by the second sputnik was not due to any slower speed (it had the same speed of 18,000 miles per hour as the first one) but due to its higher orbit. Another significant thing about the second sputnik was that it was carrying a living being—a dog named Laika, whom, it was hoped, could be brought down to earth. This last expectation however did not come true and Laika was reportedly dead—in other words the problem of getting down living being from space ships remained still a problem.

Professor Anatoli Biagonravov, one of the architects of these magnificent Soviet achievements, said: "I think the new data of the second sputnik will astound the world even more. There will be even greater admiration at the success of our science." In Toronto, Dr. John Heard, Director of the Toronto University's David Dunlop Observatory, said the announced weight of the satellite was "almost incredible." We were all amazed at the weight of the first satellite, but it is really astonishing that they put in that much weight. In London, Professor Harrie S. W. Massey, of the Royal Society for the Achievement of science, described the second satellite as "really a most fantastic development."

U.S. army scientists at New Mexico missile bases and Mr. Kenneth Gatland, Vice-Chairman of the British Interplanetary Society, estimated that the whole satellite unit must have weighed about 500 tons and required 1.25 million lbs. of fuel (on the accepted basis that it took 1000 lbs., of fuel to lift one pound into the orbit). Dr. Fred Whipple, Director of the Smithsonian Astro-physical Observatory in Cambridge, Massachusetts, described the launching of the second satellite as six times as great a scientific achievement as the launching of the first sputnik.

Dr. Viktor Paziekin and Professor Vladimir Petrovsky, respectively Director and Lecturer, at Moscow's Planetarium, said that sputnik I, had two principal purposes: to give accurate measurements of the density of the atmosphere at high altitudes above the earth and to obtain information about meteoric streams in outer space. Sputnik II was intended to provide information about the effect of cosmic rays on living beings and to study the spectrum. The second satellite was equipped with a refractor which splitted the spectrum into separate colours and enabled the scientists to study the Sun's rays unaffected by atmosphere.

As the Western scientists guessed on the announcement of the second Soviet satellite, it was launched with the help of a new science of power. Giving this information a Soviet scientist, Academician Dikushin, said that the satellite was launched by "a multi-staged carrier rocket of a new design with fool-prof precision controls."

Guns vs. *Butter in U.S. Aid*

Despite all the boosts given in press interviews it has begun to dawn in the minds of the experts in foreign affairs in the U.S. that the American policy has blundered in Asia.

The following report, from the pen of C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times*, is a clear indication. The only point Sulzberger has missed is the vital question of aiding the Soviets policy by creating schisms and lasting bitterness, through indiscriminate aid as in this part of the World.

Under two post-war Administrations our foreign policy has been heavily influenced by military considerations. Our aid program is, for obvious reasons, overweighted in favour of defense and defense support. The Pentagon has had immense say in many diplomatic decisions.

It is time to review this situation in terms both of Europe and of Asia. Is our course economic and prudent? Has it adjusted sufficiently to a changing world situation?

As far as Europe is concerned there is reason for optimism. The Soviet bloc has not yet solved its satellite relationships and, on our side of the ideological border, NATO shows enough vitality to undergo needed alterations.

The alliance was conceived when present instruments of war were hardly to be imagined. And we alone had a large stock-pile of nuclear weapons and superior means of delivering them. It was designed to deter attack from the East or to check it long enough for massive retaliation to come into play.

The Russians have managed to right the atomic balance while maintaining preponderance in conventional forces. Therefore our allies

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worry about what kind of protection we can afford them. Clearly, if they are to retain faith in us, we must make immediately available to their armies missiles and new explosives. And clearly this will be done.

But in Asia the "cold war" presents more complex aspects. In the area between the Middle and Far East we made two evident miscalculations. We underestimated Kremlin ability to help underdeveloped nations. And we overstressed our own military aid.

Secretary Dulles reckoned, when Russia began its offers of foreign assistance, that Moscow was capable only of what he called "one shot" programs. He thought the constant drain of China, the U.S.S.R.'s immense military budget and its evident economic difficulties would prevent serious loans or grants to others. He seems to have misjudged the circumstances. For Soviet funds are flowing to Afghanistan, India, Egypt, Syria, Burma and Indonesia and have been dangled elsewhere.

Asia and Africa are convinced of the Marxist precept that non-industrialized countries are doomed to relative degeneracy. They look abroad for boosts into the machine age. But thanks to a Pentagon bias in American policy decisions, most of the dollars we have sent have gone for unproductive purposes.

Of $150,000,000,000 we disbursed overseas during recent years the greater proportion has gone for direct or indirect defense. We have helped build armies incapable of fighting modern war upon economies incapable of supporting such establishments.

This has not greatly helped the beneficiaries. Their populations are less interested in guns than butter, more concerned with freeing their children from want than they are with ideology.

Furthermore, to accomplish our desires, we have been forced by conditions to work from the top down. We channel our contributions through existing and frequently corrupt governments with the result that popular share in any benefits is restricted. To make our programs work we must maintain a frequently unsatisfactory *status quo*.

The Communists, who oppose us, work from the bottom up, capturing popular discontent with prevailing administration. And they are able sometimes to paint us as those responsible for keeping in power despots who impoverish the people.

How we can meet this challenge is difficult to say. But we must develop more pliancy in our aid and more support among the masses who should ultimately get it.

Moscow's subtle new regime benefits by contrast with the recent rigidity of Stalin. But we seem too inflexible. Our Asian alliances have been no great success. The Northern Tier we sponsored failed to keep Soviet influence from the Middle East. Already the Eisenhower Doctrine is unfashionable in that area. We can no longer hope to align the Arab states in any broad anti-Russian military pact. It is questionable whether such was ever worth attempting.

SEATO is militarily weaker now than when it was invented, thanks to French troop withdrawals from Indo-China and British forces cuts. It is back-stopped by our own ANZUS arrangement with Australia and New Zealand and by ANZAM, an entente between the latter lands and formerly British Malaya. ANZAM is now virtually non-existent. The new Malayan Government claims never even to have heard of it.

It is not easy to stiffen the free world in the East. But the emphasis of our approach must shift. Economic assistance there is more important than military gear. Liberty must be worth something before a people is prepared to fight for it.

And we have yet to capture the imagination of newly independent masses. Communism, which they do not comprehend, is not the major threat for many of them. The major threat is fear of slipping backward into misery. Rifles cannot win that battle.

The Communist World

The *New York Times* published on November 24 an editorial on the two communiques issued by the leaders of the Communist world on the "basic laws" and "aims" of their nations. We reproduce it below as it gives a cross-section from the Western viewpoint:

In 1917, when Lenin's Bolshevik party seized power in Russia, its strength could be counted in thousands. Forty years later, the Communist empire embraces one-fourth of the earth's surface and holds dominion over more

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than one-third of mankind—almost 1,000,000,000 people.

Three weeks ago, in the triumphant atmosphere engendered by sputniks, the leaders of the Communist world gathered at Moscow to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Conspicuously absent was Yugoslavia's Tito, who said he had lumbago and sent subordinates to represent him. During and after the festivities there were private talks among the leaders. Then full-dress conferences were held at the Kremlin from November 14 to 16 by representatives of twelve Communist States; from November 16 to 19 by leaders of Communist parties in sixty-four countries.

Last week, as a result of the meetings, the Communist hierarchy issued two communiques. One was a 5,000-word joint declaration of 'basic laws' and 'unity of aims' signed by Soviet boss Nikita Khrushchev, China's Mao Tse-tung, Poland's Wladyslaw Gomulka and other party leaders of the Communist States. The other was a 'peace manifesto,' signed by the sixty-four Communist parties, which formally endorsed every aspect of Soviet foreign policy. Of the two documents, the first was considered by observers to be by far the most significant.

The declaration exuded confidence in the continued expansion of the Communist world under Soviet leadership. It said:

> The question of war or peaceful co-existence is now the crucial question of world policy. At present the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting wars. . . . The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of Socialist (Communist) countries headed by the Soviet Union. . . . The Socialist (Communist) countries are united in a single community . . . the main guarantee of the victory (of communism).

The declaration also called for a revival of 'popular fronts' between Communists and other political groups in the free world 'to win State power without civil war.' It stated that in view of the present international crisis the Communist world leadership should 'hold, as the need arises, more . . . conferences of Communist . . . parties to discuss current problems . . . and concert action in the joint struggle for . . . common goals'.

To the West, the most significant note in the declaration was the emphasis upon Soviet leadership. It was doubted that Moscow could revert completely to the Stalinist pattern of Russian dictation to Communist parties elsewhere, as practised by the pre-war Comintern and the post-war Cominform. The Comintern was dissolved during World War II as a gesture to the Western allies and the Cominform was abandoned by Khrushchev last year. The Cominform had been Stalin's principal instrument for punishing the disobedient Tito. The reason for its dissolution, it was believed, was the Kremlin's desire after Stalin's death to make amends with Tito. But Moscow is believed to have had second thoughts about Tito and his doctrine of 'different roads to socialism' in light of the unrest that led to the crises in Hungary and Poland. Accordingly, it is felt that Khrushchev now seeks to establish a modified version of a world Communist high command guided from Moscow. Although the declaration last week did not mention the doctrine of 'different roads to socialism,' its real intent, it was felt, was to assert unity among the Communist parties of the world and revive some of the spirit if not the form of the Comintern and Cominform.

The Yugoslav position lends credence to this theory. Tito's representative did not sign the declaration. During a Moscow reception Friday night, A. I. Mikoyan, a member of the Russian Communist party's ruling presidium, parried questions about Yugoslavia's attitude and told correspondents to ask the Yugoslav Ambassador. They did. Yugoslav Ambassador Veljko Micunovic bluntly said, '(We did not sign) because we did not agree with it.'

The Yugoslav Communist party signed the 'peace manifesto,' however. Yugoslav officials explained this by saying that the manifesto was solely a party concern while the declaration was a government matter. Western observers concluded that Tito was determined to emphasize his independence of Moscow, particularly because Washington is re-examining its policy of giving aid to Yugoslavia.

Tunisia's Arms

The intransigence of the French *colons*—that is those French colonists who have ruth-

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lessly exploited Algeria—and of the politicians that support them, has kept almost all North Africa involved in turmoil and bloodshed. Tunisia has been attacked without any provocation, and has asked the U.S. for arms for defence of her soil. The U.S. has agreed on a token shipment, which has incensed the French Government. *The New York Times* gives the following background of the controversy:

This is the background of the controversy over shipment of American and British arms to Tunisia:

Last September, President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia asked the U.S. for weapons. The French-Arab fighting in Algeria was spilling across Tunisia's borders, and he felt he was entitled to the arms to protect his nation's integrity. The U.S. agreed, and while making no commitments of its own, said Tunisia should get arms from some Western nation—preferably France—by the end of October.

On September 30 the French Government fell, and M. Bourguiba postponed the arms delivery deadline to November 12 in order to give Paris time to pull itself together. Meanwhile, the U.S. continued trying to persuade the French to supply the arms, and at the same time, prepared to make deliveries itself, if necessary.

The U.S. was then given to understand that France would deliver the arms on November 14 with no strings attached. But it turned out that Paris wanted two agreements from M. Bourguiba: (1) that no weapons would be allowed to fall into the hands of the Algerian rebels, and (2) that he accept weapons from no one except France. The conditions were rejected as an infringement on Tunisian sovereignty. Feeling it now had no choice but to make good its pledge of Western arms, the U.S. hastily undertook to supply the weapons, along with a token shipment from Britain.

The French outcry over the arms shipments soon reached deafening proportions. The burden of the complaint was that since there had been no guarantees otherwise, the arms were bound to reach the Algerian rebels.

Last week, French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau flew to Washington to protest personally to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. After their three-hour meeting, a State Department spokesman said the Secretary had listened 'with understanding and sympathy.' It was agreed that the U.S. and France would discuss, with Britain and Tunisia, procedures to prevent illegal use of Western weapons.

Some U.S. and British officials viewed the French uproar in part as a calculated effort to pressure the U.S. into supporting France's position in the United Nations, where the Algerian question comes up for debate this week.

Apparently, North Africans had the same thing in mind. Last Tuesday M. Bourguiba went to Morocco to confer with King Mohammed V, who is flying to the U.S. today for talks this week with President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles. The King and M. Bourguiba addressed an 'urgent appeal' to the French and Algerians. Offering their good offices, they called for negotiations that 'should achieve a just solution, leading to the sovereignty of the Algerian people in conformity with the United Nations' and 'safeguarding the interests of France.'

Yesterday the proposal was accepted by the Algerians and rejected by the Gaillard Cabinet. Last night the Radical Socialists, Gaillard's own party, repudiated the Premier's stand in a resolution calling for acceptance of the proposal. The offer is expected to be emphasized by King Mohammed in his talks at Washington and by Arab delegates to the U.N. during the Algerian debate.

Morocco and Spain

There are storm clohds on the horizon of Morocco, the only part of North Africa that has remained comparatively calm. It seems that Spain is looking for trouble, as the following news-item in the *New York Times* of November 29 indicates:

Rabat, Morocco, November 28.—Crown Prince Moulay Hassan charged Spanish forces today with having attacked Moroccan territory from Ifni. He ordered the Moroccan Army to shoot back.

His announcement, made in Arabic in a nation-wide broadcast, said two women were killed last Saturday by shells fired by troops from the Spanish colony of Ifni. The Crown Prince said the army, which he commands as

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Chief of Staff, "is ready to defend its territory against anyone."

He indicated that Morocco intended to put up a struggle for Southern Morocco, still a Spanish protectorate south of the independent kingdom. He called this territory "our door on the Sahara."

(The Spanish Government called the Crown Prince's charge of aggression "totally false.")

Ifni, a Spanish enclave in Morocco, has been rent by sporadic rebellion since May. Moroccan nationalists here reported that it had been the scene of fighting between rebels and the Spanish garrison since Saturday.

Spanish authorities have accused the irregular Moroccan liberation army of having staged raids on Ifni, and have rushed reinforcements to the scene.

Al Alam, newspaper of the Moroccan Istiqlal (Independence) party, said the Spanish forces had launched an all-out counter-offensive to recapture lost Ifni outposts.

In his broadcast, Crown Prince Moulay Hassan said that Morocco had been "surprised by the Ifni events," and that it was "regrettable that these events extended beyond the Ifni zone with the Spaniards launching attacks on Moroccan territory."

Accordingly, he announced, he had given orders to the army to fire on any foreign plane suspected of attacking or planning to attack Moroccan territory.

He voiced hope of a peaceful negotiation, saying that Generalissimo Francisco Franco of Spain had shown a "great comprehension" of Spanish-Moroccan relations.

But at the same time, he said, "the importance of Southern Morocco, now under the rule of Spaniards, does not need to be demonstrated because it is our door on the Sahara."

Abdelkader el Fassi, head of the Moroccan Foreign Ministry's Sahara section, declared Morocco could show "only sympathy for all Moroccans who claim their right for the definitive liberation of the (Ifni) territory."

The Oppenheimer Case

McCarthy is dead, but his legacy still remains. The following editorial from the *New York Times* shows how deep is the sore:

The career of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was once described as a 'bitter parable of a bitter time.' In 1945, Dr. Oppenheimer was hailed as the 'architect' of the atomic bomb. Nine years later, the Atomic Energy Commission decided, by a 4-1 vote, to drop Dr. Oppenheimer as a consultant and to deny him access to secret information. The majority held that Dr. Oppenheimer, though loyal, was a 'security risk'. Among other things, he was accused of associating with Communists; he also was charged with failure to support the development of the hydrogen bomb. The case aroused great bitterness in the scientific community.

When the Soviet sputnik appeared in the sky last month, there were widespread demands that American scientists be given a larger national role; with this, came questions about a possible place for Dr. Oppenheimer in the program. Last week Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Trevor Gardner, former chief of Air Force Research, suggested the reinstatement of Dr. Oppenheimer, who since 1947 has been director of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J.

Moreover, at least one of the A.E.C. members who made the 1954 decision against Dr. Oppenheimer has now shifted his stand somewhat. Former Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, who in 1954 went further than his colleagues and called Dr. Oppenheimer 'disloyal' because he disobeyed security rules, said last week, 'I would not be at all displeased if he were reinstated.'

There was no comment from A.E.C. Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, who voted against Dr. Oppenheimer and is the only 1954 commissioner still in office. The physicist Henry D. Smyth, author of the official post-war report on atomic energy and the only 1954 dissenter, said: "I naturally think he should be reinstated—if he wants to come back. I wouldn't blame him if he didn't want to." Dr. Oppenheimer said nothing.

Whatever may happen with the Oppenheimer case—and many observers believe nothing will happen as long as Admiral Strauss remains in charge of the A.E.C.—the nation now appears to be altering its thinking about science and security. One example came from an interview with Dr. Isidor Isaac Rabi, chairman of President Eisenhower's Science Advisory Committee, which was published last week in

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The Sunday Times in London. This was the pertinent exchange.

Q. Is (the U.S. public) still influenced by memories of McCarthyism and the fate of Professor Oppenheimer?

A. It is still too early to judge the long-range effects of McCarthyism, but the exclusion of Professor Oppenheimer, a man who accomplished so much for his country, is indication of the failure of the country and the authorities to value correctly such contributions, both intellectual and substantial, to the welfare of the United States. Only when he is returned to more active Government service will it indicate that a change of heart has occurred. It will be a source of encouragement to the whole scientific community.

Anti-Obscenity Laws

The practice and procedure of the police, in controlling obscene literature in this country, is open to criticism. As such the following extracts from the *New Leader* of New York, of October 7, are worthy of perusal, as they show up the laws of the U.S. in this respect:

Some view the Supreme Court's recent decisions in three unprecedented cases testing state and Federal anti-obscenity laws as a grave threat to *avant-garde* authors and publishers. Taking the three cases, together, they point out, a majority of the court dissented. Their hope is that these minority opinions by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Associate Justices William J. Brennan, John M. Marlan, William O. Douglas and Hugo L. Black will yet prevail.

Others have concluded that ultimately the recent decisions will reduce and possibly eliminate attempts at official censorship by the ignorant and bigoted, whether police chiefs or Postmasters General. Their optimism is based on the nature of the minority opinions, the temperate tone of the majority and, above all, the shoddy literary goods involved in these particular cases.

Kingsley Books v. Brown concerned pamphlets describing sadomasochistic activities. A curious cross between books and magazines, these were issued irregularly but with a common format and the running title "Nights of Horror." Under a hitherto untested law enacted by the Legislature in 1941, New York City obtained an injunction and removed copies from bookstores.

New York was attempting "prior restraint" of publication, according to the aggrieved booksellers. They conceded that the "Nights of Horror" series was "indisputably obscene and filthy," but they defended their hardwon historic right to sell a book—completing the path from author to reader—before the law intervenes.

The New York law was carefully written to make pornography unprofitable. Usually, when a dealer is charged with selling obscene literature, the books remain on sale until his case has dragged its way through a clogged court calendar. If found guilty, the dealer may pay only a fine and often he is soon selling the same books again. Another offense requires another trial. Under the New York statute, in contrast, a trial must be held within 24 hours after the injunction issues, and a decision must be handed down within 48 hours after the trial has ended. A jury trial is optional. If the seized material is ruled obscene, it is destroyed.

Justice Felix Frankfurter's decision for the majority denied that this procedeure was "prior restraint." The bookseller is assured of a swift trial and justice without delay. "Until then, he may keep the book for sale and sell it on his own judgment . . . ."

Justices Douglas and Black dissented and, as they did in all three cases, adopted a more extreme position than they have taken in the past in similar cases. The "Nights of Horror" decision they described as "prior restraint and censorship at its worst." They were joined in dissent, on other grounds, by Justice Brennan and the Chief Justice.

"There is totally lacking any standard in the statute for judging the book in context," Mr. Warren wrote. "The personal element basic to the criminal laws is entirely absent. In my judgment, the same object may have wholly different impact depending upon the setting in which it is placed. Under this statute the setting is irrelevent." Justice Brennan argued that "the absence in this New York obscenity statute of a right to jury trial is a fatal defect . . . . The jury represents a cross-section of the community and has a special aptitude for reflecting the view of the average person."

Alberts v. California dealt with a Los Angeles publisher and bookseller convicted of violating a state law against pornography.

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an impassioned brief and oral argument before the Supreme Court, his attorney advanced two principal reasons for reversal. There is no standard of obscenity valid for all times and places, he observed. Some of the earliest English common law cases, for example, involved Southey's *Wat Tyler*, *Byron's Don Juan* and Shelley's *Queen Mab*.

Roth v. U.S., however, presented the basic challenge to the 20 antiobscenity acts passed by Congress. As author, publisher or bookseller, Roth has long run afoul of various state and Federal laws against obscene literature. Accused this time of violating Federal rather than state statutes, he contended that obscenity is no subject for Federal legislation, Congress being prohibited by the First Amendment from abridging the rights of free speech and free press.

This constitutional doctrine of free speech and press judges literature by the acts it is likely to cause, not the ideas it attempts to spread. Should obscenity, alleged or conceded, be ruled outside the protection the First Amendment extends to ideas? The late Judge Jerome Frank made his misgivings plain in a lengthy appendix to the Appellate decision against Roth, in which he concurred.

One defect in the anti-obscenity laws, Judge Frank wrote, is that "no one can show that with any reasonable probability obscene publications tend to have any effects on the behavior of normal average adults." Nevertheless, "under the statute as judicially interpreted, punishment is apparently inflicted for provoking in such adults undesirable sexual thoughts, feelings or desires—not overt dangerous or anti-social conduct, either actual or probable." And who is to determine what is sexually provocative? Judge Frank asked. "In truth, the stimuli to irregular sexual conduct, by normal men and women, may be almost anything—the odor of carnations or cheese, the sight of a cane or a candle or a shoe, the touch of silk or a gunnysack."

The American Civil Liberties Union came to Roth's defense before the Supreme Court. Its brief echoed Judge Frank, citing research findings indicating little or no behaviour as a result of reading or looking at obscene material. *Amicus curiae* briefs were also filed by the Authors League of America, the American Books Publishers Council and *Playboy* and *Rogue* magazines. Rarely, if ever, has an *amicus* brief been accepted in the Supreme Court from a lawyer without a client, but the authoritative personal opinion of Morris Ernst, the celebrated literary lawyer, was presented to the Justices in this fashion.

The Government's case was simple. Much more was at stake than Alberts' girlie magazines or Roth's erotic book—*American Aphrodite*, for example, an illustrated anthology of Boccaccio, Aubrey Beardsley, pseudo-scientifie articles on sex, etc. According to the Post Office Department, the "borderline" category accounts for less than a tenth of the questionable matter scrutinized at the border or in the U.S. mails.

Ninety per cent of the printed or photographic items supporting criminal convictions under the anti-obscenity statutes, the Government explained, is "hard-core" pornography: erotic objects, photographic sets and booklets, illustrated pamphlets and books "in simple explicit words of sexual excesses of every kind, over and over again"; pornographic comic books; and motion picture films, "sometimes of high technical quality, sometimes in color."

What, then, shall be considered obscene? "Obscene material . . . . deals with sex in a manner appealing to prurient interest." The test is "whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest."

The decision of the majority in the Roth and Alberts cases, according to the Court's two steadfast liberals, "creates a regime where, in the battle between the literati and the Philistines, the Philistines are certain to win." Their parting shot was: "The test that suppresses a cheap tract today can suppress a literary gem tomorrow. All it need do is incite a lascivious thought or arouse a lusful desire. The list of books that judges or juries can put in the category is endless."

The trend of the Supreme Cout's recent decisions and the temper of the present Justices would seem to belie these warnings, however. Chief Justice Warren observed in his Roth opinion that "To recognize the existence of a problem . . . . does not require that we sustain any and all measures adopted to meet that problem." One such measure the Court would not sustain was a 118-year-old Michigan statute making it an offense to publish or sell books to

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the general public that could potentially "incite minors to violent or depraved or immoral acts."

The effect of this law, Justice Frankfurte wrote when the Court struck it down last February, was "to reduce the adult population of Michigan to reading only what is fit for childern."

The Kandy Conference

The following report, culled feom the *New York Times*, is worthy of record in more than one way:

Kandy, Ceylon, November 28.—Journalists from four continents agreed today on a series of recommendations aimed at increasing the world's fund of news information, particularly about Asia.

The newspapermen ended a four-day conference of the International Press Institute, an organization of editors and publishers concerned with freedom of information and the flow of news.

Those who participated in the conference seem to agree that they profited by getting to know each other better and exchanging information about problems and trends in journalism. But there is also the feeling among some of the journalists here that the conference was conducted somewhat too diplomatically, that it trod too delicately on too many egg-shells, and that many things about press freedoms in Asia were only hinted at or left unsaid.

The most heated discussion, which took place at the final session tonight, centered on a proposal by Nelson Poynter, editor of *The St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times*. The proposal, finally adopted unanimously, called on all governments to permit newspapers and other media to receive directly, if desired, any news report.

Strong opposition was encountered at first from Indian editors. India permits foreign news agencies to sell their services in that country, but only by using Indian news services as distributors. The fear expressed by Indian editors was that open direct competition by foreign agencies might drive to the wall such national news agencies as the Press Trust of India.

The conference also called for more news representation in Communist China and suggested that airlines consider "more favorable rates" for carrying newspapers and journalists. A journalism teacher from India made a proposal for financing overseas trips by journalists teachers, but it was dropped.

The conference adopted a carefully worded resolution expressing "deep concern" over the year-long detention of Mochtar Lubis, editor of the *Indonesia Raya*. The proposal asked the Indonesian Government to "allow Lubis to regain his professional freedom" but steered away from any comment on reports that the Indonesian military authorities had accused him—without bringing him to trial—of subversion.

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We hope our well-wishers will please realise the reasons for the enhancement which is beyond our control, and will kindly extend their co-operation as before.

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RACE RELATIONS IN AMERICA

By Prof. LEON SINDER, ph.D.,
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To most Asians the news emanating from the United States is overshadowed by one seemingly paramount contradiction. It is the image of a country professing democratic ideals caught in the throes of racial violence. On the surface this image seems to be so certain that it overwhelms the mind to the point where it must, to assure itself of sanity, exclaim, "Americans are all hypocrites." "They preach democracy abroad and practise something else at home." Is this really a true picture of America ?

When the first flush of emotionalism is spent, is the picture in view still as dark and, is the professed American ideal still as false ?

I know that in writing any erudite work with some appeal to reason and knowledge beyond, not without, emotion the author becomes suspect of "selling something." Certainly, I am an American, reared in the traditions of the United States some of which may be abhorrent to Asians or even to myself but, we must remember that all human beings are born into a society already created for their arrival. We must be aware of the fact that in any society, facets exist which become evil and unworthy of the professed ideals of a changing society and world. These facets inevitably fall victim to the passage of time. It is so in India as well as in America. The race picture in America has been one of the facets in the passage of time. This, then, is not an apologia for the lack of a democractic spirit in America but an analysis of why I consider the democratic spirit to be more vitally alive now than ever.

There are facts in history which cannot be negated, only explained, that we must all be aware of. Such a fact was the existence of a great cleavage between human beings in Europe, in Asia and in America. In the United States the cleavage was constantly being broken down by waves of migration from the old world into the new. Cleavages starting in the old world could not exist in their original forms dynamically changing groups as easily as among socially static ones. The only socially static group in the new world were the Negroes for they were enslaved until after 1865. Race relations in America then can be said not to have existed, except in a very very specific sense, prior to 1865. It is only within the last 90 years or so that relations between races in America can be said to have begun. Once again, I must emphasize, that there is no attempt to place a moral judgment on the evil or justice involved with slavery. Whether the system of man enslaving man is inhuman or not, it is an historical fact that man, all over the world, did do so.

The Negro in America, after 1865, had a relation with others in his country which was local, regional and national. In all instances the closer he remained to his former place of slavery, the lesser was he considered as being really free. We know, for example, that conservatism in changing conditions in Indian villages is often most profound on the local level and most often dynamic the further one travels away from specific relations with a local area. It is indicative of this fact that the American Negro, now a free man, began to migrate from his home elsewhere. He walked all over the American South. In asserting the physical fact of his freedom he, nonetheless, stayed within the regional conservatism of the older attitudes toward him. The American South retained an attitude of paternalistic kindness toward the Negro but adopted one of adamant refusal to face the facts of a new historical period. The American government and its constitutional processes were always ahead, in ideals and guarantees, of its power to enforce change on the general climate of opinion. This too should not be strange to Indians since caste is also illegal and yet large vestiges remain that be-

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come stronger when we go from the national to the regional and the local levels.

American Negroes, in asserting their freedom of movement, began to gravitate toward the Northern part of the United States into areas in which Negro-Caucasoid relations have no long social history. The Negro was not looked upon, in this area, solely as a Negro but he had to face the phenomenon that all individuals who are on the move encounter—that of being a stranger in older settled areas with other social stratifications. This served, added to the disadvantage of Negro unpreparadness for competitive economic existence due to slavery, to further make his position difficult. Also, we must remember that Negroes-become-freedmen were invariably among the lowest economic groups and suffered in their relations with other social groups, in a society largely based upon concepts of wealth, because they were poor. The emphasis here is important. It was not solely because they were Negroes that made them the object of discrimination—it was primarily because they were poor and Negroes that they were singled out for differential treatment.

The story of the rise of paralleling Negro social classes aping that of the Caucasoid groups has been too well documented by American Sociologists for me to go into here but the fact remains that by the out-break of World War II, we found a whole range of levels in American Negro life—from the highest to the lowest. Social bridgement of relations between Negroes and Caucasoids in a similar economic level, however, was difficult in both the North and the South and was not encouraged by either of the two racial groups. Economic bridgement, however, was beginning to take place in increasing fashion with a democracy in labour and with equal pay for dissimilar races at similar jobs. Once again, I must state, that this does not imply that Negroes were given the right to all types of employment that they qualified for, but that this was a factor of the social position of employer-employee relations rather than of the economic. The old trite statements, used to excuse racial prejudice in hiring, such as "Negroes are lazy," or "Negroes can't handle tools as well as Whites," or "They are untrustworthy in responsible jobs," are now seldom, if ever, heard in the total American scene—*even in the South!* If Negroes are not hired for a specific job, a practice which admittedly persists in certain American industries, the reasons are always social and must fall back on the social aspect of segregation. Here then is one of the most positive phases of race relations in America that seems to have been overlooked. Perhaps the growing maturity of American industry to labour relations problems, perhaps the need for all available manpower during World War II, perhaps the growing awareness of America's position in the world, perhaps an intangible reason which no one has, as yet, brought forth, contributed to the growing egalitarian spirit of industrial relations. The fact is that American Negroes work alongside of American Caucasoids all over this country.

World War II also saw the breakdown of many other aspects of segregation on the scene of America as a nation. The armed forces were desegregated. Sports in which national institutions are involved, West Point, Annapolis, our Olympic teams, not only became the scene of racial interaction but demanded that local and regional segregation among spectators be eliminated. This year, for example, football in America in which national institutions participate will be totally free from racial stigma both for the spectators and participants.

The Asian may well say, "Well, all of these things are true but how about all the discrimination we read about and all of the pictures of vicious morons intimidating Negro children we have seen." This author would like to state that even in this sorry spectacle there are aspects which he calls "positive-negativism." I am not indulging in semantics here in order to avoid the issue but I maintain that these are signs that the last stronghold of social segregation is also crumbling. In the American South, for example, forces of hate that have erupted in violence (forces which have their counterpart in every human society) have forced the quiescent paternalistic Southern white to recognize that his attitude has only given strength to this minute, lawless and vicious minority in the

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midst. He has, for the first time since the American civil war, re-evaluated his concept of the American Negro in terms of legal and social equality. Statements, such as, "I don't particularly like it but integration is inevitable" are the hallmark of this new Southern attitude. Human beings in America, in India or elsewhere must first achieve social freedom on a level with everyone else in society in order to achieve any of the other levels that they aspire to. If members of that society do not like the idea of equality but bow to its inevitability they express an individual ideal which is negative but a social ideal which is positive. Hence my concept of positive-negativism. It is not the American Negroes desire to be liked as a Negro. He wants first to be as free as anyone else in the society and liked as an individual. This is an altogether different problem from that posed by segregation or integration.

In the present American South we have the interesting and stimulating spectacle of the American Negro not only gaining his long delayed freedom under the laws reinforced by an enlightened judiciary but gaining in social status because of his demeanour under trying conditions. The Rev. King, for example, and his followers have been compared to Gandhi and his disciples in following non-violence to gain their ends. Anyone who knows of America's deep emotional attachment to the spirit and memory of Gandhi should realize that the American Negro has, in this instance, risen enormously in social prestige. Paradoxically then, the anti-Negro forces in the American South are not only speeding the legal integration of groups which, even they had to admit, seemed inevitable but the social integration, by adding a bright dignity to the Negro, that the most hopeful person could not have foreseen in the near future.

The ability to incorporate great social changes after periods of travail are the foundations of a living democracy. These changes inevitably hurt individuals while they are taking place. To those individuals the transition is painful and fraught with anguish and tears. To their friends, here or abroad, the changes become synonymous with bad rather than with good. We know, however, that once the period of transition takes place the changes heal wounds, the society recovers and becomes cohesive and new changes with new pains, new anguish, new progress, occur.

Americans are far from perfect—Negro and Caucasoid alike—for they are human. They react to fright, pain and lack of knowledge with the same blind stupidity that all peoples do. In this time of transition, between the darkness in the American South and the sure beginnings of the down, we tend to pay heed only to the goblins of doom but America's racial picture is at its brightest hour now. The Negro American have shown to others, and to themselves, that they too are the inheritors of a truly democratic spirit by their steadfast attitude of forbearance and non-vindictiveness. As such they attest to the truth of the ingrained teaching of what democratic America really stands for.

America has a long way to go in legal, moral, social and educational teaching of all its people to be mature enough to have the strength to be kind to themselves as well as to the others that make up the human family. Which other nation, in this trouble-beset world, hasn't ?*

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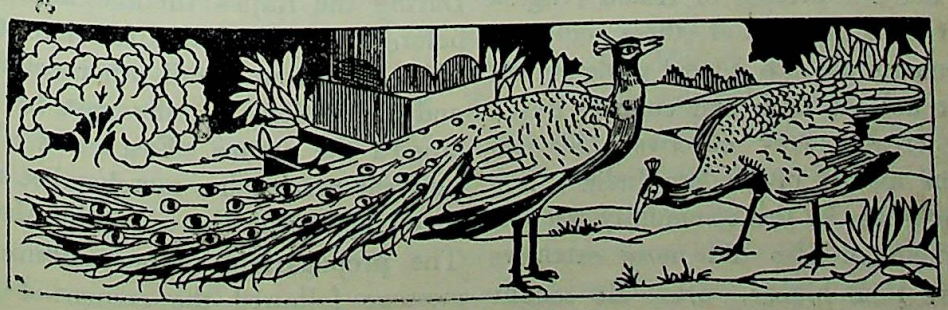

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BRAHMO SAMAJ AND FREEDOM MOVEMENT

By Prof. A. C. BANERJI

Many of our countrymen including even historians have got an idea that freedom movement in India is comparatively of recent origin, although some of them would say that Sepoy Mutiny was the first War of Independence. It seems that they are mostly unware of the great contribution made by Brahmo Samaj towards achievement of Independence in India.

Perhaps most of you are aware of one of the main reasons why Raja Rammohun Roy, while he was a young boy of sixteen years, left India, crossed the Himalayas and went over to Tibet. He mentioned the reason in his letter to his friend Mr. Gordon—it was his intense dislike for British Rule. After travelling through various places he realised that mere aversion to British rule would not bring freedom to India and that the ground should be prepared first before our country could hope to achieve independence. He foresaw that personal freedom should first be achieved before political freedom could be gained. He became the apostle of personal freedom and also laid the foundation of freedom movement in the first half of the twentieth century for political emancipation of India. Indeed the political Swaraj movement was the child of the movement of personal freedom initiated by Rammohun Roy. He raised his revolt against the Hindu orthodoxy of his time and concentrated all his efforts in reforming current religious practices and in uprooting injurious customs of his countrymen. In personal freedom, supremacy of individual reason and individual conscience is maintained and ideas and opinions of each person are based on his stand for the highest truth and the most solemn right to hold them. The remarkable fight of Raja Rammohun with the Christian missionaries of Serampore and his defence of Hindu religion against the vicious attack of these ignorant foreign missionaries aroused a new pride in our people in their ancient faith and culture. Raja's timely action created very effectively for the first time in the history of Modern India a new national consciousness in the community. In this connection Rammohun also did more extensive and at the same time higher work. He sought to purify the religion of the Christion missionaries themselves by pointing out to them the errors and superstitions that had collected around the pristine teaching of Christ. His defence of interpretation of Christ was remarkable and he could have easily taken his place amongst the Fathers of Christian Church. Raja Rammohun thus became not only a national hero but also an international figure.

Raja Rammohun Roy fully realised that in order to promote welfare of our country in every way and to raise it ultimately to the status of a self-governing domain it was essential that the system of English education should be introduced in the country as early as possible so that Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful arts as well as Political Philosophy as obtain in Europe might be taught to Indians so that they could become politically, industrially and economically advanced. Moreover educated persons and intellectuals of different provinces in India would be able to communicate with each other easily if they learned English. A feeling of common nationhood would also be awakened throughout India, and this spirit of nationalism was very necessary in order to attain freedom. The idea of complete political independence was always in the mind of the Raja. The Raja told his friend Mr. Arnold who was also his Private Secretary during his sojourn in England that he believed that British rule in India would last for about another forty years. The Raja made this statement in the early thirties of the last century. He thought and hoped that the British would cease to rule India after the seventies of the last century. The Raja was firmly of opinion that British connection was very necessary during the first half of the nineteenth century. During the Raja's lifetime and a few centuries before his birth India fell into the background of the forefront of all other countries in culture and civilisation. In the past her sailing vessels crossed the oceans East and West and her caravans carried her merchandise along the land-routes up to the shores of the Mediteranean Sea. The propagation of her culture and spiritual message followed the course of her commerce. Now her past supremacy was gone. The Raja

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firmly believed that in order that India might regain her last glory it was the will of Providence that the British should become the political masters of India and deliver this ancient land from the bondage of mediaevalism into the freedom of modern age through the initiation of modern culture and education. He strongly urged that if any country were to be freed from social and intellectual bondage of mediaevalism and pedanticism her children must get their education in the positive sciences of the West. The Raja asserted that to ensure her material and spiritual progress and to get out of mediaevalism India must assimilate the results of scientific investigation and inventions of modern Europe. According to the Raja within forty years of the introduction of modern European Culture and learning in India, the Indians would be sufficiently advanced in those fundamental requirements for material and cultural progress and would be able to direct and control without any external help, their own destiny and evolution. After the period there would be no longer any jurisdiction of the continuance of British Rule in India which would cease ultimately.

So in order to prepare the ground for ultimate attainment of freedom, he strove hard for the progress of the country in the political field as well. He appeared before the Select Committee of the House of Commons when he pressed hard for the separation of the judicial and executive functions of the magistrates from the very beginning of their service. He also urged that the judiciary should be completely independent of executive control or influence. He also proposed important reforms of land and revenue system so that the peasants might be freed from the exactions and tyrannies of the Zamindars and that the actual tiller of the land might be the owner of the soil which he cultivated. His proposal was remarkable as it was the precursor of the abolition of the Zamindari system and to the Bhoodan movement in recent years. It is wonderful how the Raja could foresee what would happen a hundred years hence. He was born much ahead of his time. He also tried hard to obtain the Freedom of the Press which was so essential for preparing the country in this struggle for political freedom.

The Raja was in fact the Father of Indian Nationalism. He was not merely national but also international in his outlook. He used to read carefully various European newspapers. He was in great sympathy with any country in the world which was trying to get political freedom. In 1825 A.D. when he received the news of the establishment of Constitutional Government in Spain he was so happy that he gave a public dinner in the Town Hall to commemorate this event. He was also very much pleased when he got the news of the formation of Constitutional Government in Portugal. He also prayed that Greece might throw off the yoke of Turkey. He was very much distressed when he heard that Neapolitans who had fought for the freedom of their State were defeated. He was to have met a certain Mr. Buckland in the evening on the same day when he got this distressing news. He felt so much dejected that he wrote to Mr. Buckland that he would not be able to meet the latter especially as his mind was depressed by the late news from Europe. He stated:

> "From the late unhappy news, I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe and Asiatic Nations . . . Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be successful."

On his way to England his steamer halted at Capetown for a while. He went to see the town but on his way back to the steamer he fell from the gangway ladder and hurt his leg for which he had to limp for eighteen months. In Capetown harbour he saw two French steamers flying French Flags. He expressed his keen desire to go to one of the French steamers and to do honour to the French Flag. In spite of his physical ailments he was taken to the French steamers. When he was brought under the French Flag he repeatedly exclaimed, "Glory, Glory, Glory, Glory to France." This shows that his heart was full of burning desire to see liberty restored everywhere including his own country. Some have called Indian Mutiny of 1857 as India's First War of Independence. I believe it is rather a misreading of Indian History. Some on religious grounds and others who found that the new political regime stood in the way of the realisation of their new ambition about the revival of an indigenous Raj of India were responsible in starting the Indian Mutiny of 1857. It cannot be

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denied that the aim of this revolt was to free the country from British rule but it never dreamt of creating a genuine spirit of nationalism nor of establishing in place of British Rule a real Government of the people for the people and by the people. As it was not a genuine national movement or revolt, it was unsuccessful.

The spirit of personal freedom was revived with much greater force by Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore. He made an open repudiation of all scriptural authority and infallibility. This was the first serious movement of rationalism and individualism in the country. But this rationalism of the Maharshi was quite different from so-called free thought leading to materialism and scepticism of the nineteenth century. He pointed out the necessary logic of rational and moral life leading to the fundamental truth of religion. The Maharshi had the innate aristocratic conservatism in hismself. He was intensely nationalistic in his attitude and his exposition of the religion of Brahmo Samaj from the texts of Upanishads in repudiation of unreasonable propaganda of foreign Christian missionaries created a new conception of the excellence of Indian thought and culture in relation to current Christian faith and theology. The Maharshi really made a very valuable contribution to the creation of a new nationalistic movement in India.

Maharshi Devendra Nath was a born aristocrat and had a keen sense of national dignity. He persistently refused to take any favour from the British Government. He disassociated himself completely form the representatives of foreign political authority in the country. He was indeed the first and most persistent Non-co-operator among the leaders of Indian thought and life. Maharshi Debendra Nath was for some years the Secretary of the British Indian Association which was the only organisation in those days whose aim was to protect the political rights of Indians and to advance their political status and also their civic freedom.

Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen gave a most powerful impetus to the movement of personal freedom. He was the torch-bearer in every department of our intellectual, moral and social activities. He started a great democratic movement by breaking away from the Maharshi and the old Brahmo Samaj and establishing a new Brahmo Samaj under the name of the Brahmo Samaj of India. It was a new community which worshipped one God without a second and tried to organise the fundamental principles of liberty, equality and fraternity along with the ideals of universal humanity. He took up cudgels against caste-system and polygamy, and encouraged inter-caste marriage. Brahmananda laid the foundation of freedom movement in India in various ways. While in England he delivered a most remarkable lecture under the title "England's Duties to India." He said :

"You cannot hold India for the interest of Manchester nor for the advantage of those merchants who go to India, live as birds of passage for a time and never feel any abiding interest in the country.

"Those days are gone by never to return when men thought of holding India at the point of the bayonet. If England seeks to crush down two hundred millions of people in this glorious country, to destroy their nationality, to extinguish the fire of noble antiquity and the thrill of ancient patriotism and if England's object in governing the people of India is simply to make money then I say, *perish British Rule this moment.*"

In another lecture he mentioned :

"Already a transition has commenced, but this is only the precursor of a mighty revolution through which India is destined to pass. Prepare yourselves for the trials which await you. Prepare yourselves, I say for the time is coming when you shall be called to undergo heavy self-denials and encounter struggles of no ordinary kind. Be prepared to offer even your blood, if need be, for the regeneration of your country."

Keshab Chandra was a true socialist with a clear vision and he could see that there could not be any real freedom, political, social and economic, unless the masses are awakened from their sleep and class, caste and creed are rolled up in one. Hence he championed the cause of mass education. He realised that the bondage of the masses has brought forth the bondage of India and the denial of their birth-right of education and knowledge has created a wide gulf between the classes and the masses and between labour and capital. He proposed that the

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wealthy of all classes, European and Indian, the landlords, merchants, traders, bankers should submit to a small educational tax on their income. He also asked in all seriousness :

"Are the educated people of India endeavouring to constitute among themselves—a new race of Brahmins ? Do they try to perpetuate that great gulf which has so long divided the upper and lower classes." Under the caption "Rich Man" in *Sulav Samachar* he drew pointed attention to "the condition of the toiling masses with the sweat of whose brows they supplied food and money to the upper classes. It was also said that a time would come when the masses would not remain mute in their long suffering, poverty and degradation."

In one of his lectures in England Keshab Chandra told the Britishers :

"I hope and trust that the merciful God who has called you to govern our nation will give you wisdom and strength, faith and purity enough to rule our race properly, if not, India will not be long in your hands. You will be forced to leave India to herself and we shall do our business in the best way we can. It is your duty so long as you hold it in your hands to act as trustees rendering due account to God for the way in which you treat the people in the country."

Keshab Chandra stood up for 'three' things the conflict for personal and congregational freedom :

(i) The freedom of individual reason to determine what was true and rational and what was untrue and irrational in religious matters.

(ii) The freedom of individual conscience to determine what was right and what was wrong in matters of personal conduct and domestic and social relations.

(iii) The right of the majority of members in the Brahmo Samaj to determine how the affairs of the Samaj shall be conducted, *i.e.*, the adoption of the fundamental principle of democracy in Church Government.

In advocating personal freedom he also insisted that there should be harmony of opinions and convictions with life and conduct.

Keshab Chandra openly asserted that the fight which he was leading had a much wider bearing. He used the Bengali phrase "Swadheenatar Sangram" or the battle for freedom for the fight he had begun.

If we analyse the history of the Brahmo Samaj we find that

(i) The first fight was led by Raja Rammohun Roy who fought for monotheism as against the prevailing worship of gods and godesses.

(ii) The second fight was on behalf of the freedom of individual reason against the authority of scriptures.

(iii) The third fight was for the freedom of individual conscience as against customs, traditions and social authority in the matter of personal, domestic and social life.

The new spirit of democracy was the outcome of the new education on the Western lines which was being imparted to the young intellectuals of the country by the British type of schools, colleges and the University.

Keshab Chandra thus fought for acceptance of individual reason and conscience against outside authority and of democracy against autocracy in Church Government.

In the words of Sri Bepin Chandra Pal, "The Brahmo Samaj was practically the first institution which sought to reduce these ideals of freedom and democracy into a new law of life and a new code of domestic relations and social ethics. It repudiated the law of caste thereby not only proclaiming the equality of all humans but seeking to build up a society where this equality will be established upon a religious basis."

About Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, Sri Bepin Chandra Pal wrote: "By his wonderful mastery over the English language, his extraordinary wealth of imagination, his irresistible logic, and above all, by his soul-compelling moral idealism and spiritual vision, Keshab Chandra Sen at once stood out as one of the greatest religious and ethical teachers of his age, not only in India but also outside, than whom no more powerful orator could possibly be found even in the pulpits of the whole of the English-speaking world. He was an inspired orator."

Many people in England at first thought that Keshab Chandra wrote out his lectures,

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committed them to memory and then delivered them. So once it was arranged that the title of the lecture which he would have to deliver would not be communicated to him beforehand, but it would be announced to him just before he commenced to lecture. When Keshab Chandra came to the Lecure Hall he found a black board covered by a screen. The screen was then raised and the figure "O" was written on the black board and he was asked to lecture on "O". For an hour and a half he delivered a soul-stirring lecture on the subject which astonished everybody. His fame spread far and wide and this reacted immediately upon the national mind of India. Such achievement on the part of Keshab aroused a new race pride and national self-respect in his own people.

On the eve of his departure from England Keshab Chandra told his audience :

> "The result of my visit to England is that I came as an Indian I go back a confirmed Indian. I came here a Thiest, I return a confirmed Thiest. I have learnt to love my country more and more. English patriotism has quickened my own patriotism."

Keshab Chandra also believed that the freedom of our country would not have a sound basis unless our countrymen were morally and socially elevated. He once told Surendra Nath Banerjea to allow him (Keshab) to elevate Indian people morally and socially before the latter (Surendra Nath) tried for their political emancipation so that freedom would be real and rest on a sound basis. Some of Keshab Chandra's lecture aroused indeed a new national self-consciousness and a strong desire for political emancipation in Indian people.

Keshab Chandra was of opinion that unless the movement for political freedom be illumined by the inspiration of moral and spiritual ideas and ideals it will surely fail of its purpose and repeat in its history and evolution the fatal blunders with which similar movements of democratic freedom in other countries have been associated.

Keshab Chandra was the first leader to announce publicly in the sixties of the last century that Hindi should be the national language of India. He also advised Swami Dayananda Saraswati (the founder of Arya Samaj) to adopt Hindi as the medium of preaching so that his (Swami's) message might reach the largest number of people in India. He (Keshab) was also the pioneer in starting Depressed Class Movement which was the precursor of Mahatma Gandhi's Harijan Movement.

As regards the system of education that should be followed in India he stated his views in a lecture which he delivered in London :

> "What sort of education do we (Indians) expect and wish from you ? An unsectarian liberal, sound and useful education. An education that will not patronise any particular church, that will not be subservient or subordinated to the views of any particular religious community, an education free and liberal and comprehensive in its character, an education calculated to make Indian women good wives, mothers, sisters and daughters."

Keshab Chandra was the pioneer of female education in India and he realised that India could not achieve freedom without the emancipation of women. He declared that in order to elevate India to a fitting place in the scale of nations we must try to liberate our women from the thraldom of ignorance and superstition. He fully recognised that given equal opportunities women could hold their own against men. He said, "In those things where man excels woman, let man's voice be heard. Where woman excels man let her voice be heard."

Keshab Chandra prepared the ground for achievement of freedom by his many-sided activities, such as starting of night schools for artisan and labouring classes, founding of normal schools for ladies, establishment of depressed class missions, etc.

Rev. Bhai Pratap Chandra Majumdar, who was Keshab Chandra's closed friend, wrote :

> "India had been acquired by enormous crimes. The British Government can only atone for them by allowing the people to govern themselves. For, in the course of time near or remote, England will have to leave India to itself. If the teachings of history be true—it is in the nature of things that 50 millions cannot hold 250 millions for ever in subjection."

These were bold words indeed.

In the last century the Brahmos struggled against social tyranny and evil customs with

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remarkable moral force and endured untold sufferings without malice and anger. This was indeed true Ahimsa and was the forerunner of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation.

There were a good many Brahmo patriots of the first rank. Sri Ananda Mohan Bose took active part in politics. He joined Indian National Congress and became one of its earlier Presidents. He also framed a constitution for Sadharan Brahmo Samaj which was meant to be a model for the future constitution of a free and democratic India.

Pt. Shivanth Sastri as minister of Sadharan Brahmo Samaj introduced a special prayer to be offered every week during the congregational worship of the Samaj for the special freedom and emancipation of our country and countrymen.

Sri Bepin Chandra Pal stood in the very vanguard of the Swaraj movement in the begining of the twentieth century.

Sir Krishna Kumar Mitra, the veteran editor of *Sanjibani,* was one of the most sincere and honest editors that the world has ever seen. By fearless criticism of Governmental measures and shortcomings of our countrymen and by constructive suggestions he helped the cause of Swaraj considerably. His strong and non-violent resistance to Police activities when Police broke up the Barisal conference under Goverment order created a most profound impression at the time. Sri Aurobindo Ghosh born of Brahmo parents was the leader of Freedom Movement in the beginning of the twentieth century. Poet Rabindranath Tagore wrote a strong and remarkable letter to the Viceroy on hearing the news of Jaliawalabagh massacre and renounced his Knighthood which had been conferred on him by India Government under the British.

Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, born of Brahmo parents, was one of the foremost leaders by whose efforts independence was ultimately achieved. Sri Ramananda Chatterji, the dauntless editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi,* paved the way for freedom to a considerable extent by his brave criticisms of the British Government and by his constructive suggestions. Deshpriya Jatindra Mohan Sengupta, Sri S. Sasmal, and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and others were in the forefront of freedom movement in their times.

I shall now refer to a few national songs composed in Bengali by some Brahmo devotees and patriots. They have stirred the innermost depths of our country's soul. I have given below the purport of a line or two of each song in English.

Satyendranath Tagore composed the first national song of India, "*Mile sabe Bharat-santan . . . .*" Jyotirindranath Tagore sang a patriotic song urging all children of Bharat to march forward unfurling the flag of unity as the motherland is calling them.

"चल्रे चल् सवे भारत सन्तान, मातृभूमि करे आह्वान।

* * * *

एक पथे एक साथे चल, उड़ाइया एकता निशान ॥"

Rev. Protap Chandra Majumdar composed a significant national song asking the children of India to wake up, to open their eyes to see the approach of blissful morning. The darkness of slavery and misery will be drowned in the holy water of bliss and excellence.

"कत आर निद्रा याओ, भारत सन्ततिगण !

* * * *

बिश्वासेरे सार करे, कर प्रीतिर साधन ॥"

Bhai Trailokya Nath Sanyal sang the song of freedom and asked those who want to be free to follow the path of truth. Who can counteract the eternal bond of slavery, injustice and oppression if one is weak and a coward ?

"स्वाधीन हईबे यदि, तबे सत्य पथे चल,

* * * *

ताहले पाबे निश्चय, प्रकृत स्वाधीन बल।"

Poetess Srimati Saraladevi Choudharani sang the soul-stirring song :

"My voice carries the message of past glories. Oh ! sing Hindusthan. My voice stirs the soul of Parliaments and Congresses. Oh ! sing to-day Hindusthan. Oh ! sing to-day that name full of strength, wealth, fame and grace."

"अतीत गौरव बाहिनी मम वाणि ! गाह आजि हिन्दुस्थान।

* * * *

जय जय ब्रह्म हिन्दुस्थान, जय जिहोबा हिन्दुस्थान,

आल्लाहो आकबर हिन्दुस्थान ! नमो हिन्दुस्थान ॥"

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Poetess Srimati Kamini Roy sang as follows :

"Listen to my sweet dream,
Listen to my message of hope."

"And what I see, I see that all children of India being strong in unity, great in knowlege and glorious in lustre are coming just as they used to come in ancient days."

"तोरा शुने या आमार मधुर स्वपन,
शुने या आमार आशार कथा,
* * * *
गाईछे उल्लासे बिजय गाथा ।"

Poet Rabindranath composed many national songs including one protesting against shooting in Hijli camp and another greeting the political prisoners in Buxar Jail.

"आमि जे देखेछि, प्रतिकारहीन शक्तिर अपराधे
* * * *
लुप्त करेछे आमार भुवन दुःस्वप्नेर तले ।"

"निशीथेरे लज्जा दिल अन्धकारे बधिर बन्दन,
* * * *
बन्दीर शृङ्खलछन्दे मुक्तेर के दिल परिचय ॥"

He also sang :

"March on, march brothers,
It is useless to remain behind static"

"आगे चल् आगे चल् भाई
पड़े थाका पिछे मरे थाका मिछे
* * * *
आगे चल् आगे चल् भाई ॥"

The national Anthem composed by him needs no comment and is universally known, viz:

"Thou art the leader of the minds of people
Thou dispenser of Bharat's Destiny !"

"जनगणमन अधिनायक जय हे भारत-भाग्यविधाता ।"
* * * *

Poet Atul Prasad Sen sang :

"Be steady in virtue
Be brave in duty
Keep your head aloft"

"हओ धरमेते धीर, हओ करमेते बीर
* * * *
ओई देख प्रभात उदय ! ओई देख प्रभात उदय !"

A Brahmo who professes universal religion should have an international attitude in addition to his nationalistic outlook. Raja Rammohun Roy had international sympathies. He used to get genuinely delighted whenever he heard that forces of democracy and justice had triumphed in a country whether that country be in Asia, Europe or America. He also suggested that there should be an international organisation to settle disputes between different countries.

Brahmananda Keshab Chandra was at once national and international in his outlook. He harmonised all religions into a universal religion. The principles enunciated in the constitution of United Nations Organisation or in Bangdung Panchshila are natural corollaries of the teachings of Raja Rammohun Roy, Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, Poet Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobindo. If their teachings as revealed in their conceptien of universal religion are widely accepted and followed then and then only there can be lasting peace all over the world.

In conclusion it can be stated with absolute certainty that if Brahmoism had not prepared the ground for freedom it would have been impossible for India to achieve independence. India Government has arranged for the publication of the *History of Freedom Movement in India*. I feel that it is our duty to draw the attention of those eminent historians who would compile this history to the very important contribution of the Brahmo Samaj to the Freedom Movement of India.

We all realise that in the course of the last hundred years other great patriots, leaders of thought, reformers and saints have helped very considerably in achieving independence of our country. We cannot forget their very valuable contribution in this direction. The country is and shall always remain very grateful to them. Under wider conception of Brahmoism as a universal religion we shall always accept them as our own and tender our homage to them.

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FAST AS TIME RUNS OUT

By JOGES C. BOSE

The India Act, 1935, as it worked in Bengal on the basis of Ramsay Macdonald's Communal Award, high-lights England's hard-boned determination to push to all possible extremes the divisiveness, fostered by Separate Electorate.[1]

Under the scheme, the Hindus of Bengal were given 30 per cent of seats in the Legislature, though they formed, even after Hardinge's master manipulation,[2] 44.8 per cent of the people; the Moslems who formed 54.8 per cent of the people, were given 47.6 per cent of seats; and the Europeans, practically the British who formed .01 per cent of the people were given 10 per cent of seats. Therefore, on the face of it, whereas in other provinces, Hindus, the majority-community, had to eschew a portion of their seats to give weightage to Moslems, the minority, in Bengal, leave alone any weightage, the Hindus were subjected to a much higher cut, nearly double that of what the Moslems suffered in order to boost up British influence. The astounding anomaly left no room for doubt as to what was really aimed at. British Commercial interest in the East being the largest in Calcutta, Bengal was to have a government, that would not disdain hoping at the heels of the European constituency.

Shaukat Ali, whom Aga Khan claims as his 'right-hand man' in founding the Aligarh University[3] and who was in turn Gandhi's 'big brother,' so long Gandhi said, 'Khilafat is my cow,' and, who again renounced Gandhi-affiliation to join the Muslim League, now joined hands with Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya to have the scheme revised. Joint electorate was agreed upon; 51 per cent of seats were assigned to the Moslems in Bengal and 32 per cent in the Centre, where they constituted 25 per cent of the people; and Sindh was to be a separate province, subject to her financial capacity. Shaukat Ali and Malavya started for Calcutta to contact the European group in order to finalise it. Sir Samuel Hoare forestalled them and announced, even before they reached Calcutta, 33.4 per cent seats to the Moslems in the Centre and the sanction of a new Muslim province Sindh by subvention from the India Government. Events like these, of which we have had enough and to spare in the history of Indo-British connection, made Louis Fischer observe that "Britain would not let Hindus and Moslems unite; if she liked she could have a working unity in the course of twenty-four hours."

The India Act, 1935, conceded a measure of autonomy to the provinces. It was, however, hedged in by so many reservations, safeguards and residuary power that it was in essence what Attlee as leader of the Opposition summed it up in the House of Commons—'the one thing which seems to have been left out is the Indian people.' Harold Laski speaks of it as having 'ingeniously multiplied every protective device, discoverable of reaction' and regrets that "Sir Samuel Hoare was even shameless to represent it as a long step to the fulfilment of India's desire for partnership on honourable terms"—(*Where From Here?*). The fun of it is that even then Winston Churchill fulminated, as if the prodigals were giving away everything with a reckless abandon. I recall, by the way, that Sir Samuel Hoare, later on Viscount Templewood, in his *Nine Troubled Years*, has a dig at the 'bumptious' Churchill and is, notwithstanding his sharp difference with Gandhi, all-praise for his 'beautiful manners.'

In September 1939, Germany attacked Poland. Halifax, now the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, requested Gandhi to send a massage to Poland groaning under the onslaught, sublimely unconcerned that he was as much a party to the efforts of Chamberlain and Daladier directing Fascist aggression eastward to pull what chestnuts they could out of Boleshevik fire. Linlithgow, as Viceroy, invited Gandhi to canvass the claims of England asking India to line up with her in the War. Gandhi, temperamentally a proof to effervescence political leaders are disconcertingly prone to, finally came out of the Viceregal house after long, thread-bare discussions with a few more ripples added to his bracing smile. Public expectation was naturally keyed up to a high pitch. But no sooner had Gandhi's foot-steps died down the grand staircase

1. Discussed in *The Modern Review*, May, 1957.
2. In the name of annulling Partition, Hardinge made Bengal a Moslem-majority province.
3. What part Aligarh, as Aga Khan says, has played in the division of India is also discussed in *The Modern Review*, May, 1957.

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of the Mogul Garden, New Delhi, Linlithgow invited all and sundry to discuss the self-same matter. In fact, he only stopped as the dolls had very much exceeded the lollypops in order to prove that India had so many shades of opinion and Gandhi represented only one of these. India sighed aloud—Gandhi is once again tricked. People recalled in a flash what followed Irwin parleying with the 'half-naked, seditious fakir,' as Churchill in one of his obstreperous moments called him. An agreement was signed by the Governor General and the Indian leader; Irwin, cool and sedate, was succeeded by the fidgety, better still, 'feather-brained' Willingdon, as Montagu calls him in *The Indian Diary;* the bureaucracy fretted and fumed at the loss of prestige and more so at the deprivation of the extraordinary powers with which they were being increasingly clothed; they then honoured the Pact in the breach and stampeded Willingdon to a rule of Ordinances; Gandhi, as he returned from the Round Table Conference, was face to face with the rude reality that what he and Irwin had done to bridge the yawning gulf between England and India was reduced to a nullity; and, as was constitutional with Gandhi, he explored all possible avenues for a settlement; but Willingdon had already put himself into the stride and turned down Gandhi's request for an interview. Back to the thread of discourse, Linlithgow ended in smoke what he had begun in a flush. He embroiled India in the War behind the back of her Legislature. Save Bengal, Sindh and the Punjab, where the Muslim League held sway, the ministry of eight other provinces resigned as a protest. To emphasise this protest, Gandhi resorted to a symbolic civil-disobedience; namely, one volunteer was to stand on a street-corner to announce, for what consequences, that the war had been forced down the throat of India.

It is appropriate to note at this stage that in the First Great War, Indian leaders Banerjea, Tilak and Gandhi joined in an all-out effort for England. Gandhi very nearly ravaged himself recruiting men from place to place, sustained by the faith, he expressed in a letter to Banerjea, "If we were to devote our attention exclusively to recruiting, we should gain full responsible government in a year's time if not earlier." Childish as it sounds, it was the measure of Gandhi's faith in England. "India's participation," says K. T. Paul in his *British Connection with India* (the book is forewarded by Lord Ronaldshay later on Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India), "was in full measure no less in quality than any of the Dominions and in quantity exceeding all the Dominions and Colonies put together." What followed the War disillusioned India and changed Gandhi lock, stock and barrel. Again, for those who ridiculed Gandhi as a 'crank' for his symbolic civil-disobedience—every great teacher of humanity has been dubbed a crank in his time—it is worth recalling that Gandhi rather faced the relentless displeasure of a vast section of the Congress led by Subhas Bose than embarrass England in the throes of a deadly war. He even allowed his All-India-Spinning Association to co-operate with war-efforts, because it was a social service. But if such was the attitude of Gandhi and the extent of help India again rendered, as Sir Raisman testified,[4] Churchill was bent upon shattering the remnant 'Indian Unity' into a ruthless travesty. His protege in the Cabinet, L. S. Amery was volubly exacting with his 'multilateral agreement' to resolve the Indian deadlock.[5] To postulate for one such multilateral agreement, after having worked up the Muslim League to the extent of having equipped it with the power of veto—the fact of veto was later on admitted by Attlee as Premier—was no less fantastic than the desire of the legendary Greek boy pressing Jupiter for snow-flakes and sunshine all at the same time. It was rather the signal that the claim for the division of India was anchored on firm, friendly ground.

The clear-eyed, matter-of-fact Quaid-e-Azam Mahammad Ali Jinnah, who refused to be swayed by any sentimentalism, rose equal to the occasion and had the Pakistan Resolution

4. Sir Jeremy Raisman, who was the Finance Minister of India during the Second Great War, said in May, 1952, at the Calcutta Dinner, London: "The contribution, which India made to the War was, in relation to her resources, as worthy on financial as on other sides."

5. Churchill in his manner, one of jaunty witticity, describes in *My Early Life* how at Harrow he pushed Amery, pretty senior to him, into the bathing-pool. As Prime Minister, he pushed Amery into the India Office and they fraternised well in their political animalism. Amery, however, says in *My Political Life* that in the privacy of Cabinet meetings he sought Churchill to change his old outlook on India.

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passed at Lahore in 1940. The winning radiance of the appeal of India's oneness, which affects the Hindus in their pilgrimage over her hills and rivers and a cultural affinity,[6] can have for unhappy, psychological reasons no fascination for the Moslems of India.[7]

A side-glance on the workings of Churchill's mind in this fateful period of 1940 is provided by Harry Hopkins, President Roosevelt's Personal Assistant, in *Collier's Magazine*, May 17th, 1948. Churchill in frantic appeals for help cabled Roosevelt, "If the United Kingdom fell, the Empire would be ended and the leadership of the remaining units of the British Commonwealth would pass to Washington. . . . As Britain went down, he and his government would perish with it, and he could not be responsible for the terms that his successors, cowed and defenceless they would be, might have to make with the Germans. They would have no choice but to make an abject surrender and Britain would thus become merely another vassal like the European states, that Hitler had already conquered." In this bleak set-up, where can possibly be the room for doubt that Churchill in a last-ditch fight to save the Indian Empire, first from within, besought the Muslim League to act as a bastion against the Indian National Congress ? He would even agree to the Independence of India, subject to her division according to the schedule of the Muslim League.[8] Churchill had pretty good reason to accept it. Would Gandhi go back on his plighted word ? He had most solemnly declared a number of times, "My whole soul rebels against the idea"—the division of India—"I would employ every non-violent means to prevent it and put up a single-handed fight, if I had no follower left." "I consider vivisection of India to be a sin; and to assent to the doctrine is for me denial of God," etc., etc.

It is a stupendous riddle of Indian history, no less egregious as it is cruel and comical that Gandhi's political life culminates in a surrender to his lieutenants on the question of division of India; and, Jinnah, who was a leading protagonist of Indian nationalism in the pre-Gandhi period, disavows it with vengeance to sponsor division of India on the basis of religion, 'a man can change and interchange,' such as he had emphasised times without number.

Jinnah entered politics as the Private Secretary of the venerable Dadabhai Naoroji. He stood foursquare against the extension of Separate Electorate into local bodies, for which too Aga Khan was sleeplessly at work. As he entered the Centeral Legislative Council, he had his first brush with Lord Minto. In 1916, as President of the Lucknow Sessions of the Muslim League, he said with proud satisfaction, "The League has shed its communal setting and broadened its outlook to stand abreast the Indian National Congress and is ready to participate in any patriotic effort for the advancement of the country as a whole." In 1919, he said before the Joint Parliamentary Committee that secularly speaking, the Moslems had 'very few things of special interest to them.' Lord Birkenhead rattled the British sword as the one indispensible element to compose the differences in India. D.H. Rutherford states in his *Modern India* what Jinnah told him in reply to the insolent assumption. "The historical answer to Lord Birkenhead," said Jinnah, "is Canada. The difference between the English and the French were on a scale much bigger and serious than those between the Hindus and Moslems of India. Whereas, the differences between the Hindus and Moslems were chiefly confined to religion, which many of them had changed and interchanged, those between the English and the French extended to religion, race and language." Some time later, Jinnah struck a still loftier note at a Union of Dayal Singh College, Lahore. "This college," he said, "does not believe in a

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6. Ramsay Macdonald says: "India and Hinduism are organically related like body and soul."—Introduction to Radha Kumad Mukherjea's *Fundamental Unity of India*.

7. At long last, Gandhi, who had studiously avoided passing any remark, lest any feeling was hurt, could not hold back:—"I find no parallel in history for the a nation apart from the parent stock." Dr. Josef Korbel, who presided over the Five-Man Commission, sent to India to deal with Kashmir, takes pains in his book *Danger in Kashmir* to prove the validity of Jinnah's two-nation theory, but is mystified that Indian Moslems are mostly Hindu-converts—according to Nehru, he says, 95 per cent, according to Jinnah 75 per cent. Jinnah's forefathers were Hindu.

8. What influence Churchill, even out of office, had on Jinnah is what Alan Campbell-Johnson says, "It is only when Mountbatten had returned from England, armed with a vital message from Churchill to Jinnah that the latter accepted the plan."—*Mission with Mountbatten*.

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religious creed. I too feel that the salvation of India lies in this non-sectarian feeling. It is this creed I had in the past, which I have at present and which I shall have in future the dearest to my heart." In 1940, however, Jinnah said at the Lahore session of the Muslim League, "It is only a dream that the Hindus and Moslems can ever evolve a common nationality" and, as already stated, had the Pakistan Resolution passed. Since now, he was completely translated; and he lived, moved and had his being pitilessly bent on the hard, bitter core of this new revelation.

To collect some fugitive pages of history: Gandhi, back from his struggle in South Africa, was given receptions at Bombay, one of which was by the Gujaratis—Jinnah and Gandhi both belonged to Gujarat. Jinnah, in presiding over the function, paid Gandhi a felicitous tribute in English. I have not come by what Gandhi said in reply: but what he said at Santiniketon a few days after reflects on the point. He said, "I am particularly happy to find that you have arranged for the reception in the Indian manner. We were received with great pomp in Bombay; but there was nothing in it to make us happy. For, there the Western mode had been carefully imitated." This is eying askance and is not calculated to promote friendliness. Tilak retiring, both Jinnah and Gandhi contested presidentship of the Home Rule League. Jinnah, by the way, was an admirer of Tilak to an extent such as he was not of any other Indian leader[9]—(K. L. Gauba's *Inside Pakistan*); and Gandhi, even if yielding to none in his love and admiration for Tilak, accepted Gokhale, in clenched opposition to Tilak, as his political guide. In the aforesaid contest Gandhi won. Jinnah challanged the validity of election in a Court of Law and at the same time brought to bear upon Gandhi some pressure to stand back. Either proved unsuccessful.

In September 1920, Gandhi placed before the country his programme of Non-co-operation in the Special Session of Calcutta Congress. Two days earlier, Jinnah said in the Calcutta Muslim League Session, "There is no other course open to the people except to inaugurate the policy of Non-co-operation though not necessarily the programme of Mr. Gandhi." In the Nagpur Congress, December 1920, Jinnah opposed Gandhi on the question of Congress goal. Gandhi, who carried the day, would have it as "the attainment of Swaraj within the British Empire if possible and without it if necessary." Jinnah asked, "Is it possible for us to stand on the same platform after the creed is passed, one saying that he wants the British connection and another that he does not want it?" Gandhi summed up in reply, "It is derogatory to national dignity to think of the permanence of British connection at any cost. I do not for a moment suggest that we want to end the connection at all costs unconditionally. If the British connection is for the advancement of India, we do not want to destroy it. But if it is inconsistent with our national self-respect, then it is our bounden duty to destroy it." Again, spirituality and all that in politics was sore against Jinnah's grain. He was, as much as Tilak was, against mixing up Khilafat with Indian politics. My impression is that Jinnah could not as well stand the vast commonality of people sweep the one-time stately Congress. At any rate, when the trend of his mind was in a flux, Gandhi took to making the Congress a regimented body by jettisoning the wavering and those who were wanting in exclusive dedication, such as lawyers suspending practice. It precipitated the break. All the same, Jinnah joined hands with Pandit Malavya in 1921 to work out a rapprochement between Reading and Gandhi; and, for some years together, he would have no truck with the Muslim leaders, chaperoned by the bureaucracy. It is history that Birkenhead instructed the India Government to rally them and strand Jinnah high and dry.

The Non-co-operation like a tidal wave swept over India creek to corner. Gandhi's behests, in the words of Rushbrook Williams, *India 1920*, were like 'semi-divine commands'. But in breach of the fundamental that with the full freedom of conviction in discussing matters of principle and policy there must be complete unanimity in the enunciation thereof in public, Motilal Nehru, V. J. Patel and others attacked the Gandhism of Gandhi politics; and, C. R. Das made himself the spearhead of their smarts and chafing. The Gaya Congress and the Civil Disobedience Committee knocked the bottom out

9. This aspect has been carefully omitted by Hector Bolitho in his official biography of Jinnah.

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of Gandhi's Non-co-operation. In fact, for the protagonists of new thought and alignment to place on record, as they did, the Mahatma's 'service to the cause of humanity by his message of peace and truth' without emphasising in the same breath his bold initiative and marvellous capacity to read the mass-mind was but pushing to a rather sombre prominence their viewpoint that Gandhi was no good in politics. In the Congress Working Committee of 1924, Gandhi carried his Resolution of half-an-hour's spinning for Congress members. C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Srinivas Iyengar and others had no scruples to affront him by staging a walk-out. Gandhi—I read in Tundelkar's biography of Gandhi—'almost burst into tears' over the Gopinath Saha Resolution, which commended the purpose of but condemned the act of violence and thus mocked, as he said, his non-violence. I cannot help say at the same time that Gandhiji's consistency on the point of Bengal revolutionary's patriotism is confusing. In 1915 or round about the time, he spoke of his patriotism in a meeting at the Calcuaat University Institute. When the foundation of the Benares Hindu University was being laid, Gandhiji sought it to teach students such patriotism as the Bengal revolutionaries had. Some time after, in a meeting at the Calcutta Baptist Mission Hall, he was all fire and brimstone against them. In the 1931 Karachi Congress, however, he had a Resolution passed on Bhagat Singh, which was in line with the Gopinath Saha Resolution. But all these said with almost a stolid candour and with an idea that a correct appreciation of the past makes the future less troublesome, there is no gainsaying the proposition that Das, Nehru, V. J. Patel, Iyengar and others placed Gandhi in, what I may call, the odd position of driving a car from the back seat. To be remorselessly critical, they broke the line on the march.

But where is Gandhi, I pause to reflect, who started his political life in India with the clear-cut stand, 'if you accept me as your leader you must have to accept my conditions.' To cut short, it is over the spiral of Gandhi wrecked from within and Gandhi temporizing and weakening, his idealism traduced and the fabric of transcendentalism losing the nap that forces of disruption forged ahead. There was, as well, in the background the frustration of the Khilafat movement—a reborn Turkey dropping Khilafat,[10] it died of inanity—leaving behind the trail of a fatty degeneration to revenge itself into an aggressive communalism in India. There were Hindu-Moslem fracases. *India 1922-23* breathed a sigh of relief that the edifice of unity, which the Mahatma had been painfully rearing up, had crumbled down. To make the cup full to the brim, he retired from active politics with 'power of attorney' to the Swarajists. They thought more of pacts and otherwise purchasing patriotism. The Gauhati Congress of 1926, presided over by Srinivas Iyengar, deciding to create a united front against the Simon Commission, invited Jinnah to lead the Mahomedans formulate their demands. This is clearly accepting Jinnah as the accredited leader of the Mahomedans. He now pressed for the representation of the Moslems of Bengal and the Punjab according to population instead of what the Lucknow Pact, of which he was the joint author, fixed it at 40 per cent for Bengal and 50 per cent for the Punjab. The Madras Congress of 1921 substantially accepted Jinnah's scheme. Was Gandhi by the time stung with an awareness that the Muslim League demands were being inflated without any commensurate advance in the fight for freedom? If it was, it was a very belated discovery. There is no room for forgiveness in politics. In any case, the National Convention, held in Calcutta, December 1928, rejected, at the instance of Gandhi, the Muslim League demands moved by Jinnah. What followed, I would better leave it to Aga Khan to say, "The unanimity of the Conference (All-India Muslim Conference held at Delhi, December 1928) was specially significant for it marked the return—long delayed and for the moment private and with no public avowal of the change—of Mr. M. A. Jinnah to agreement with his fellow-Muslims. Mr. Jinnah had attended the Congress party's meeting in Calcutta shortly before (he means the National Convention) and had come to the conclusion that for him there was no future in the Congress"—*Memoirs*. By March

10. Grey Wolf in his monograph on Mustapha Kemal Pasha—this book, Jinnah says, inspired him the most—says, "England, the crafty, subtle enemy; who had failed to destroy the Turks by the Greeks, was at her intrigue again, using the Indian Moslems and Aga Khan to split the Turks into two camps." An Indian Moslem was caught red-handed in his attempt to kill Kemal Pasha.

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1929, *i.e.*, fairly within three months, Jinnah drew up his Fourteen Points casting ahead the shadow of a complete breach. And yet for Jinnah the full-fledged initiation came in the Second Round Table Conference in London, where Aga Khan, raised in tantalising succession from K.C.I.E. to G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I. and a His Highness, to boot, with a salute of eleven guns, was duly at his post to help England add one more feather to her cap of 'statesmanship.' It was here and now that Mahammad Ali Jinnah, the one-time sturdy fighter for India's freedom, ripped up the foundations of the old nationalist, whose voice at one time rang in India, end to end, "We are all sons of India, we have to live together, we have to work together."

After the Round Table Conference, Jinnah did not return to India but settled down in England for practice in the Privy Council. What pulled him remains a sphinx-mystery. He abruptly changed his mind and came back to India with his now Nine Points, flavoured sharp as Cat-o-nine-tails.[11] Far from relenting to square accounts with Gandhi, he was all the more unbending and added an extra dose of tartness to his political utterances. He caught hold of what he had so long stoutly rejected as unworthy of consideration and stigmatised the Congress as a Hindu organisation.[12] He played cut and thrust with those Moslem leaders, who did not as much show the Congress their heels. They were, since now, the stooges of the Hindus.

On the constitutional issue, Jinnah defeated, with the backing of the Government, the Congress Resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly seeking to reject the India Act of 1935. He also scored a point of vast potentials when the Congress acquiesced in the Communal Award, the linchpin of the said Act.[13] Within a short time, the Second Great War broke out and I have indicated what part Churchill played vis-a-vis India.

The Congress gave Britain the ultimatum—'Quit India.' Jinnah put in a rejoinder, 'Divide before you quit.' The Muslim League's 'Direct Action' leading to the blood-bath of Calcutta and Noakhali and their grim repercussions in parts of Bihar—the English Governors in either province playing the part of the 'wooden horse' in the Trojan War—are matters, I would fain draw a veil over. To respect historical continuity, however, it needs being stated that as Churchill, by now the Leader of Opposition, chuckled with his 'I said so' and charged us Hindus and Mahomedans of cannibalism, Stafford Cripps wrote to Gandhi, "We are only too conscious of the part that past history has played." Was it a frank acknowledgement that Britain had all along inspired armed camps in India? In any case, a Civil War, as in China, stared the Congress in the face. A mounting tension befogged the perspective. It is difficult to assess, at the same time, to what extent the will-power of the Congress leaders broke down over the lures of the Delhi *mushnad*. Did they ever think that Pakistan was being created to be a friendly border state of India? The fact that the Mahtma tried in vain to bring them round to his way of thinking against the division makes their position no happy one. Any way, these were testing moments in the hour of destiny; and Quaid-e-Azam Mahammad Ali Jinnah outflanked and outclassed the Congress leadership to pass into history as the founder of Pakistan. Nobody, however, need be grudged a long sigh that he who began his politics with Naoroji, giving India the war-cry of Swaraj, and he who stood athwart wily 'statesmanship' drawing into its vassalage all the Moslems of India, should have in a manner written his epitaph, "He checked, held in abeyance the Party that stood for complete independence in India and finally had her divided."[14]

11. On one account, Jawaharlal Nehru said something unsavoury of him in private discussion, *e.g.*, that he was a spent force and all that. Jinnah swore teaching him what he was. On another account, Liaquat Ali Khan and his wife prevailed upon him to come back and take up the leadership of the Moslems of India.

12. Sir Valentine Chirol in discussing the Indian Unrest says that 'the forces underlying it have a common source—they are the dominant forces of Hinduism, forces which go to the very root of the social and religious system, than which none in the history of human race has shown greater vitality and stability.'

13. The Congress attitude in respect of the Communal Award was neither one of acceptance nor rejection.

14. On 12th November, 1930, Jinnah said in the Round Table Conference: "When you say that a large, a very influential party in India stands for using or wrecking the future Constitution, I ask you the question: Do you want those parties, *who have checked, held in abeyance the party that stands for complete independence of India*, do you want those people to go back with the answer from you that nothing can be done because there is a strong party which will misuse or wreck the Constitution?"

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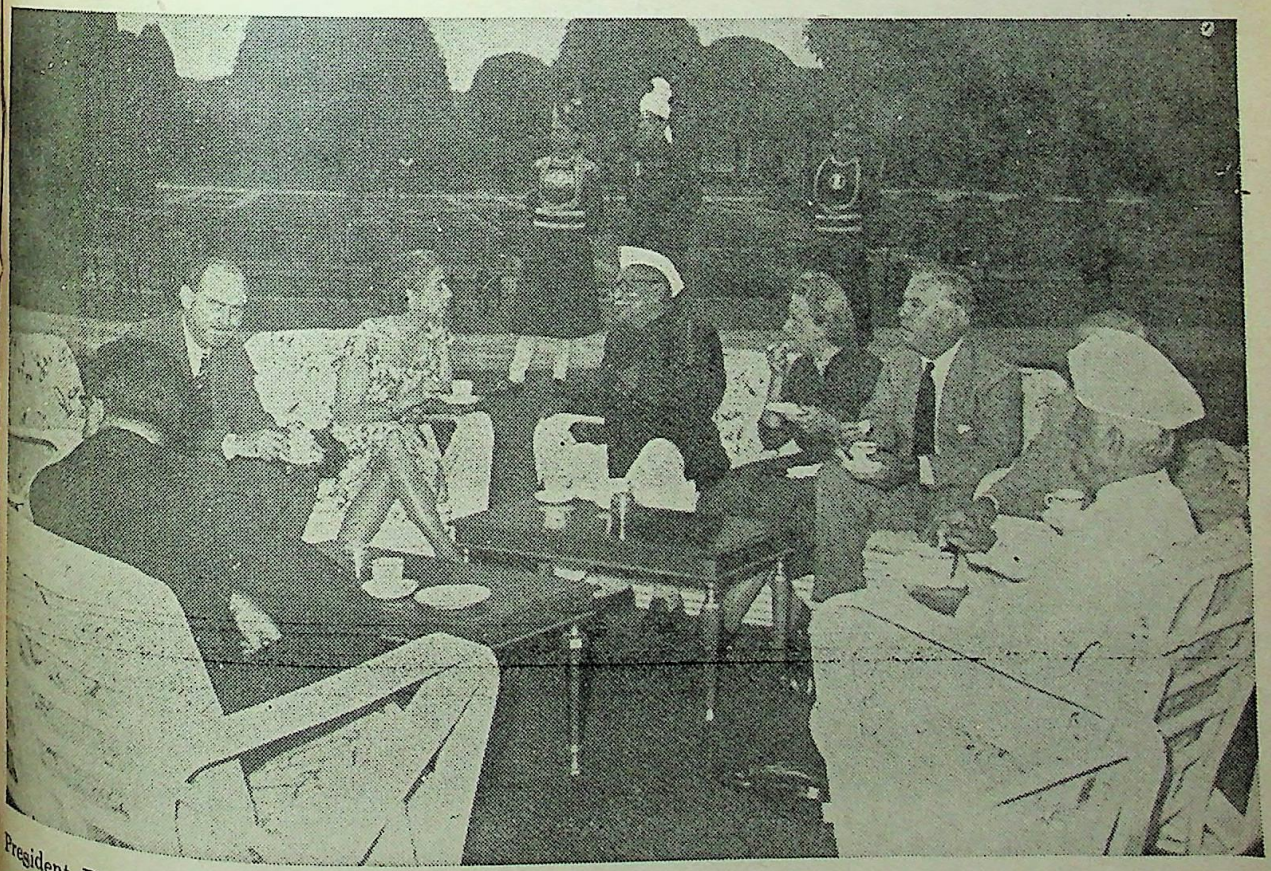
President Dr. Rajendra Prasad in conversation with Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Republic of Viet Nam, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam is seen at the extreme right



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad in conversation with Mrs. Morse, wife of the Director-General of I.L.O. at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi. Dr. Radhakrishnan is also seen in the picture

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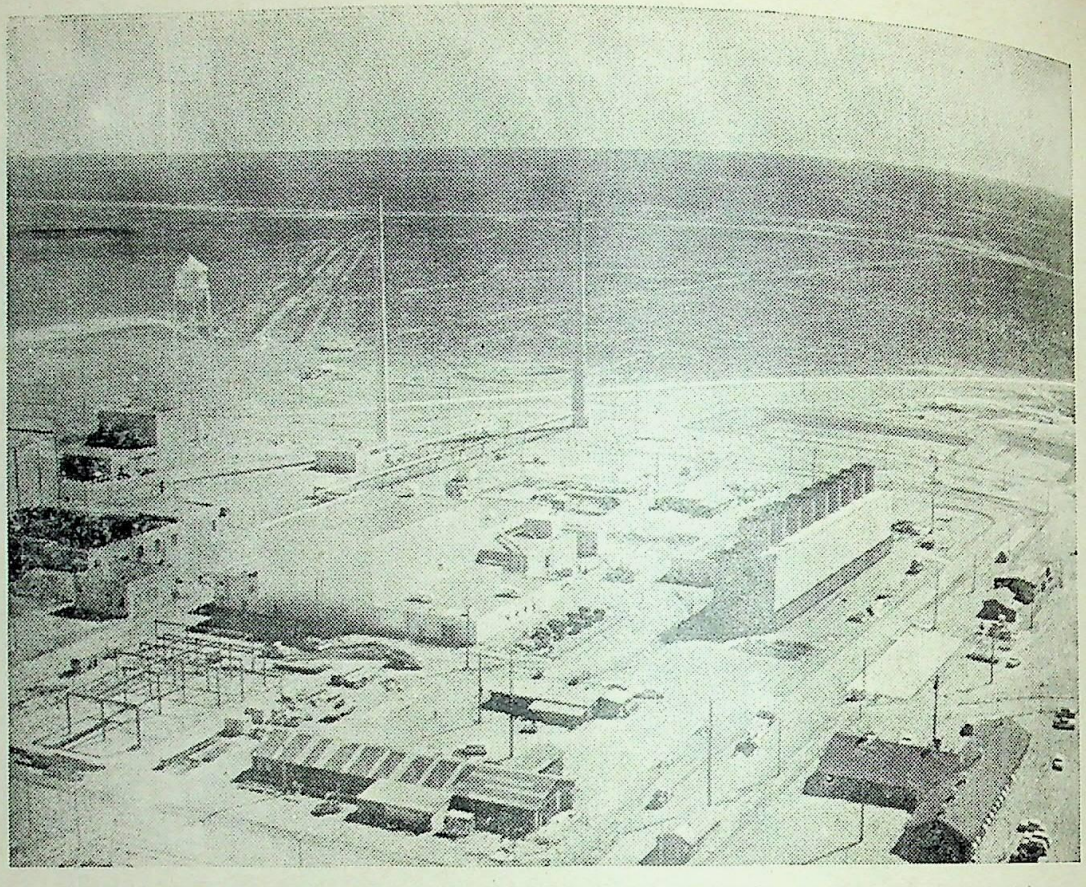
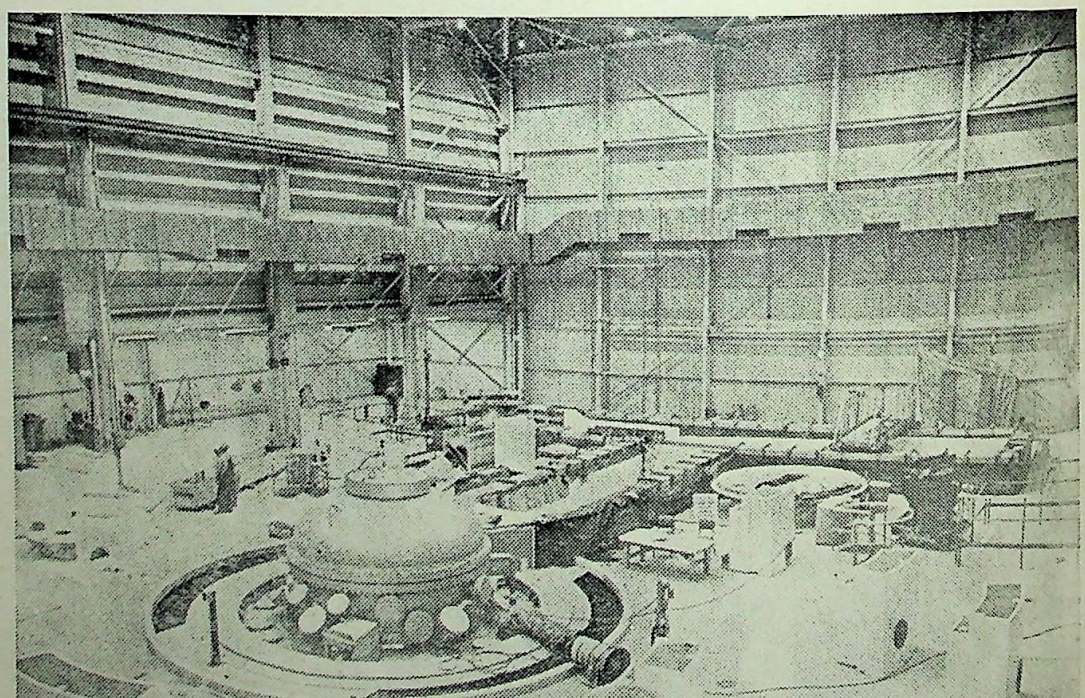


The buildings of the Engineering Test Reactor occupy an eight-acre site at the National Reactor Testing Station in Idaho Falls, Idaho



The Engineering Test Reactor (centre) is housed in a gas-tight structure that extends 65 feet above ground, 38 feet below ground

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SHOULD THE INDIAN RUPEE BE DEVALUED?

By Prof. C. L. KHANNA,
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Introductory

India is now in the grip of foreign exchange "crisis." The crisis, if that term is used, is a crisis of development; it is not a crisis of stagnation or of confidence. To avert or mitigate this one of the moot questions discussed these days in the financial and commercial circles is whether the Government should devalue the Indian rupee *vis-a-vis* the Pound Sterling or not. Governments generally choose to stabilise either the internal or external value of the home currency. "In general, stabilisation of the exchange-rate is the line of least resistance, unless price-levels abroad are subject to very wide fluctuations. Movements of the exchange-rate leap to the eye, whereas small changes in the price-level are less clear-cut and also attract less attention."[1] The choice, therefore, lies between price-stability and exchange-stability.

For the economic health of a country, and for that matter of India, it is inevitable to have an equilibrium rate of exchange in the modern world, which is dominated by the spirit of internationalism and inter-dependence, for any deviation from this rate is likely to affect the economy of not only the country making a change but other neighbouring countries as well. The equilibrium rate maintains not only equilibrium in the balance of payments without any net change in the country's safety margin of international currency reserve, but also employment at home.[2] It was on September 19, 1949, that India devalued its currency in the wake of £ Sterling which was devalued in terms of U.S. Dollar. The new parity was fixed 30.5 per cent below the old rate of exchange of 30 cents to a rupee; the rupee-sterling ratio however was left unaltered at 18 pence to a rupee. The chief reason leading to such a measure was, among others, the off-setting of the disequilibrium in Indian imports and exports. The wholesale price indices and the cost of living indices prevalent at that time made it inevitable to devalue the rupee to the full extent of 30.5 per cent, for the cost of a greater measure of devaluation would have been prohibitive and a smaller measure of devaluation than 30.5 per cent would have led to expectations of a further devaluation.

1. G. V. Haberler, *The Theory of International Trade*, p. 44.
2. Dr. B. N. Ganguli, *Devaluation of the Rupee*, p. 7

Balance of Payment Situation

A logical question emerging from the above discussion is: what has been the balance of payment situation since the last devaluation? The following Table makes the position clear in so far as the post-devaluation period up till the end of the First Plan is concerned:

Table I

Overall Balance of Payment Position

(Figures in million rupees)

Year	Imports	Exports	Trade Balance	Net Invisibles	Net current account (excluding official donation)
1949	6283	4258	—2025	—332	—1693
1950-51	6503	6468	— 35	+403	+ 368
1951-52	9629	7301	—2328	+649	—1679
1952-53	6330	6019	— 311	+805	+ 494
1953-54	5918	5397	— 521	+805	+ 284
1954-55	6816	5966	— 850	+775	— 75
1955-56	7477	6422	—1055	+800	— 255
Total (1951-52 to 1955-56)	36170	31105	—5065	+3834	—1231

The statistical analysis given above shows that during the First Five-Year Plan period, there has been a deficit in the foreign exchange, excluding the official donations, in three out of the five years. The net aggregate effect has also been negative. The position would have been the reverse, that is, there would have been a surplus of Rs. 448 million if the year 1951-52, the first year of the First Plan were excluded.

Second Plan Period: During the quinquennium ending with the Second Plan the trends of the balance of payments would continue to be adverse as indicated below:

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TABLE II

Balance of Payment position during 1956-57 and 1960-61

(Figures in million rupees)

Year	Exports	Imports	Trade Balance	Net Invisibles	Balance of Account
1	2	3	4-2-3	5	6-4-5
1956-57	5730	7830	—2100	+620	—1480
1957-58	5830	8860	—3030	+550	—2480
1958-59	5920	9900	—3980	+510	—3470
1959-60	6020	8950	—2930	+460	—2470
1960-61	6150	7860	—1710	+410	—1300
Total	29650	43400	—13750	+2550	—11200

While exportable surplus would rise by 3.3 per cent in the third year (1958-59) of the Plan compared with the first year (1956-57), the corresponding rise in imports will be more than 26.4 per cent. That imports (Rs. 26,590 million) will far exceed the exports (Rs. 17,480 million) during the first three years of the Plan is indicative of the spending spree in the public as private sectors. The component of the imports point to the conclusion that the high imports will be in keeping with the tempo of industrialisation envisaged in the Second Plan. The bulk (about 34.6 per cent) of the total imports during 1956-61 will consist of machinery and vehicles; the imports of iron and steel and other metals are put at about 15 per cent (Rs. 6,500 million). It will also be seen from Table II that during the Plan period there will be a deficit of about 11,000 million rupees. It is not easy to fill up this "sizeable gap." The accent of our policy for meeting this shortfall must necessarily be on maximising earnings and economising to the utmost on imports.[3] The gap of about 1,400 million dollars is anticipated in the next three years of the Plan. This yawning gap may even increase further if, as is apprehended in certain quarters the inflationary pressure accentuates or the much-sought-for aid or loan (on private or Government basis) is not forthcoming timely. The reasons for this grim and grave turn in the crisis are:

(a) Inadequate provisions in the Plan for the required imports (such as projects for oil development and other key projects);

(b) Rise in the prices of imports due to the worldwide inflation;

(c) Import of foodgrains[4] to meet the increasing food demands generated by developmental expenditure and growing consciousness of living standards;

(d) The increase in the expenditure on defence due to the political policies of the Western countries and the Military Alliances and Pacts, *e.g.*, Baghdad Pact; and

(e) The unexpectedly high investments in the private sector.

Notwithstanding such a crisis, there is no adequate justification for any alarmist tendency, for in a developmental and dynamic economy like that of India, the export-import gap must widen in the short period in order to cope with the increasing demand for the imported goods such as, capital goods, equipment, machines and industrial raw material for the new and expanding industrial sector. The strain on the balance of payments must also continue unless exports can be stepped up. This is, however, not easy of achievement and cannot be achieved even by devaluation.[5] How to bridge the gap is the baffling issue before our country.

CASE FOR DEVALUATION?

Prof. B. R. Shenoy, a member of the Panel of Economists in the Planning Commission and the Director of the School of Social Sciences, Ahmedabad, has suggested four methods to tide over the foreign exchange bottleneck, namely, (1) elimination of over-investment; (2) restriction of money-supply to the needs of output; (3) wage-output parity; and (4) devaluation of the rupee.

In regard to the last measure, *viz.*, rupee devaluation, Prof. Shenoy holds that since the rupee is over-valued at the ruling rate of exchange there is a vast gap between the lacking costs (prices in the exporting countries concerned multiplied by the rate of exchange plus the cost of freight, other incidental charges and

3. *Report of the Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 105.

4. In connection with the recent drought conditions prevalent in Bihar, parts of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, Mr. A. P. Jain, Union Food Minister, said, "We shall have to import much larger imports now and that the Government of India proposes to revise their present food import policy because of the strain caused by the failure of crops due to drought." (Vide the Report published in the *Tribune*, Ambala, dated October 25 1957, first col. 1).

5. W. A. Lewis, *Principles of Economic Planning*, p. 124.

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import duties) and the market price of the imported goods, which latter is determined by the inflationary position in the home market. This difference is a sort of windfall accruing to or being (mis)appropriated by the foreign exporters, the Indian importers or import licenseholders. The ultimate consumer of the imports does not share the cost-price differential. If the rupee is devalued this "differential" will disappear. And if the measure of rupee-devaluation is supplemented by the other three steps indicated above, the restrictive import-policy designed to attain balance of payment equilibrium would cease and India would be able to join the rest of the world in promoting the policy of free multi-lateral trade and low tariffs.

Another argument advanced in support of this thesis is that devaluation will not adversely affect our terms of trade as is believed by some. According to Prof. Shenoy our terms of trade improved from 99 in 1948-49 to 122 in 1950 and stood at 139 in 1951, with 1953 as the base year. The 1949 devaluation boosted up our exports and also export prices rose more than the import prices or the volume of imports. If past is any guide. a further devaluation should not be misconceived as a "dangerous" step but an effective measure to combat the crisis in which the Second Plan has got caught.

The persistent fall in the foreign exchange reserves and the rock-bottom currency reserves in terms of foreign exchange leave no escape but to devalue the rupee. It is believed that if the currency reserves are utilised to meet the existing deficit. it will result in a 'crisis of confidence' of the public and the paralysis of the currency mechanism.

The present drop in the free market rate of the rupee will engender a "flight from the rupee," and speculative activities may ensue. In the latter case, devaluation will be "forced" on us. Britain's pound sterling and Pakistan's rupee had ultimately to be devalued, although the Lord Chancellor of Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps and the Pakistan Finance Minister gave out definite assurances that their currencies would not be devalued. It may be stated in this connection that the Indian rupee did not have to suffer any speculative attack to which Britain was subjected.

Case Against Devaluation

The principal objective of devaluing the Indian rupee is to make exports cheaper to the foreign buyers and imports dearer to the Indian importers. Even if our exports claim less of foreign currency, there is no guarantee of more being demanded unless the products have more than unit-elasticity of demand and are inelastic in supply. Studying this question with special reference to our export constituents, we find that Prof. Shenoy's suggestion would not help India much in stepping up exports. Our three main exports are jute, tea and cotton textiles. For the American market, the biggest buyer of Indian jute manufactures, it is doubtful whether the price factor is the major determinant of the quantum of export. In the case of tea, we do not enjoy exclusive monopoly. Our close competitor Ceylon may also devalue its rupee to neutralize the advantage which might accrue to the Indian tea exporter through devaluation. In the case of cotton textiles, the gain in foreign exchange earnings through bloated exports may not justify the proposed measure.

On the side of imports there is little room for optimism that we can curb them with equanimity. The patent fact is that India requires more of imported capital goods including machinery, vehicle, iron and steel, raw cotton, raw jute, chemicals, etc. Without them the pace of economic progress would be considerably retarded, if not checked completely. In technical terms, our elasticity of demand for imported goods is less than unity as is the case with our exports. The inflow of goods would outstrip the outflow as at present leaving a debit item in the balance-sheet of India's foreign trade.

What is still worse is that expensiveness of imports due to devaluation would raise the cost of the Plan widening thereby the gap of the foreign exchange still further.

Besides, the Indian Government is making desperate efforts to get foreign aid or loans. from the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Japan, U.S.S.R. and Germany, to name only a few important countries. Devaluation of the rupee will cut India adrift and obscure the prospects for the success of our mission to seek foreign help.

Alternative Remedies Adopted

Recognising the gravity of the situation of

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foreign resources required for the Second Five-Year Plan, our Government has already adopted certain measures to ease the situation. In doing so we have started with the postulate that the Plan is our first priority because development is imperative if the democratic system is to survive. The "core of the Plan," which must include the steel projects, the mining programme, the allied power projects and transport, must be successfully implemented. Imports at whatever price procurable have to be obtained and exports 'to pay for imports' raised. The curtailment in the investment targets is, apparently limited by the "core" of the plan. More exports[6] means more production and less domestic consumption. Both of these processes might entail greater sacrifices and hardship on the people, but they are the natural concomitants of economic planning. An integrated economic policy designed to enforce monetary discipline, wage and price restraint, austerity in the spheres of imports and promotion of exports will have to be unremittingly pursued as the price for the planned development. Any slackening on one or more of these fronts may gravely imperil the progress achieved in recent years.

In the context of this pragmatic approach of planning the economy of the country the Government has already taken the following steps to offset the imbalance in the balance of payments position:

1. Centralisation of foreign exchange control;
2. Rigid scrutiny of all proposals involving foreign exchange expenditure;
3. Gearing of the import policy to the needs of the Plan and pruning or banning the imports of the non-essential or consumption goods;
4. Virtual abolition of the Open General License;
5. A virtual freeze on new exchange commitments;
6. Licensing of import of capital goods on deferred payment basis;
7. Export-promotion drive with a vengeance, as it were, has been launched. This includes trade-agreements, new and old, re-organisation of show-rooms and setting up of trade centres, provision of facilities to tradesmen for participation in exhibitions in different parts of the world; improvements in the commercial publicity organization, the setting up of Trade Risk Corporation and of a Foreign Trade Board for bringing about better co-ordination of the different organisation for export promotion;
8. An all-out effort is being made to procure loans from foreign countries as stated earlier;
9. Disinflationary measures calculated to keep the priceline under check;
10. Increased production, particularly of foodgrains, so as to depress the prices within the country: The general production index (with 1951 as the base year) showed a steady rise from 133 in 1956 to 145 in the first half of 1957, an improvement of about 9 per cent. A substantial increase was recorded in coal (15.3 per cent) and sugar (10.1 per cent). The outturn of cotton textiles was up by 6.2 per cent and of paper and paper boards by 8.4 per cent. The production of foodgrains in 1956-57 rose by 6 per cent over 1955-56 level. Despite these new highs in production, the inflationary tendencies became manifest and serious apprehensions were expressed that the agricultural base provided by the First Five-Year Plan proved too frail to stand the strain of the mammoth industrial edifice visualised under the Second Plan;
11. Promotion of labour welfare schemes to ensure employer-employee harmony;
12. Increase in the bank rate from 3½ to 4 per cent per annum;
13. Intensification of the small saving campaigns, both in the rural and urban areas and
14. Raising of resources within the country through fiscal and financial measures such as levy of excise duties, direct taxes, etc.

Some Expert Opinions

The consensus of expert opinion is against devaluation. In the course of his last budget discussion Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Union Finance Minister, held that "there was not only no need to resort to devaluation but

6. The export target fixed is Rs. 1,000 crores, which is double the present level of annual exports.

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on the contrary, any such action should ruin the economy." On another occasion he spoke in the same vein holding that the rupee was the soundest currency all over the world. According to some, the Indian rupee is the "Asian dollar" and is a hard currency just as U.S. dollar is for many countries in the West.

Mr. Chunilal B. Mehta, the well-known financial expert, holds that devaluation is, by and large, a policy of helplessness and is a blunt weapon to discourage imports. He has emphatically inveighed against any such step being taken by the Indian Government in these words: 'Even if Britain devalues the Sterling, India should not be in a hurry to follow suit."

Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University and a top-ranking economist of India, opined that since foreign exchange deficit is not due to any spontaneous short-fall in imports, the devaluation of the rupee is not warranted by circumstances.

Conclusion

The above premises show that the Government does not desire merely to bridge the export-import gap through such palliatives as rupee-devaluation, but is anxious to guarantee a sound and healthy economy imbued with a self-propelling dynamism. For, it is believed that the strength of a currency is not merely measured by the current balance of payments situation but by the whole pattern of economic, political and social framework and tendencies. The devaluation of the Indian rupee is, in the present economic set-up, ill-timed and ill-conceived.

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SOCIALISTIC PATTERN AND LAWYERS

By Prof. K. R. R. SASTRY

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Is the Avadi Congress the doom of our Praja-Socialists—erstwhile rebels from the Congress—began. It is not Socialism as it is known in England but it is a "*pattern*" for India. Is it a model or "*excellent example*" of Socialism? I do not think that the followers of Gandhi chose a conceited title.

It is a clever device to tickle the leftists and it is sufficiently sober as not to drive away the private sector to despair.

What have been the effects of it on lawyers? Has it not revolutionised the subjects taught in Law Colleges? Has it not led to the growth of administrative law?

Lawyer's Position Challenged

If a lawyer is to stick to his old job with an unbending conservatism, his fate will become akin to that of a big tree uprooted in mid-stream by the raging floods.

The lawyer's position as leader of society has been shaken. The Chief Minister need not be a lawyer. Other democratic qualities are necessary to become a leader of a party.

The volume of work in the courts has been affected by the crop of legislation abolishing Zamindary. Nor is there much litigation on the Transfer of Property Act.

The piece-meal legislation in Hindu Law has changed old concepts. No doubt most of these revolutionary changes in marriage and adoption, are *enabling* in character.

Nor are the salutary reliefs to the indebted helpful to the lawyer at the forum of litigation.

There is a good case for making justice cheaper and less dilatory. This again cuts at the old-time prosperity of the lawyer thriving on costly and delayed justice.

Impact on Subjects of Study

There has been a regrettable tendency to abolish Roman Law from the curriculum of studies in Law Colleges.

In its stead "Ancient Law" has been suggested and the importance of the Transfer of Property Act is being challenged. When private property is being cut down—what with the Wealth Tax, Entertainment Tax, Expenditure Tax, Gift Tax and Estates Duty, not to forget the Income-Tax and Super-Tax litigation on its transfer *a fortiori* dwindles.

There is a case for including the Company

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Law, the Income-Tax Act, and Industrial Law in the curriculum of studies.

Inroads Into Legal Discipline

It is a well-established fact that lawyers enrolled since 1947 are inferior in calibre to their predecessors. Their basic knowledge of English is poor; and their grasp of legal principles is meagre.

A time will soon come when their study of the Zamindary Abolition Act, the Income-Tax Law, and the ill-drafted Company Law will produce hybrid working masons. There are countless grammatical leaks and rhetorical cracks in their arguments.

Impacts of Hurried Hindi

It is the considered opinion of experienced lawyers and law-professors that a minimum of twenty-five years more is necessary for a change-over from Hindi to English in High Courts and the Supreme Court.

In the work of the central expert committee on Legal terms, it has gladly adopted words from English as *Agent, Appeal, Assessor, Bank, Bonus, Case, Commission, Decree, Jury, Receipt, Solicitor*, etc.

It is an uphill work in a vast sub-continent with fourteen regional languages.

A unified system of law, a single judiciary, common All-India Services and a common national language are certainly bound to forge in administrative unity.

Changing Role of the Lawyer

The time has certainly come for a natural restriction of admission into law-colleges, through personal interview by the head of the institution.

No longer should Law College be considered as revenue-yielding institutions.

The lawyer in turn must switch on to serving in the industrial pool of public servants, in the State Insurance Corporation and in the executives of companies and banks.

Lower down in the system of chamber-consultation, arbitration of disputes, assisting the drafting of deeds and conveyances and preparation of Income-Tax returns the trained lawyer of calibre will have his increasing share.

Significance of a Welfare State

Come what may, whatever the size of the bottle-neck of foreign exchange, our Finance Wizard is determined to see the Second Five-Year Plan through.

As the directive principles of state-policy are deemed "fundamental in the governance of the country" certain *economic ideals* the state should strive for.

As India is attached to the engine of economic revolution, the state is becoming the prime agency for bringing about this bloodless revolution. The Railways, Airways, Ship-building, Building of Roadways, Insurance, Posts and Telegraphs, have been nationalised.

Growth of Administrative Law

As the state has long ceased to be a police-State, the impacts of a welfare-state-to-be are found in the growth of administrative law. Broadcasting is a state monopoly and the expansion of Electricity is left to an administrator. How far a civilian will work at the head of a corporation over technicians is an experiment going on. There is an unwillingness of technical experts to work under lay administrators.

Britain has left behind a legacy of an administrative system, the strongest in Asia. The transition has stood the shocks of evacuees.

Be it said to the credit of congress ministers, they have appreciated the aid, and advice of the permanent executive.

The growth of administrative law has delimited the jurisdiction of the lawyer's practice and driven him to appear before the Transport Licensing authority.

Tentative Observations

Free India is passing through a social and economic revolution. There has been a spell of legislation including quick amendments to the Constitution.

Bad draftsmanship, hasty legislation, and hurry to make up for lost time have characterized our legislative activity.

The record of the higher judiciary as guardian and interpreter of the Constitution has been commendable.

The role of the lawyer as an inevitable leader has been shaken beyond repair.

The lawyer has to get adjusted to the welfare-state-to-be. No longer is he a leech of society; he is to adapt himself to the role of an engineer of society.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF HUMAN RIGHTS

By Dr. VISHWANATH PRASAD VARMA, M.A. (Columbia), Ph.D. (Chicago),
Professor of Politics, Patna University

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the General Assembly of the United Nations constitutes a fundamental progressive step in the evolution of the social conscience of humanity. This document is postulated upon the acceptance of man as a spiritual and moral agent whose powers of autonomous creativism have to be carefully developed. Man has divine potentialities but if he does not receive adequate training and cultivation his unregenerate self can be perverted into the most dangerous animal because armed injustice is catastrophic. Hence the Declaration has stressed the rights to education and culture. A sound political philosophy has to start with the presupposition that man is not a means but is the bearer of the kingdom of ends. This is the essence of the democratic philosophy. Since the beginning of human speculation we find that statements of equality, love, co-operation, fraternity, reciprocity and solidarity have been stressed in religious scriptures. The Upanishads refer to the immanence of the primordial spiritual principle in all human beings. Cicero stresses the equality and fraternity of human beings. The Bible repudiates the distinction between the Jew and the Greek, the bond and the slave. The Bhagavadgita accepts the equal responsiveness of God to the aspirations of the lowest of beings. Thomas Aquinas eulogised the sanctity of eternal law and natural law which should serve as light-posts to correct the inadequacies of our human laws. Rousseau, Kant and Gandhi have taught the spiritual and moral equality of mankind. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a landmark because the old concepts have been systematically categorized in a modern sociological form. The dominant values of the Declaration are dignity, free development of personality, fundamental freedoms, justice, rule of law, peace, social progress and better standards of life for all.

The concept of rights begins in European political thought with the rise of Roman jurisprudence. There is no Greek word for the modern words 'right' or Recht but still in the Greek philosophy of common good and virtue is inherent the main purpose for which rights are needed. The Latin word *Jus* means both rights and law. The Roman legal theory was that nobody could claim to be a person unless he had rights. *Persona* signified the bearing of rights. In modern times, since the sixteenth century the growth of individualism and the theory of the social contract strengthened the notion of rights. Although the conception that man had rights in a pre political or a pre-social State has been now repudiated still idealist political thought has emphasised that we have to support natural rights in a psychological sense. The psychological approach to natural rights is that man cannot realise the fullness of his moral nature unless he has rights to carve out his own personality. Thus the old historical conception of natural rights as in Locke and Rousseau in which nature meant "pre-State" has been substituted by the new idealistic conception of natural rights in which nature means the prefection of moral human nature. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has its basis in this idealistic theory of natural rights which has been supported by T. H. Green, W. Wallace, Rudolf Stammler and others. Rights are essential for the development of our personality because we do need them to enable ourselves to make efforts to perfect our powers which are essential for the service of the community.

There have been declarations of rights in the past. Although now considered as a feudal document, still the Magna Carta was a forward step in the direction of limiting the pretensions of autocracy. The Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights in England are important because they voiced the protests of an enraged humanity against seventeenth century British despotism. The American Declaration of Independence, the first ten amendments to the American Constitution and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, were very important documents in the evolution of the democratic social philosophy. The slogan of inalienable rights became a gospel and the American and French Revolutions sealed the slogan with the might of historical momentum.

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These attempts at the specification and objectification of right have received a more comprehensive adequacy in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Declaration accepts the democratic theory. It states that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government. The people should express their will by periodic and genuine elections. Suffrage should be universal and equal. There is to be secret voting. The twenty-ninth article of the Declaration states that the general welfare can be secured in a democratic society. The Declaration is eloquent in its acceptance of the thinking and willing human being as the bearer of social and moral values. The first article accepts the equality and freedom of all human beings. The third article accepts the right to self-preservation, liberty and security of person. The fourth article absolutely condemns slavery and the fifth bans torture and degrading punishment. The social aspects of human dignity are protected by the twelfth article which prohibits arbitrary interference with family, privacy, home, correspondence and provides for the maintenance of individual honour and reputation. The right to marry and to found a family is recognized. The right to own property alone as well as in association with others is accepted and confiscation or expropriation of property is forbidden by the provision that no one can be arbitrarily deprived of his property. These categories of rights are in line with the individualistic and democratic philosophy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

But the Declaration has shown the elasticity to incorporate in it the socialistic approach to rights also. The twenty-second article recognises the right to social security. The right to work and to protection against unemployment is sucured by the twenty-third article. The rights to rest and leisure and a standard of living adequate for the well-being of the individual and his family including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services, are immensely significant concessions to the socialist philosophy. There is to be free and compulsory elementary education but the totalitarianism inherent in the State control of education is eliminated by the provision that parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. The right to participate in the cultural activities of the community is also recognized. Thus it is clear that the Declaration is a supreme synthesis of the social philosophies of John Locke and Karl Marx. It eliminates the inadequacies of Locke and the totalitarianism of Marx. It blends the democratic constitutionalism of Locke with the Marxian stress on justice.

A reign of rights flourishes in an atmosphere of peace. Hence the Declaration also stresses the development of friendly relations among nations and is opposed to any action that would run counter to the charter of the United Nations.

It is true that the Declaration is not a legally binding convention. But I am not disheartened by that. It is a mighty step in the march of social and political morality. If the human conscience makes fundamental evolutionary progression, the external mechanism of law is bound to shape itself in accordance with the changed philosophy. But although not a convention, the Declaration has made its impact felt on the national constitutions of Puerto Rico, Jordan, Haiti, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Indonesia, Syria and the German Republic. It has been constantly quoted as a basis of action by the United Nations and its specialized agencies when discussing issues relevant to the promotion of human rights. International treaties and agreements have professed loyalty to it. Its dynamic impact has been felt even by regional international organizations. The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the Netherlands-Indonesian Union of 1949, the Inter-American Declaration of April 1951 and the Japanese Peace treaties of September 1951 are evidences.

An enlightened and self-conscious public opinion is the most effective bulwark of any system of right. It is utopian to imagine that the mere incorporation into a constitutional document will bring the millennium. A powerful public opinion can demand investigation into cases of violation of the Declaration by governments. This public opinion can be international in its scope. Governments can also take the initiative and through the General Assembly it is possible to condemn a country which violates the Declaration. When there is a chance of international peace

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being jeopardized, even the Security Council may intervene. Perhaps even an International Court of Human Rights could be established which would be the Court of Appeal in cases of the infliction of wrong and injury. But more than the setting up of an institutional framework, it is essential to educate public opinion in the path of decency and virtue. The Declaration of Human Rights is an important step towards the universalization of the theory of social morality and political virtue and eventally it is bound to affect the organized system of law.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS

By S. N. KAUL

Kashmir in 1947 represented a ruined poor state which started its career as a progressive one under the shadow of appalling poverty. Our agricultural system was feudal. We were industrially backward. Masses toiled, sweated and suffered under subhuman conditions. Inequalities of a barbarous character divided us between the extremely rich and the miserably poor. The country suffered under the pressure of population.

Raid on Kashmir

In 1947 the state was attacked by Frontier tribes along with Pakistan, and the enemy ransacked large areas and penetrated deep into the state on all sides causing uuprecedcnted devastation and destruction all around.

Accession to Indian Union

Accession of the state with the Indian Union took place simultaneously. Kashmir became an intergral part of India. Indian Union poured its resources, man and material to reconstruct this country. With their able guidance planners started their work. The story of what happened to Kashmir during the last ten years would also therefore serve to illustrate what happened to the rest of the country and how poor people like Kashmiris can toil together to rise to a stature which it has gained among its neighbours. This toil distinguished the leadership of our real patriots from among the rest.

Kashmir To-Day

Kashmir today has risen from scattered debris to a new level of accomplishments. It has risen from a complete defeatist outcast to the position of a full-fledged modern country with a position of a growing strength and dignity in the community of Indian Union. It is a growing and still expanding country with no evidence of the vast destruction of wide areas of land that met the eye a decade ago.

Transition

The transtional changes have been tremendous. Sometimes it has been easy for the reporters to tell the world exactly what has happened. There have been ups and downs but over the years at last major factors materialized to take up the shape of New Kashmir.

Problems of the Planners

There were thus tremendous problems before the planners. The restoration of normal conditions was the first objective. It required adequate financial resources. In 1941 the population of the country was 40,21,000. It rose at the rate of 10% after every decade. With this rate it would reach to 48,65,000 in 1961. Such a vast growing population demands huge and rising quantities of foodgrains and other commodities to support it. The second important objective was therefore to secure an equilibrium between the two at a level which would ensure a reasonable standard of living for its people.

In order to achieve these objectives the planners had to take to account of and to mobilize all agricultural and industrial resources to increase the National Income subustantially. The last and the most important task was to devise means and methods to secure an equitable distribution of wealth so required.

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Industrialization

Planning for the undeveloped country like Kashmir also meant rapid growth of industries both extractive and manufacturing. It involves diversion of occupations from agriculture to such other industries. It cannot be free from obstacles. These were inadequate economic environments, inadequate and shattered transport, the main life-line which connects this country with the rest of India, inadequate supply of power and the small size of local markets, and absence of training facilities and lack of Financial Institutions.

Production of food is the vital necessity and it engages the first attention. Then there is a shortage of other factors of production. Want of statistical data is a serious impediment in the way of planning. Sudden and frequent changes in the tax rates and tax policy of the government makes the investors shy and so on.

Five-Year Plans

In spite of these serious impediments the government of J. & K. State in consultation with the experts of the Government of India succeeded to present a programme of developments in two series which took the shape of Five-Year Plans one ending in 1956 and the other ending in 1961. The first step towards execution of these plans was taken only affter August 9th., 1953.

Achievements

Topmost priority was given to irrigation, power projects and transport. Irrigation has been extended and power-supply augmented by five thousand K.W. during the period ending March 1956. Road development has been equally remarkable. The progress in this sector is shown below :

1. New roads constructed 425 miles.
2. Improvement and development of existing roads 481.5 miles.
3. A number of bridges aggregating over four hundred Rft. constructed.

While there were only 1,115 primary schools, 146 middle schools and 45 high schools in 1950-51 at the end of the Five-Year Plan we had 1,803 primary schools, 260 middle schools and 109 high schools. The number of Colleges rose from seven in 1950-51 to twelve in 1956-57. Against 11 dospensaries in 1951 we had 152 dispensaries at the end of 1956. The number of in-patients' beds rose from 750 in 1951 to 1012 in 1956. New industries like Transport Department and the Government Joinery Mills have been started and those already existing have been extended or reorganized so as to suit the present requirements. Sales organizations like the Government Arts Emporium have been established and a network of small cottage industries spread all over the country. The plan in fact produced its impact in the economy of the country which is reflected in the substantial increase in employment and consequently in the income of people. A foundation had at the same time been laid for such development as is possible within the physical situation and material resources.

Better Targets

Better targets have been fixed in the Second Plan. This plan proposes to import and distribute one lakh maunds of Fertilizers, open two Seed Multiplication Farms, strengthen the equipments in the existing laboratories of Agricultural Research and bring under cultivation 334 acres of land under China Paddy seed and to develop local manurial resources. It is proposed to establish two artifical Insemination Poultry Farms at *Gosadan*. Subsidy will be given to 300 large-sized co-operative credit societies and banks. Forest areas reserved for fodder would be fenced, river-training schemes will be started and easy floating of timber on the Chenab and the Jhelum will be ensured.

Afforestation of bare forests will be started. Additions will be made to the power-generating plants at Ganderbal and Mohore power-houses which will be converted from 25 to 50 cycles. One Cement factory will be established and existing industries revitalized etc., etc.

Not an Unmixed Blessing

In Kashmir as elsewhere in India the rise in employment and increase in income of people has not been an unmixed blessing. The developments have resulted in all-round inflation and rise of price levels. The rise is so appreciable that it appears a potent threat to the common man.

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Causes of Rise in Price Level

The rise is mainly due to the increased cost of production. It is also due to the fact that the production of raw materials from land do not keep pace with the rising demand from growing industries. The rise of wages and the demand for other factors have raised the cost of production. To neutralize this scarcity, capital has disproportionately been invested which has raised the prices of all agricultural products. The bulk of money poured in the market has raised its quantity. The cost of living has thus increased. The rise in wages is entirely consumed by the rise in the price level. Thus it has created a vicious circle.

The abrupt staggering developments of industries resulted in changed values which has made it difficult for people to adjust themselves to changed conditions. There are maladjustments between the two which have deprived the people of the advantage accruing to them through increased values. Consequently the distribution of National Wealth has not been as even as it should have been. People do not feel themselves far off from the conditions they had started ten years earlier. We cannot therefore claim that the First Five-Year Plan has completely succeeded in improving the material aspects of the poor people.

Lacuna in the Plan

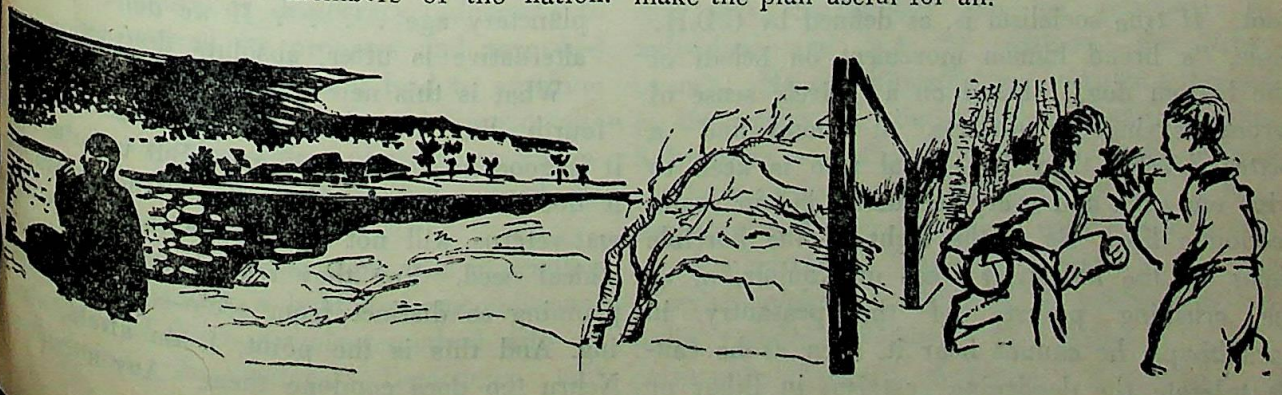
The lacuna left in the plan could have been anticipated, but for want of accurate and varied types of statistics the planners have failed to mould the schemes in proper form so as to eliminate the disadvantages arising from it. The public administration also has to adjust itself to changing circumstances. These defects can to a large extent be removed by the people themselves. They have to understand themselves and their responsibilities as members of the nation. They have to adjust themselves to the fast changing economic conditions of the country. Sellers are combining themselves to secure maximum values for their products. The consumers are thus put to a disadvantage at the time of bargaining. The result is rise of prices.

Remedies

In order to remove this maladjustment between the buyers and sellers, the buyers should also organise themselves perferably in the form of consumers, co-operative and then be in a better position as parties to bargain. The Government has also its part to play. In order to extend the local markets they have to organize establishment of local *mandies* and markets to ensure healthy contacts between the two. Official announcements of market rates of commodities in these *mandies* have to be made for the use of intending buyers and sellers and thus keep a close watch over unnatural tendencies of rise of prices.

The planners have also to study the question further. They have to concentrate their attention more on industries which work under the law of increasing returns. It does not mean that cottage and small-scale industries should be ignored altogether. They have also their role to play in the economy. Attempt has to be made both by the Government and the public to secure and maintain the equilibrium between the two.

The Government has to improve its administrative machinery to suit the changing economic conditons. They have to create a suitable organisation for collecting statistical data of the country's resources and needs. In this effort they should enlist the co-operation of experienced professional economists and other experts. Sufficient attention towards this side of the plan is needed which if devoted now is most likely to make the plan useful for all.



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JAWAHARLAL AND SOCIALISM

By SURESH RAM

WORD is the Man. And the two words which define Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are 'Socialism' and 'Planning,' even as 'Sarvodaya' and 'Satyagraha' do Mahatma Gandhi. Instead of 'Socialism' and 'Planning,' one could say that 'Socialism through planning' is the passion which has animated Jawaharlal Nehru all his life whose course remains unwarped even by the relentless powers vested in him as the Prime Minister of a country as vast as India. When he dwelt on the necessity of socialism in his Presidential Address to the Lucknow Congress in 1936, his dearest colleagues and co-workers grew sceptic about him. About a dozen years after, when he urged upon the efficacy of Planning for building a new India, devoted members of his own Cabinet did not like to take him seriously. Yet he persisted and his tenacious labours bore fruit when at its Avadi Session, the Indian National Congress declared its objective as the attainment of a 'Socialistic pattern of society.'

Socialism has now become an established creed of the intelligentsia of our country, specially the English-knowing classes. At its celebrated altar, Jawaharlal Nehru has been consuming himself every moment. He has rightly become the centre of a solar system of which radiant socialism is the sun. Its illuminating light and heat cannot but affect anybody who comes near him, be he or she a priest in the temple of totalitarian communism or in that of free democracy. This is why that Jawaharlal continues to be a problem to many as they are not able to grasp the essence of his mission in spite of the fact that it is so obvious, simple and straightforward.

Jawaharlal Nehru is socialism from head to foot. If true socialism is, as defined by G.D.H. Cole, "a broad human movement on behalf of the bottom dog," based on a "lively sense of wrongs crying for distress," it cannot find a better devotee than Jawaharlal who is keen to wipe out each and every inequality in our socio-economic life. Be it the sight of the horrible slums in the industrial areas of Kanpur, or of the crushing poverty of the peasantry in Gorakhpupr, he cannot bear it, even as he cannot tolerate the deadening casteism in Bihar or blind Gujarati-Marathi factionism in Bombay. These disparities must go.

But they must go by fair means. And it is this which distinguishes Jawaharlal Nehru from socialists in other parts of the world. As he observed in his speech at the time of receiving the degree of Doctor of Law conferred upon him on 17th October, 1949 by the Columbia University :

> "There is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right, if the means are wrong, that will vitiate the end or divert it into a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated. That indeed has been the lesson of old taught us by many great men in the past but unfortunately it is seldom remembered."

Thus Jawaharlal Nehru stands for socialism through planning by right means, or to quote from Congress constitution by 'legitimate and peaceful' means. This as well accounts for his horror at atomic warfare and his incessant appeals for stopping nuclear explosions. His warning on the Russian invention of new satellites, uttered while recently replying to a reception in Hong Kong, is very significant :

> "All technological advance does not make evil good or good evil . . . . Let us hope the world will become gradually civilised. It is not really civilised today . . . . It will become civilised when this technological advance is used for human betterment and not for human destruction. We must train our minds to think in a new way in this new age in which we live, the atomic age, the inter-planetary age . . . . If we don't, then the alternative is utter, absolute destruction."

What is this new way ? Nehru calls it the "fourth dimension" which should be "ethical." It is good in so far as it goes. But unfortunately it does not go very far. Even the recognised war-veterns will not disagree with him on this ethical need. For they regard war or military planning as distinct from socio-economic planning. And this is the point, I am afraid, where Nehru too does condone them. Any attempt to

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do away with modern warfare without touching modern economics is bound to prove futile. Scientific discoveries of human destruction are an inevitable consequence of the process of economic planning now in vogue. We cannot, in fairness, hug the latter as sacred while simultaneously decry the former as madness. And one can go further and say that so long as socialism counts upon arms for its last resort, it cannot survive. One should not indulge in the thankless task of distinguishing nuclear arms from the ordinary ones. Science cannot go back and man cannot abandon atomic bomb in preference to the gun or the tank. When a conscientious Arjuna could not observe all the code of conduct in war, present-day unscrupulous leaders cannot certainly do it. The fault is not with the atomic bomb but with the economic planning behind it.

"The more violence, the less revolution," was the dictum of Barthelemy de Ligt. As well as he has now become, 'the more violence, the less socialism.' In spite of the immense historical background behind it, socialism has failed to overthrow the evil of capitalism, because it, like capitalism, relies upon violence as its ultimate sanction. Both are worshippers at the shrine of the Goddess of Arms. This has rendered socialism innocuous and effeminate, sober, impotent and inert. Otherwise, how could British Socialists remain helpless spectators of the British atrocity in Egypt or French ones tacitly connive at their Government's unholy alliance? Likewise, the Socialists of Russia did not lift even their little finger on Russian tyranny over Hungary. Socialists all! Yes, violence-devotees all! And the common man naturally get confused in bewilderment and finds it hard to distinguish between democracy, socialism and totalitarianism.

Be it socialism or democracy, adherence to violence has marred its progress and tarnished its fair name. Violence cannot lead to anything lasting or substantial. It must be condemned out-right and so also the system of economic planning which is associated with it and adored the world over. As Gandhi says:

"There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications. Democracy and violence can ill go together. The states that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent."

No doubt we are a democratic nation today, but we must confess we are only "nominally democratic" as any other democracy in the world. We do not equip our Army with nuclear weapons not because we do not want it but because we cannot afford it. We cherish the same standard in our socio-economic planning as do the U.K., the U.S.A., or the U.S.S.R. This is the real reason why India's protest, as voiced by Jawaharlal Nehru, for abolition of nuclear bombing meets no response. If Nehru cannot throw his arms into the sea, how can he expect others to do it? If he keeps himself ready to meet any eventualities on account of Pakistan, why should not the U.S.A. do so because of the U.S.S.R. and vice versa? Whence all this cold war and hot peace.

The time has now come when we should take the courage to resolve to discard the use of arms altogether. Nehru does say that war does not solve problems. But he yet hesitates to launch the natural course of doing away with the means of war. Perhaps he feels war is as much a necessity. He might agree with William James:

> "What we now need to discover in the social realm is the moral equivalent of war: something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war has proved itself to be incompatible."

The world may be groping for a "moral equivalent of war," but we need not. For, Gandhi has provided us the same in the form of, what he termed, Satyagraha. Outsiders may say that Satyagraha can be practised by individuals and not by nations. But Nehru cannot. He has himself been a valiant general in the army of Satyagraha. Doubtless what Satyagraha we offered in British India should not be regarded as the last word on it. In fact, Satyagraha during the alien regime could only be of a particular brand. Far more gentle and effective modes of it would be evolved in free India. Gandhi's 'March in Noakhali' was a pointer in that new direction. Satyagraha can

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'speak to men as universally as war does and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves.' Only we have to gird our loins and forge ahead. Let us cast off all fear and prejudice and bravely accept the "non-violent method with all its glorious implications." Then and then alone can Jawaharlal Nehru pilot India's ship to the socialism of his dreams.

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DEMOCRACY *Vs.* LIBERALISM

By Prof. N. RAJAGOPALA RAO, M.A.

Ever since the close of the First World War the ideological and organisational inadequacies of the democratic States have been the subject of much thought and reflection. Those basic assumptions of a Free Society, derived largely from nineteenth century Liberalism, are either extolled or exploded. It is impossible, of course, to deal with this issue adequately in this article. But I desire to discuss one important question having a large theoretical bearing on the issue mentioned above. To what extent should the electorate in a democracy participate in the home and foreign policies of the Government? How far can and how far should public opinion influence and control governmental decisions?

One thing must be made clear at the very beginning. Since the days of Bryce the reaction against the mounting influence of public opinion on State policies is on the increase. The public mind, the electorate, has been subjected to a severe criticism. It is said, that the electorate has usurped to itself the power and the authority of directing the executive decisions. It claims a moral excellence which it does not really possess; an altruistic motive scarcely observable, and a foresight even when it is incapable of rational thinking and reflection. It rules, it guides, it controls and it dictates the State. The tyranny of the electorate is truer than the tyranny of the majority. Wherever the democratic States have failed to solve the important economic and international questions, it is due to the intimidations and intransigent attitudes of its electorate. This, indeed, is a serious charge against modern democratic practices. The alternative appears to be to give more powers to the executive, to rely more on expert advice and guidance. Should this be so? I do not think, that, on any important issue facing the democratic State today, the electorate is more stupid than the executive or the enlightened class. Further, it is wrong to ascribe to the electorate the onus of responsibility for all the failures and misdeeds of its government. Neither does it remedy the ailments of the present democratic States even when policy-making and execution is expertised. This, I fear, is a remedy worse than the disease.

I know no one, who in recent years, has stated his case against the democratic control of certain policies of the State, more succinctly and with graver emotional force, than Mr. Walter Lippmann, in his book *The Public Philosophy*. I cannot do better than summarise his arguments. He believes that the decline of the West began with the increasing influence of popular emotions and feelings on State policy. The malady of democratic States is, that the prevailing public opinion has been destructively wrong at critical junctures. But why did the public mind gain in power and prestige? Lippmann answers that this is the result of the liberal theory of the State and its advocacy of the principle of 'one man, one vote.' The implication of the doctrine of political equality has been that the people as voters are capable of deciding what is good and beneficial to them as a community both of the present and the future. Lippmann believes that this is based on heretical assumptions that the electorate can be relied on to represent the people. He says:

> "It is often assumed, but without warrant, that the opinions of the people as voters can be treated as the expression of the people as an historic community. The fact is that this assumption is false. The voters cannot be relied upon to represent *the people*. The opinions of voters in elections are not to be accepted unquestionably as true judgements of the vital interest of the community."

Two reasons are put forth in defence of this conclusion. One is the familiar argument

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that State-craft is a highly specialised art, that it calls forth a high degree of intellectual and moral discipline. Hence, not all can practise statemanship. Secondly, he maintains that the electorate, even when it is supposed to be enlightened and capable of rational judgement in State matters, is disabled to act, as it cannot have access to all the relevant facts.

"There is an inherent tendency in public opinion to feed upon rumours, excited by our own wishes and fears." At critical junctures whether in peace or war the public opinion is never in agreement with governmental policy.

"At critical junctures when the stakes are high the prevailing mass opinion will impose what amounts to a veto upon changing the course on which the government is at the time proceeding. Prepare for war in time of peace? No. It is bad to raise taxes, to imbalance the budget, to take men away from their schools and their jobs to provoke the enemy. Intervene in a developing conflict? No. The adversary must not be appeased. Reduce your claims on the area? No. Righteousness cannot be appeased."

And he concludes that the unhappy truth is that the prevailing public opinion has been destructively wrong at critical moments. And the people have imposed a veto upon the judgements of informants which usually knew what would have been wiser, or was necessary, or was more expedient, or to be too late with too little or too long with too much, too pacifist in peace and bellicose in war, too neutralist or appeasing in negotiation or too intransigent.

These are, indeed, severe strictures on the democratic mind. Lippmann's grave doubts and conclusions regarding the electorate are shared by very many intellectuals since the days of Maine and Mill who talked glibly of the incompetence of the voting population. It is, therefore, worth enquiring whether the public mind has always misled its government and also, if the policy trends proposed by the public opinion, judging retrospectively, are culpable for the tragic mistakes and glaring omissions of democratic States during the inter-war years.

We will consider the Anglo-French appeasement policy towards Germany, culminating in Munich Pact—one of the instances taken up by Lippmann in support of his conclusions. It is clearly evident to every student of public affairs that the British public opinion always favoured a more cautious and unyielding relation with Germany. When Hitler decided upon rearming and mobilisation the public mind in all the democracies save U.S.A., was perturbed and saw the war-clouds gathering thick and fowl. Again the public was never happy when the late Mr. Chamberlain returned from Munich having bartered away some one else's freedom. "Surely," as R. H. S. Crossman observes, "it is truer to say that it was the traditional political leadership backed nearly always by a large section of the educated elite that lead us in the wrong direction."

Nearer at home we may refer, though we are too near the event to pronounce any judgement, to the controversial stand taken up by the Union Government and the Public in the matter of the States Reorganisation, particularly concerning the creation of the bilingual State of Bombay. The public opinion, particularly in Maharashtra and Gujarat, has never been reconciled to this new State. It has shown its deepest displeasure in the general elections, and again in the recent Bombay and Ahmedabad Municipal elections. It is widely known that the Union policy was influenced by the opinions of the caucus of the ruling party.

A more telling instance is that of the Indian stand on the revolution in Hungary. On no other recent issue the Indian public mind has been more earnest and just than on the guilt and aggression committed by Russia in Hungary. Prime Minister Sri Nehru who obviously relied on official reports reacted at first in a way that shocked many here and outside. It is equally noble of him to have seen through the veil, and to have taken up a stand in conformity with public opinion and its good conscience on the Hungarian tragedy. When stakes are big and liberty faces extinction. the bureaucrat, the diplomat cannot see the life and death struggle going on! It is they that commit the governments to a policy hard to reverse for reasons of governmental prestige even when the light of reason shows the correct way.

I do not desire to multiply these instances wherein at critical moments the governmental policies have floundered relying more on expert advice than on the citizen's choice, but I only refer to the vital issue facing mankind today, namely, the banning of atomic tests. The people

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of the democracies have shown their grave concern in the matter. The scientists too have joined the people's chorus. But of what avail? The military strategists and the executive chiefs have taken up intransigent attitude hard to explain.

It is quite clear then that the democratic government is depending more on the expert, the elite and the party boss. Their faith in the masses has disappeared or at the most they court the people only periodically and forget them soon after the wooing season. The party, the intelligentsia and the bureaucrat have arrogated to themselves the powers and privileges of the electorate. These have a contempt for the public opinion which they scarcely hide. The demagogue under the guise of a political leader provokes and excites the popular mind. The public is never provided by the government with all the facts relevant to an issue. Even a casual observer of the debates in the legislatures today often meets a Minister refusing to answer a question on grounds of public interest. The typical attitude of the executive is to claim that it is the custodian of public interest. The political leaders and the elite too in turn claim to possess the knowledge of public good. Every one, save the public, knows what is good and beneficial to the people! If the people cannot represent the people as a historic community how can the government claim to be identical with the State?

Even where the electorate is garish, queer, ambitious and sentimental, as it is at times, is it wholly to be blamed for the crises faced by democracies? Has the electorate alone scant regard for rules of the game? What ought to be the final word, if it is not the people's verdict?

These questions take us back to a searching enquiry into the fundamental beliefs and tenets of a democratic society. I consider that Lippmann, in his book *The Public Philosophy* and Prof. Oakshott in his stray writings have been suggesting that the primacy of electoral decisions is neither desirable nor necessary; the claims of the electorate do not logically follow either from the liberal or the democratic ideas; lastly a State is not more democratic because its electorate has more powers. In substance, the electoral mandates are not the *raison d'etre* of a democratic society. The free elections are the plague raging Free Societies. So stated, the tenour of entire argument appears to aim at a return to the small enclave of enlightened aristocracy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But in truth this is neither a return to the old conservative traditions nor a revival of the political philosophies of Burke and Bagehot. Rather what seems to be taking place is an effort to restate the democratic values that run across the old party associations; to provide larger operative freedom to the intellectuals and the executives in the affairs of the government, and to reject the principle of popular sovereignity to which the Western public opinion imagines itself to be dedicated to "but which it has never believed in at all."

In his thought-provoking writing *Democracy vs. Liberty* Mr. Peregrine Worsethrone following Lippmann's trail of thought, differentiates between liberalism and democracy. He says that democracy and liberalism are not necessarily the same.

> "Democracy is about *who* should rule and implies rule of the people based on the majority of equals. Liberalism is about *how* people should rule, and the liberal principles of respect for minorities, freedom of speech and of religion have nothing to do with the theory of democracy as such."

He approvingly quotes Lippman that the principle of consent is earlier than the principle of popular sovereignty. The Bill of Rights (1689) is more than two centuries older than universal suffrage in Great Britain. The latter developments in the democratic theory were not willed by the people but were evolved through the rational arguments of a relatively small number of intellectuals.

Historically it is true that democracy is the product of liberalism of the last century. It can also be conceded that the impetus for widening the suffrage came from the great utilitarian thinkers. But philosophically it is utterly wrong to say that the principle of individual liberty, religious toleration, minority rights, etc. do not form the essence of democratic outlook as such. Granting the truth of Worsethrone's contentions, are we also to admit that there can be democracy in the absence of freedom of speech, writing and religion?

Further, the question that has long engaged

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the attention of democracy is how to frame the institutions that express and not rule out the people's will. Democracy has at no time confined itself solely to the issue of who should rule. It is a moot point in democratic theory that the demos alone must govern (directly or indirectly) themselves. This, to a student of democratic theory, is self-evident and not a subject of debate.

Lastly, can it be admitted that the Western public opinion has never really believed in the theory of popular sovereignty? Locke gave to the theory of popular sovereignty a permanent place in politics. Rousseau made it a revolutionary doctrine in the cause of democracy. Dicey with an unerring instinct pointed out that the legal sovereign must ultimately bow to the political sovereign. These political writers are considered to be forerunners of modern democratic theory. The mass movement for the extension of franchise in England, for instance, gained momentum because the people believed in popular sovereignty. Again, the women suffragist movement was born out of the doctrine of political equality and popular sovereignty. But it is worth observing that in England popular sovereignty and democracy evolved slowly from the principle of representation and Parliamentary practices over a long time, unlike in France which began to work out its representative institutions from the principles of popular sovereignty.

All I am really saying is that the faith in the twin doctrines of popular sovereignty and individual freedoms are the bedrock on which the modern democratic State is founded. The only practicable method by which the popular sovereign can be made to act is by accepting the numerical Majority Principle and no other. It may be asked if it does not lead to widespread confusion to equate popular sovereignty with majority principle. Because the people are never the same from one day to the next. The people, as in the American Constitution, refers to the historic community and not to the present aggregate of individuals. Theoretically there is no justification for such a confusion. For the majority is not a substitute for the political sovereign but a working principle or technique. The majority can always be reduced to a minority and thus its earlier decisions reversed. But then, can the people use this technique, say to live under undemocratic government, to banish liberty? Logically it may sound that the people can. In that case such a decision cannot be reversed by the popular sovereign save by a revolution violent or non-violent. The point is that the majority itself is not sovereign; its decisions are not binding always. It only acts in behalf of the political sovereign.

How the decisions of the political sovereign and the individual's claim for freedom can coexist is a question that is best resolved not by *a priori* methods but by compromise. This involves certain pre-requisites to be fulfilled to allow compromise to be reached between what appear to be too divergent claims. These are: (1) Faith in compromise and Majority Principle and (2) faith in non-violence. These cardinal beliefs within whose frame-work alone the democratic temper is actively expressed are in the nature of axioms of a democratic society, and these axioms by definition cannot be inferred from mere general principles as Mr. Lippmann assumes that Public Philosophy is derived from Natural Law. To this Law of Democracy must submit every institution established within the democratic State, the Electorate, the Party, the Parliament and the Trade Union, etc. In this sense, there can be no essential difference between the liberal way and the democratic method. The liberal approach was democratic in a narrow sphere; the democratic method is liberal in a wider sphere. Liberalism was a doctrine, par excellence, of the middle class; democracy is a doctrine, par excellence, of the masses. Liberalism fulfills itself in democratic idealism; and democracy remains so by retaining the liberal outlook. It was Prof. Hobhouse who, attempting to restate the liberal theory at a time when liberalism was losing hold on the people's mind observed that 'there can be no popular sovereignty without perfect liberty for expression of opinion.' Herein we find the essence of democracy being identified with the essence of liberalism.

Today, there is a wave of reaction in the West against the Law of Democracy, whose progressive application De Tocquivelle regarded as inevitable and inherent in the growth of

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modern civilisation, and to value Liberalism more than Democracy. This has resulted in divorcing the democratic institutions from their general outlook and functions. Let us freely admit the besetting dangers and temptations of democratic public opinion, especially where the people are ill-fed, ill-educated and ill-led. But the party has entered the inner sanctuary of power; the intellectuals live in an ivory tower; the elite is sceptical and indifferent; the executive works in dark secrecy; the demagogue trades upon the weaknesses of the public mind and panders to its passions; the legislator has become more a local chieftain than a representative of the nation; the trade union is a passionate partisan. Let us not pretend that these are not the real threats to the law of democracy. To point out that the danger comes from the absurd metaphysical creed of popular sovereignty is obviously to suggest to blot out the life principle of democratic faith. If the principle of popular sovereignty is once accepted—it is this alone that distinguishes Democracy from Dictatorship—can we prescribe limits within which the sovereign people ought to act? To say that the people are not to veto but vote, not to act but merely express, not to contest but indicate their consent, cuts the ground under the feet of a democrat. The people in Communist and Fascist dictatorships have been given the right to vote and express at the polls. But what a parody of democratic government! Their governments claim that they enjoy the overwhelming support of the people. Any government worth the name must claim to depend upon a large measure of popular consent. To a degree the undemocratic governments too respond to people's demands. On this score are we to conclude that the popular government is a free government, that the responsive government is also a respossible one?

The cause of democracy is served better by bringing down the Chinese Wall built round the government, particularly its Home and Foreign Affairs Departments, raised and maintained by the bureaucrat and the immaculately dressed diplomat who consider that the more mysterious they are graver the issue becomes. Public opinion will certainly be clearer and better informed than it is today if only the government sheds its secrecy, publishes the texts of its secret documents, and makes plain its intentions and movements. The intellectual minority in all the democracies must cease to feel its separateness from the people, and, as informed men, must explain the issues facing the political community to the electorate only as its trusted adviser. The future of democracy is as much dependent on the democratic leadership, "willing to serve the people upon such terms as democracy will accept," as on the sovereign people to be led by the well-trained and conscientious statesman-leaders. To a democrat it is an article of faith that "the people have no interest in wrong."

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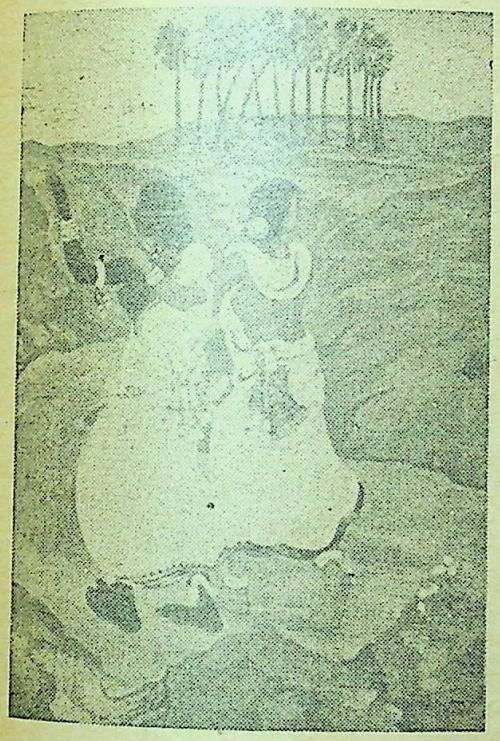
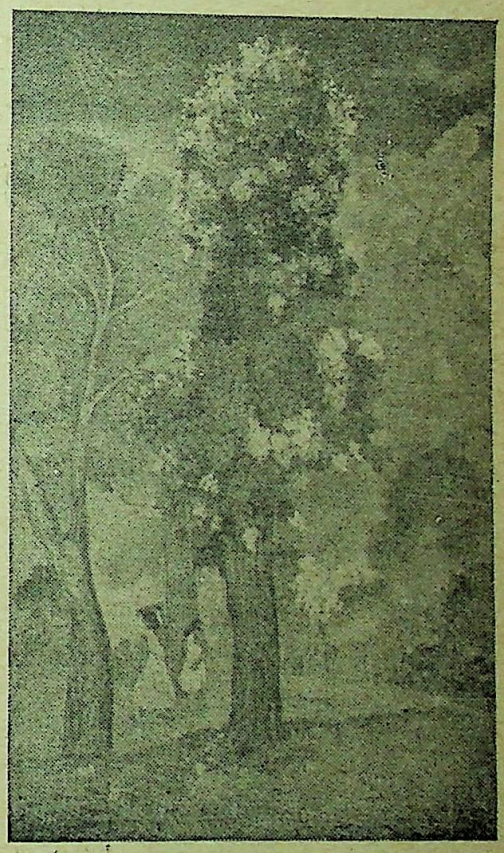
EXHIBITION OF TARAPROSAD BISWAS

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The Indian exponents of French Modernistic Painting has been indulging in incessant propaganda against the merits of the Indian School of Painting, particularly against the works of Abanindra Nath Tagore and Nandalal Bose with a view to win public opinion in their own favour, which they could never win on the basis of the intrinsic merits of their ugly distortions and meaningless abstractions. This propaganda had a chance of success, as very few members of our art-loving public had any chance to study at first-hand the original works of Tagore and of Bose which belong to a brilliant decade just passed. And the effective answer to the pernicious propaganda of the Modernists, who abuse the Bengal School as 'revivalists' and 'traditionalists', was to present the work of the best exponents of Indian painting in retrospective exhibitions. This was done last year by the exhibition of Nandalal Bose at the Art College, Calcutta, and the exhibition of A. N. Tagore at the Indian Museum arranged by the Rabindra Bharati, which succeeded in opening the eyes of connoisseurs to the intrinsic merits of the Indian School, which at one time inspired the Chinese and the Japanese School, and which had a continuously progressive history without any touch of revivalism or traditionalism. The works of the Neo-Bengal School demonstrated a new way of interpreting the eternal principles of Asiatic painting, brilliant in their rhythmic draughtsmanship, and their infinite variety of new inventions and imaginative presentation of spiritual truth in every new facet of expression. The second answer to the propaganda of the Modernists is provided by the exhibition of the works of younger artists who have followed in the foot-steps of Tagore and of Bose.



Call of the Earth



One July Afternoon

One of the new exponents, Taraprosad Biswas, a former pupil of Nanadalal Bose and a teacher of Arts aud Crafts in the Calcutta University, held a very successful exhibition of his works at the Artistry House, Calcutta (1st to 11th November, 1957). This charming exhibition was certainly an effective answer to the vain claims of the Indian Modernists that the only way contemporary pictorial art in India could succeed is by repudiating the fundamental heritage of the

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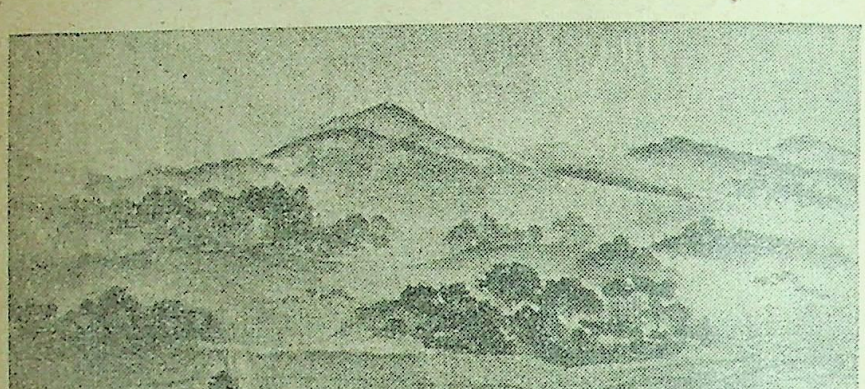
Indian national language of Art. Sri Biswas's exihibition has demonstrated that in order to tread on a progressive path, it is not necessary for an Indian painter to repudiate his own



Distant Hills

national language of Art. In taking Bengali Poetry to new heights on the wings of new inventions, Rabindranath Tagore did not repudiate the old national language of Bengal, the language of the ancient *charya-padas* (9th century), the language of the Vaishnava lyricists (16th century), the language of Rammohun Roy and Vidyasagar (19th century), the earlier stages of the progressive life of the language. The old traditions were given a new life in new transformations. Nothing new can be built except on the foundations of old traditions. This is true in all forms of Art—Literature, Painting or Music. Our modern connoisseurs of Music are infatuated in listening to the Ragas sung to-day, day and night, in the mediaeval traditions of Tansen. To stick to the respectable traditions of Indian pictorial art is, therefore, no crime. You are only required to give a new form to older modes of expression.

Taraprosad Biswas is treading on the legitimate path of old tradition without mechanically imitating or repeating the old formulas or conventions. This is particularly true in his new way of presenting landscapes without imitating Ajantan manners or the prosaic realism of European academic painting. It cannot be claimed, however, that his interpretation of nature has the profound mysticism of Far Eastern Painting, though painted in the truly Asiatic manner. His figure-subjects are no less happy, particularly in the illustrations of *Chandalika* and *Chitrangada*, one of which is, here, reproduced from the frontispiece of the Catalogue. It is useless to deny that these essays bear the obvious influence of Nandalal Bose in his eloquent interpretation of line in rhythm. But it is no crime to pay tributes to a great Guru like Nandalal, when we find our contemporary painters are succumbing to the slavish imitation of Picasso and Van Gogh. Biswas's *Call of the Earth* is in the obvious Santiniketan manner in utilizing a couple of live Santhal girls in the actual realistic setting of Birbhum landscape. Anyhow, these romantic essays are not at all repetitions of Ajanta conventions, but interpre-

A scene from Tagore's *Chandalika*

tation of actual life as seen by a sensitive artist. If more of our young artists with a faith in the national language of Art join hands with Sri Biswas, they will easily succeed in rehabilitating the reputation of our National School of Painting, which has been somewhat obscured by persistent propaganda on the part of the denationalized group of our modern artists.

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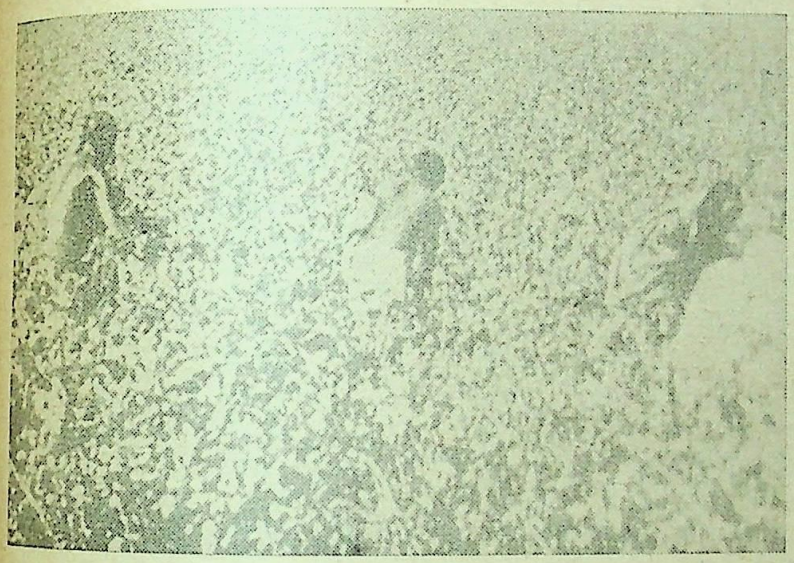
EGYPTIAN COTTON CULTIVATION AND ITS GREAT PROSPECTS FOR WEST BENGAL

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABORTY

All interested in cotton cultivation in Bengal are aware that the Government had tried to revive its cultivation from 1939 to 1952 by working under different schemes. Cotton grown in different parts of India from American Strains as Punjab American, C 02, Perbhani, with staple length nearing an inch, had been tried. In, the last scheme that ended in 1952, eight thousand farmers participated in its work. The average yield was 3 mds. of seed-cotton per acre @ Rs. 30|- a md.



Egyptian cotton plants in Egypt

During these experimental schemes, there were a few instances where cotton yield per acre exceeded even 12 mds., which in fact very efficiently compares with the best cotton tracts of the world. Such exceptional yield was an adequate model indeed for special research to modify the process of cultivation to ensure such an increased output. Unfortunately these exceptional results were not given the due attention they deserved. My suggestions to introduce some labour-saving agricultural implements as one-bullock-driven ploughs and harrows as are used by small cotton cultivators in America to keep the soil loose and free of weeds during the growing period, were also not adopted. On the contrary the schemes have been abandoned altogether since 1952.

As the Agricultural Officer of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills and also as an independent successful grower of cotton since partition, I was included as a member of the State Cotton Sub-Committee.

I noticed that though the working of the schemes undoubtedly proved the suitability of cotton cultivation for Bengal, it failed to interest cultivators as they envisaged better profits by cultivation of *Aus* paddy, Jute followed by a Rabi crop than by cotton cultivation. So I tried cultivation of the more precious Egyptan strain, the yield which I found is same, with price double that of American strains. The Government Agricultural Department co-operated in my works and the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills liberally subsidised all expenses of its cultivation in different parts of Bengal. Cultivation of Egyptian cotton behaved splendidly everywhere till 1940, when in that year Government made a special annual grant of Rs. 2500|- to improve its cultivation. Unfortunately in 1941, the plants everywhere suffered from a

Egyptian cotton-field at Shamnagar to show relative heights of cotton plants

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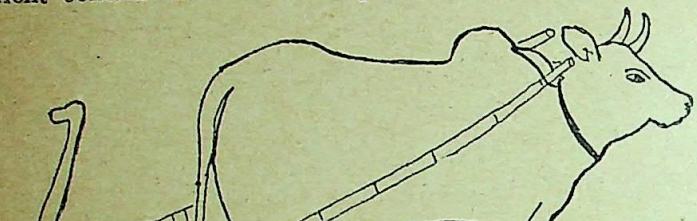
devastating fungus disease known as Anthracuose. On this the Government Agricultural Department abandoned its cultivation and refused the Government contribution for its improvement.



One-bullock driven plough
Hand-driven plough

I was not however discouraged to discontinue its cultivation. The soil and weather condition of Egypt is quite different from Bengal. Even in that country a very heavy amount is spent every year for Research work to improve its quality. So I approached the Head of the Department of Botany, Calcutta University, Professor Agharkar, for help in my difficulties. After some preliminary work, he assured me of his help and undertook research to remove the pest under a scheme. The Bengal Mill Owners Association financed the working of the scheme. The University succeeded in removing the pest in course of two years and by strictly following their advice regarding treatment of seeds and process of cultivation, I have been experiencing no difficulty in growing the same for the last 15 years. After partition, the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills abolished their Agricultural Department. As a refugee I have been pursuing research work on its cultivation every year under great difficulties and obstacles, to preserve seeds of this acclimatized precious strain from extinction. I generally publish results of my cultivation in different papers and magazines. This induces many mills and interested organisations to experiment on its cultivation with my help. The staple length of my cotton always exceeds 1¼ inch and the yield of seed-cotton is more than 6 maunds per acre with minimum price of Rs. 80|- per md. Expenses of cultivation per acre, never exceeds Rs. 400|- per acre. So its cultivation, if it can be introduced in West Bengal, will mean crores to cultivators. My cultivation and quality of cotton have always been acclaimed every year by many leading cotton Mills and experts in whose interest the State Agricultural Department has always to work. It has been found very suitable for use in Ambar Charkha also where the Government Head of the Institution at Fulia Colony found it suitable for easy rapid continuous working to spin 60s fine count. The Deputy Secretary, I.C.C.C., when he visited my cotton field on 28 11-55 with the cotton expert of the State, highly appreciated my cultivation and quality of cotton. He advised us to cultivate at least 5 acres, indispensable to establish economic value of its cultivation. He further assured us of full financial support by I.C.C.C. for such cultivation, as is being given to other states for 15 years who are already cultivating such quality cotton with staple length about 1⅛ inches and above from 1954. The necessity of undertaking its cultivation by this State was further discussed several times in Parliament by Padma Bhusan Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Ph.D., M.P.

As advised by the Secretary, I.C.C.C., I submitted my "scheme for Agronomic trials with Egyptian Cotton in West Bengal" for 3 years to the State Agricultural Department in April 1956. The scheme was considered by an expert scientific committee, who after scrutiny, strongly recommended for its action on 10 8-56. The Government Agricultural Department takes abnormally long time to make any decision. So to maintain continuity of my cultivation, indispensable to maintan seeds of this valuable acclimatized strain, I had to accept offer by the Commissioner, C.D., Sri Hiranmoy Banerje, I.C.S., to work a small Demonstration Farm for 1957-58, in half an acre only, started for the benefit of student trainees of the Community Development, in Fulia Colony. I told him of the Agronomic Scheme I had submitted to the Agricultural Department which due to delay in decision

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could not work this season. He told me in reply, that the objects of the two schemes are quite different, and his offer had absolutely no connection with the State Agricultural Department. Long after I had started cultivation there, I was informed by the Agricultural Department late in August this year, that my scheme when strengthened by the recommendation of an expert body was sent to the Minister for his final approval when he dropped the matter.

Due to the abormally late decision of the State Agricultural Department late in August 1957, more than 2 months after the growing season commenced, the scheme, even it were sanctioned by the Minister, had no possibility of being set to work, before the termination of the C.D. Scheme. Further, it is my experience that this cultivation, however remunerative it may be, cannot be popularised, unless it is taken up by the Agricultural Department who, with the help of its extensive staff scattered and posted in all parts of the Province, can easily popularise such profitable cultivation. This is evident from the fact that in spite of my continued success, supported by expert opinion, I am still the only grower of Egyptian Cotton in Bengal. There are other difficulties in a new crop like cotton as marketing and ginning difficulties by small growers, and such difficulties can be removed in the first stages by Government help alone. Our Agricultural Department has the advantage of having a well-equipped Research Institute, staffed by eminent scholars, whose services will always be readily available in case of any difficulty. Almost all other states, even states like Assam and Bihar which have not like Bengal any mentionable record of quality-cotton grown in their areas, are these days working under the schemes, with the financial help offered by the Indian Central Cotton Committee. I therefore earnestly entreat the State authorities to review their abrupt abandonment of the schemes in the home province, where at best some bright examples of success have already been in record. Further, after it has been strongly recommended for action by an expert scientific committee, formed by the Agricultural Department to scrutinise the scheme, there is no reason to ignore the same.

Deputy Secretary, I.C.C.C., inspecting cottonfield at Shamnagar 24-Parganas

Egyptian cotton showing excellent growth at the Calcutta University Agricultural Field Station at Mandori, Haringhata

In conclusion, stressing upon the urgency of revival of the schemes in Bengal as a vital Nation Building activity, especially in this phase of National Planning, I wish the State authorities, may do the needful for the revival of the schemes in a process, modified by past experiences, in remodelling and working of which I will very earnestly be willing to lay my personal services at their disposal whenever called for.

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THE MIRACULOUS BIRD WITHOUT WINGS

By GEORGE FARWELL

THE Trust Territory of New Guinea has entered a new phase with the building of roads into the mountainous interior, advancing the well-being of the primitive Highland people and ending the Australian Administration's earlier complete dependence upon air transport.

Driving up the narrow, twisting mountain road from Goroka I looked unconsciously for an altimeter on the dashboard. The jeep climbed so rapidly we might have been airborne. Behind us—far below—was the floor of the valley, with its twisting ribbon of river amid bright kunai grass and the town's clustered rooftops reduced to pin-point size.

We travelled more than seven miles, always climbing.

It was an astonishing road. Anywhere else but in New Guinea men would have called it a triumph of enginnering, yet here it was taken for granted. Besides it was not built by engineers at all.

The men who planned its precipitous, winding course were Administration officers. Highly trained men in their own field, they were ignorant enough of road construction to disbelieve the engineer who said it could'nt be done. They had no earth-moving equipment; no tractors or graders. Such machine just didn't exist in the Highlands, for the coffee-growing town of Goroka was 5,000 feet above sea level, approachable only by air.

This road—only one short sector of an ambitious communications scheme—was hewn up a mountainside by hand labour alone.

Thousands of men and women, of the Eastern Highlands, flocked in as volunteers. They worked over the soft red earth with shovels and digging sticks, carried rock on bark cradles slung between two men's shoulders, surfaced the road with pebbles from mountain streams. More often than not their only tools were their bare hands.

They volunteered for the job because they wanted the road themselves. They saw it would revolutionise their primitive life, link isolated villages, help them to market crops, get seed for passion fruit and coffee gardens, bring in medical aid in place of sorcerers, and the murderous feuds between clan and clan, and allow men to enter another's tribal land without fear of violent death.

A few months before I made that dizzy climb, trusting my life on cliff tops and hairpin bends to an unruffled Papuan driver, it had been a common sight to see several thousand villagers at a time toiling on the road. Each day's volunteers came from a different place. The Administration supplied food, paid them in silver and shell money, and the people welcomed a new opportunity for gossip and celebration.

To the unfamiliar eye they might have appeared a savage gathering; short, dark-skinned, powerful men decked out with cassowary plumes, headbands of giri-giri shell, opposum fur or pearlshell ornaments dangling from the neck, and bones through the septum of their noses. Men, women and girls wore only brief aprons of knitted bark or reeds. Yet their manner was universally gentle and smiling, despite their rugged, stone-age air.

All the same, the stone age was only a decade or so away.

Until the end of World War II little contact existed between these primitive Highlanders and Europeans. Australians, who discovered the Waghi Valley in 1932 and set up patrol posts, had to evacuate when the Japanese invaded New Guinea, and the untouched mountain country around Goroka and further west was hardly penetrated until after the war. Meantime the age-old feuds went on; young warriors slaughtered each other with stone axes, bows and arrows, spears; villages were burnt and gardens razed.

Like the Romans in ancient Gaul, the Papua-New Guinea Administration understood the pacifying effect of building roads. But finance was short, machinery difficult to fly in. They appealed to the shrewdness and enthusiasm of the local people. The result surpassed all expectations.

This precipitous road climbing west from Goroka, over an 8,000 foot dividing range and down to Chimbu, has great strategic importance. It leads out towards even more primitive areas in the Western Highlands, linking with other roads built locally by Administration outposts. Now, too, Goroka can be reached by surface

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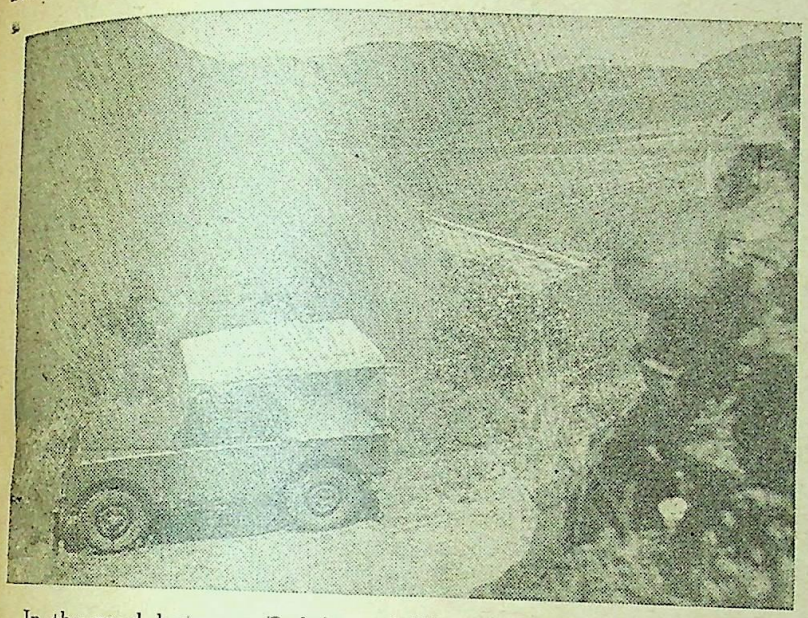
transport from Lae, the Huon Gulf port from which all freight was hitherto despatched by air.

It was a big occasion when the first motor truck drove across that rugged route in June 1956, taking eight days to struggle up from Lae, along the flood-scoured Markham Valley, over the towering Bismarck Range into Goroka, then through Chimbu, Nondugl, Minj to the little settlement of Mount Hagen, under the shadow of one of New Guinea's mightiest peaks.



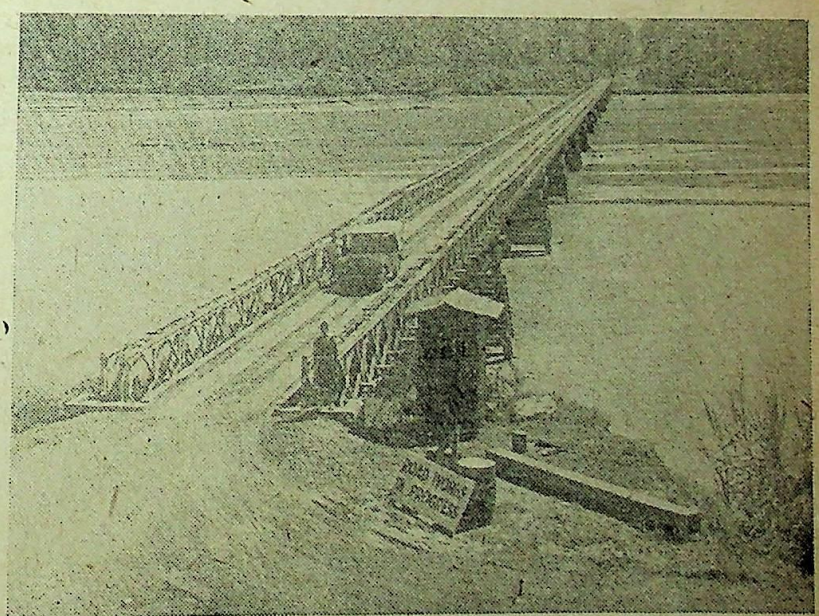
In the road between Bulolo and Wau climbing several thousand feet, the driver needs to keep his eyes upon twists along narrow ridges with precipitous drops below

Other sectional roads now reach out to Western Highland patrol posts like Wapanamanda, Wabag and Laiagam, still closed to European settlement, and to Mendi (Southern Highlands) where a stubborn people retain the habit of stringing arrows to their black-palm bows.

Previously it was only possible to reach such places by small aircraft. From the pioneering days of the late 1920's, when whole dredges were flown into the Bulolo goldfield across a 12,000 feet range—the world's first heavy airfreight operation—pilots in New Guinea have daily carried out remarkable feats of flying. They weave their aircraft in and out of cloud-hung valleys, climb above monsoonal storms, land and take-off from steep mountain air-strips, but all the aviation skill on earth can't of its own accord bring social development of a huge island sundered by gorges, swamps and jungle.

Reversing the pattern of more settled lands, aircraft gave New Guinea its first instrument of progress. Consolidation had to wait for surface travel. Now, wherever a road goes, civilisation rides close behind.

For the backward, superstitious Highlanders the early aircraft naturally evoked a sense of wonder, though they soon came to accept the miracle of flight. What puzzled them far more was just what these mysterious flying creatures fed on, what sex they were and how they bred. "*Balus*" they christened these strange machines, adopting the pidgin English term for bird.



The largest bridge in New Guinea is the 1690-foot, single-span structure crossing the Markham River. Completed in 1955, it has made possible transit of heavy motor transports

In remote Mount Hagen, villagers took readily to air-freighters landing machinery, meat and bags of rice, but were thunderstruck at the first jeep they saw unloaded. Watching a patrol

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officer drive it down the strip, they cried out in consternation. Something was seriously wrong; some devil business!

What sort of *balus* was this that did not leave the ground?

Later it became known as the "balus without wings." That was only five years ago. Today motor vehicles are more familiar, and far-out Highland villages have learnt to welcome them. They bring out patrol officers to settle their differences, medical assistants with life-saving drugs, experts to advise them on the growing of new cash crops.

The "balus without wings" travels speedily along what villagers have come to call "government roads"—that is, areas of safe passage where fighting is taboo.

From Goroka to Chimbu, from Mount Hagen through the hills to Mendi, down populous valleys in the Western Highland, you pass these days a stream of people freely travelling terrain they would have been scared to enter five years ago. To walk beyond the narrow confines of your own tribal group was *tambu*, forbidden; death by ambush was the normal penalty; evil spirits lurked to enter the wayfarer's soul and destroy him.

Today you come upon endless small groups walking in to Administration posts with produce to sell; peasant-like womenfolk bent under burdens carried in the string-bags they call *bilums*—sweet potatoes, corn, small dogs, even a baby; dignified old men with bamboo smoking-pipes and Bird of Paradise plumes on their heads; kiddies hunting birds with bow and arrow; old crones leading the family pig on a string; young bucks with faces blackened from some initiation rite.

The colour and variety of Highland life is astonishing.

So is the instinct for beautifying landscapes. Gay flowers are planted along the roadside, shady sheoaks, and each little garden of black-soil mounds in the terraced hillsides has its patches of banana palms, pandanus and sugar-cane. The gardens are hedged with narrow-leaved *tankit*, the shrub used to half erosion as well as decorate the body. The many mountain streams are spanned by little bridges, each one with a roofing of thatched kunai grass to protect its planking in heavy rain.

The only risk in motor travel among these mountains is that the driver, skidding on the lip of some precipice, may lose his head. There was a greater risk of losing your head, in some areas, before these roads came.

In the wild Sepik River district, for instance, a vital road has now been completed through rough mountain country where head-hunters were active a few years ago. The smoked heads of tribal enemies were hung from the rafters of ceremonial huts. No young buck could win a woman's favour until he had at least one human head to prove his manhood.

Today these same men are proud owners of a spectacular road they built themselves.

Running inland from the coastal town of Wewak—200 miles east of the Dutch New Guinea border—the road follows an old native footpad up a steep escarpment into the saw-tooth Prince Alexander Range. It was the only possible route through jungle-smothered spurs and precipitous gorges. Hitherto only a few well-armed patrols had ventured in, and the inhabitants remained suspicious of the strangers' motives.

I travelled in one of the first motor trucks to climb that zig-zagging road which experts had declared could never be built. There was little room for manoeuvring; some razor-back ridges were too narrow for one vehicle to pass another, others too tough for anything but trucks with four-wheel-drive. Yet somehow unskilled road-builders had conquered a range which had barred progress since the days of the German regime fifty years ago.

Now it is possible to travel 150 miles through Yangoru-centre of a primitive yam-worshipping culture and modern agricultural station—then on to Maprik and the steamy but potentially fertile Sepik Plains. These vast and treeless kunai grass plains are soon to be opened for rice and cattle-raising.

In every isolated pocket of hill country and dense jungle, the darkly superstitious people are now being encouraged to grow rice. The Administration is sponsoring rural progress societies and growers' co-operatives, financing rice mills and purchase of motor trucks.

All this has been achieved with the breaching of hostile mountains by a single road—a road that, had it been built with heavy machi-

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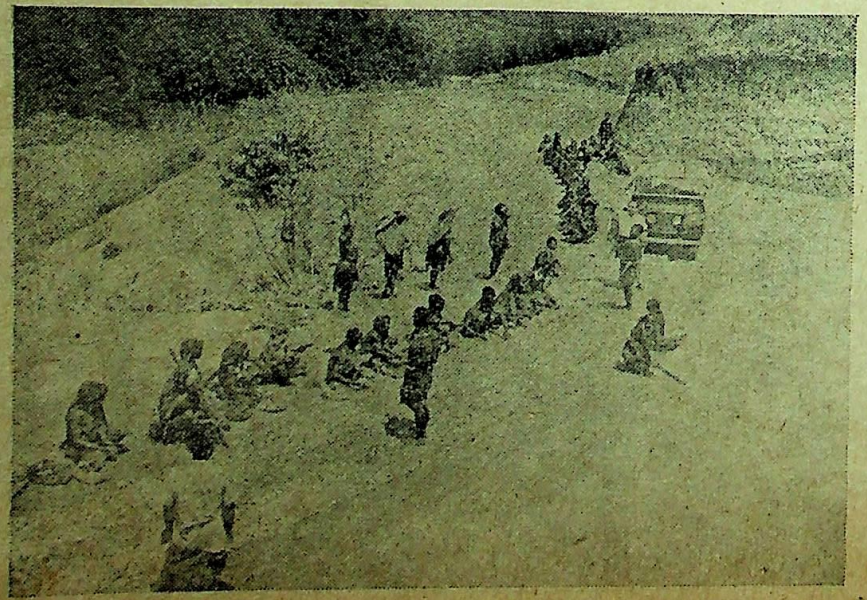
Workers laying a corduroy base over a sacsac swamp to give the road a firm foundation *Photo*: W. Brindle

This enthusiastic crowd is cutting a new road to their village following their own native method *Photo*: W. Brindle



A start has been made in surfacing the newly-made road with stones carried from nearby streams

Villagers surfacing a road with stones from nearby streams following their own traditional method

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nery would have cost £100,000. Its actual cost was something like one-fiftieth of that.

Best proof of the great economic benefit of New Guinea's roads—however tough constructing them has been—is to be found along the fantastic 90-mile scenic highway from Lae inland to Bulolo, Edie Creek and Wau. This, for a change, was carried out by skilled engineers. No amateur could have coped with the effects of terrific rainfall, floods, rushing mountain torrents, landslides and large-scale erosion in ranges that rise above 12,000 ft.

Bulolo can be looked on as a touchstone of New Guinea's economic progress. There—thirty years ago—the first alluvial gold was found and fortunes made. Then a big company took over, flying in huge dismantled dredges by aeroplane. Today The Bulolo Gold-Dredging Company after winning more than £30,000,000 in gold, has turned to timber-milling, producing some of the world's finest plywood from great stands of *klinki* pine. To transport timber down to overseas shipping in Lae a first-class road was needed.

The one originally built in war-time by the Australian Army played an important part in the Allied counter-offensive against Japanese invasion. Abandoned in the post-war years, the road soon fell to pieces. In 1950 the Federal Department of Works, equipped only with worn-out army machines, took it over and battled for three years with swift-growing jungle, rivers that changed their courses, gigantic washaways and whole hillsides and cuttings crumbling in the Wet Season like soft cheese. In the early stages one cement crossing on the fast-flowing Mumeng Creek had to be rebuilt 17 times. Sometimes rocks weighing many tons ground their way down the Bulolo River, destroying everything they struck. At others complete bridges and culverts disappeared in roaring floods.

Now and again local labour was hired, though few men stayed for long, preferring to trade among themselves for the narcotic betelnut or range the grassy hills hunting for wallabies.

At one time parties of the locally feared Kukukukus were employed on the section near Edie Creek. But men contented to live on frogs, snakes and human flesh failed to take much interest in more civilised activities, returning instead to their hidden valleys.

Yet, somehow, the job was done, thanks to resolute works by Australian gangs who earned high wages camping in kunai grass huts driving bulldozers through landslides and rocky river beds.

Nowadays a constant stream of heavy trucks travels between Bulolo and Lae, helping to build the plywood industry into one of the Trust Territory's biggest exports.

Scenically, the road is magnificent. It winds through beautiful hill country, follows the course of foaming rivers, climbs narrow, rock-strewn ravines, with 10,000 feet mountain peaks rearing against a cloud-hung sky.

A notable addition to this route was built in 1956, rivalling the steep ascents of the Goroka-Chimbu road. This provided the first easy access to the remote Watut Valley, one of the last strongholds of the quarrelsome Kukukukus. Until this road went through, Native Affairs patrols had to walk—or rather climb—for three days to make contact with their villages. Today these people are coming to realise there are more dividends in coffee-growing than lopping off heads.

The first stage of this road climbs 3,000 feet in a couple of miles—an average gradient of one in four—rising to a Government rest house poised on a peak 6,000 feet above the little settlement of Mumeng. Villages had to clear jungle with steel axes, cut through solid hillside with picks and shovels, then surface tricky patches with stones and boulders.

It was a hair-raising experience to drive up there, zigzagging from spur to spur, taking sharp turns that could only be made by backing on special earthen benches, relying always upon a good handbrake, and a strong head for heights.

Already the enthusiasm of Mumeng patrol officers has brought its reward. In a narrow, fertile valley beyond the rest-house villagers have planted 44 two-and-a-half acre plots with Arabica coffee which, in a few years, should bring them sufficient money for the amenities they desperately need—infant and maternal welfare, a first aid post, schooling and more nutritious food.

Perhaps 100 acres under coffee trees may

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sound a small-time project in terms of time and labour entailed in building such a road. But multiply that by scores of similar projects throughout New Guinea, and a whole pattern of new enterprise begins to emerge.

The early pioneering phase of New Guinea development has been superseded. Roads have brought consolidation. Year by year the figures for productive industries and exports continue to rise; new items appear on the commercial index—coffee, cocoa, rice . . .

The thrum of aircraft high over cloud-hung peaks is no longer the only sound of human progress. Along new coastal roads, in the mountain hinterland and highland areas, new machines are on the move; diesel transports, motor trucks, jeeps and cars.

"*Balus* he come!" has long been a familiar cry on a hundred air-strips cut out of jungle valleys or mountainsides, exciting a dark-skinned populace as yet another silver-winged transport appears above some cloud-heavy range. Now the balus-without-wings is making its appearance, too.

Its ever-turning wheels symbolise the rapid progress of a people emerging from their stone age past.

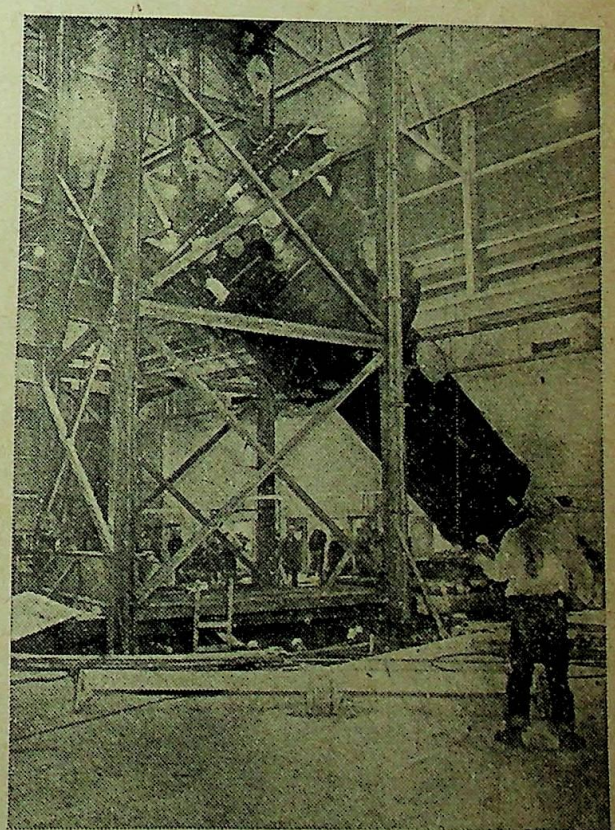
———:O;———

NEW U.S. REACTOR TO ADVANCE ATOMIC POWER DEVELOPMENT

THE most powerful instrument ever built to aid development of atomic power—the Engineering Test Reactor—recently was put in operation at the National Reactor Testing Station in Idaho Falls, Idaho. On October 2-3, 1957, the reactor was viewed in action by 300 representatives of private industry aud members of the press and the United States Congress. In a day-long symposium, this group discussed details of the new instrument, built and operated by private industry for the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

The Engineering Test Reactor (ETR), the newest member of a large family of reactors at the Idaho Testing Station, is considered a major development in the "atoms for peace" program. Its purpose is to determine, in advance of use, the ability of reactor parts to withstand neutron and gamma ray bombardment under conditions that will be imposed by nuclear power plants of the future. The tests performed in this reactor are expected to advance the development of more efficient atomic plants for economic production of electricity and for propulsion of ships and aircraft. The advantage of the ETR is that for the first time it provides space large enough to test whole fuel elements, fuel assemblies and large engineered reactor parts. These tests, which will evaluate both reactor materials and designs, are expected to aid in atomic power production by all nations.

The ETR and its accompanying research facilities occupy an eight-acre site on a 5,000-foot plateau within the National Reactor Testing Station. The three-storey reactor building, constructed of steel, aluminum and concrete, is a gas-tight structure with five-foot walls and floors designed to prevent the escape of any fission products. The structure extends 38 feet below ground and 65 feet above ground.



During construction of the Engineering Test Reactor the reactor vessel—"heart" of the new device—is raised to near vertical position for lowering into its receptacle

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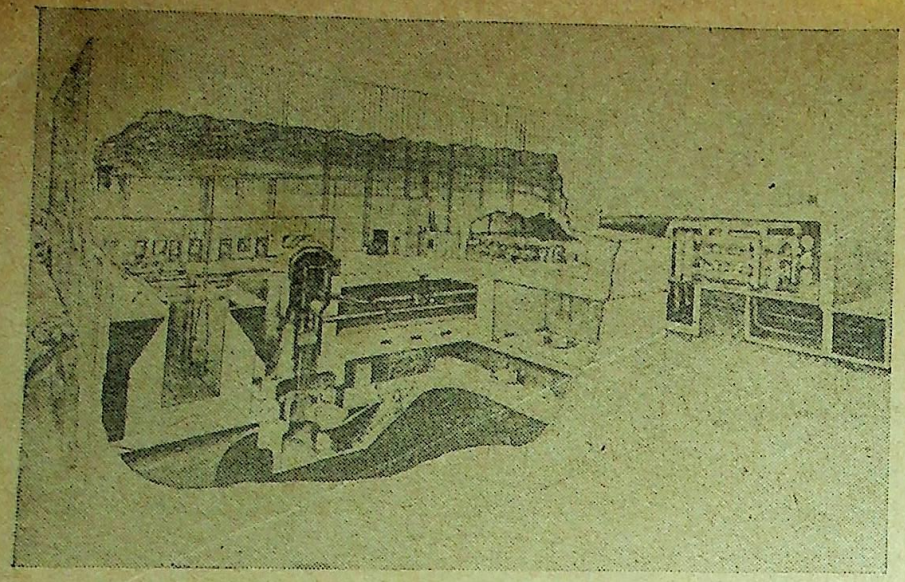
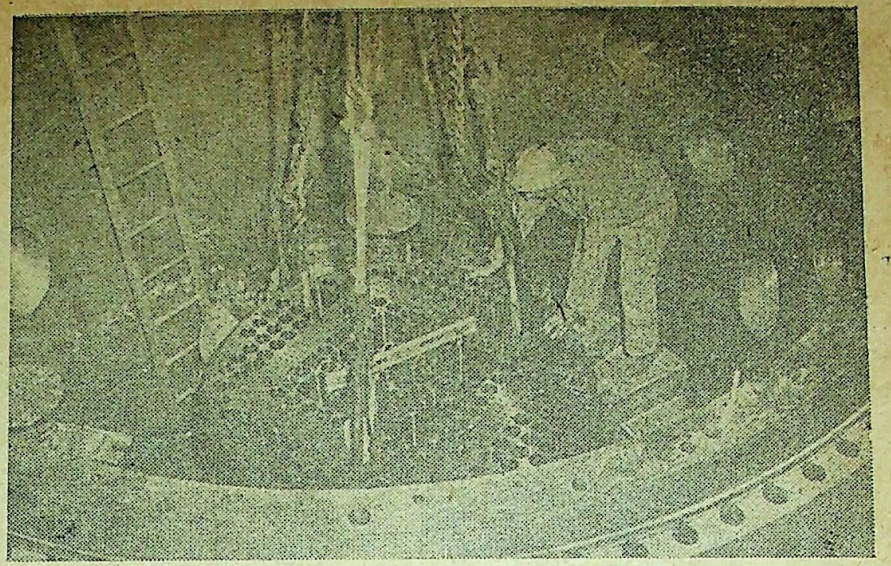
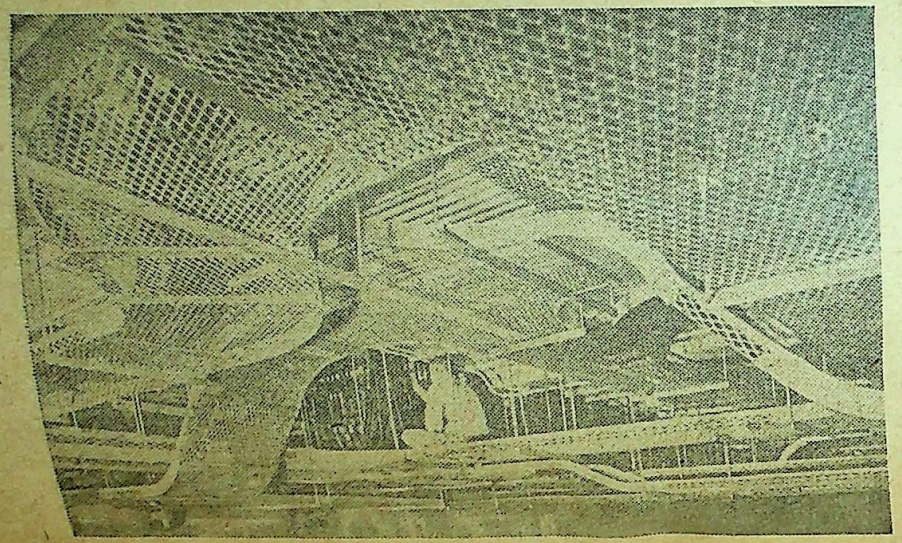


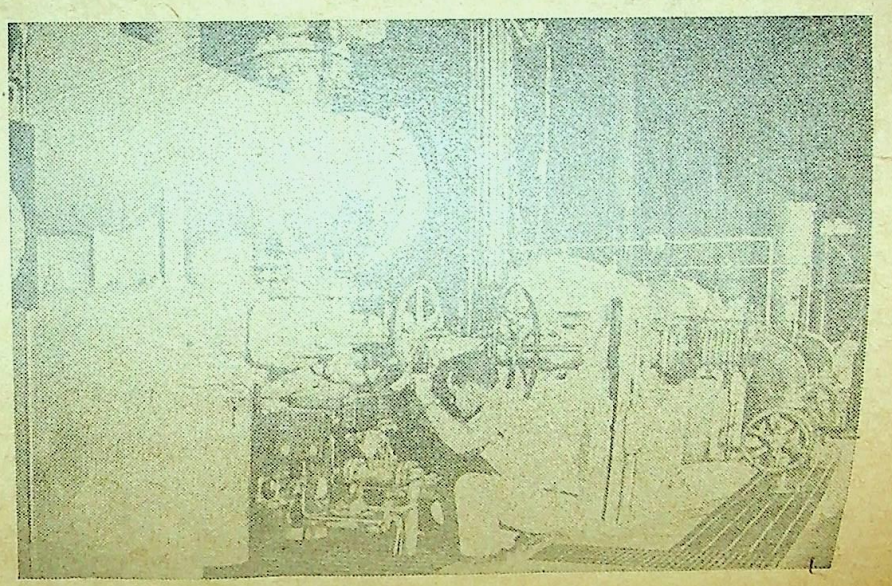
An Engineering Test Reactor—the most powerful instrument ever built to speed the development of atomic power—was recently put in operation at the National Testing Station in Idaho Falls, Idaho



Workmen lower the grid plate into the 35-foot-deep pressure vessel of the Engineering Test Reactor



In a cable vault room, above interwoven grills, are thousands of feet of electric cable leading to various parts of the building that houses the Engineering Test Reactor



The valve control room of the Engineering Test Reactor controls the supply of pressurised water flowing to a building containing a 4,000-horse-power compressor, a water-heat-exchanger and air conditioners

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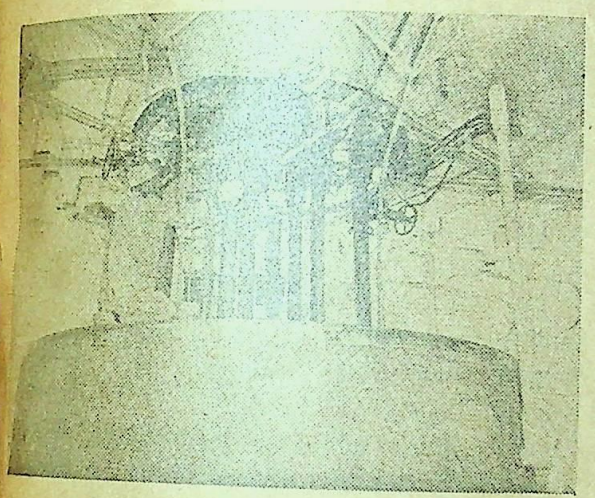
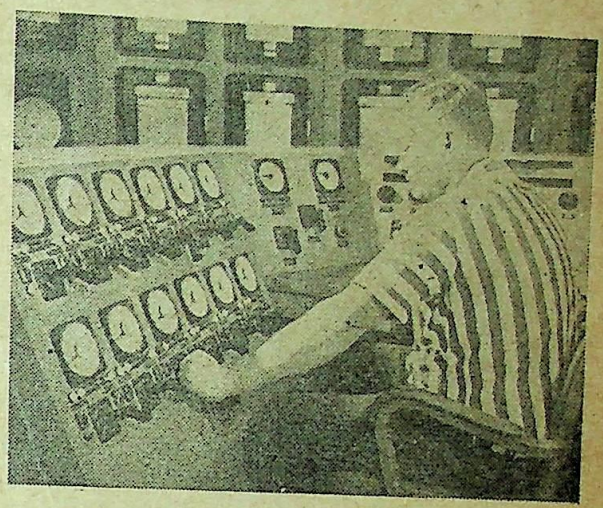
The largest single piece of equipment in the ETR is the 175-ton reactor pressure vessel, a 35-foot-deep stainless steel cylinder averaging 10 feet in diameter, which extends through all levels at the center of the building. Within this vessel is the "heart" of the ETR, a lightwater-cooled reactor core fuelled with 49 enriched uranium fuel elements. The fissioning of this enriched uranium provides two million billion neutrons per square centimeter per second and heat four times greater than in any other test reactor.



Beneath the Engineering Test Reactor, where a mechanic adjusts a valve, are the bottom ends of the control rods that penetrate the reactor core

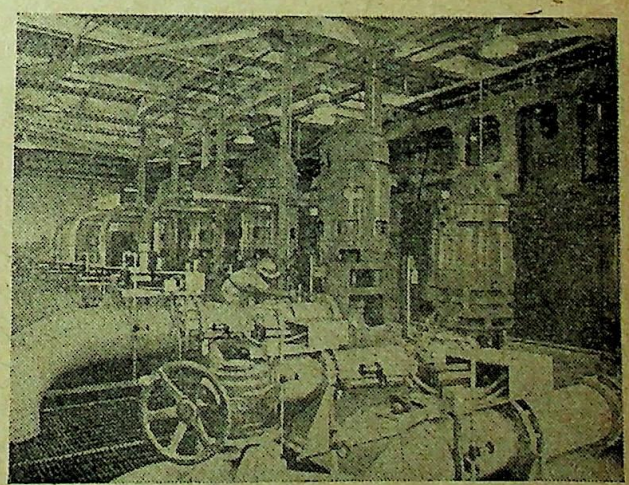
The main floor of the building is used for servicing the ETR reactor, such as refuelling every 20 days. One storey down is the console floor, which contains reactor control equipment and instruments used in experiments. Beneath the console floor, the bottom level is divided into shielded cubicles containing equipment for research with radioactive materials. On the left of the lower level is a T-shaped water canal, used to store radioactive material removed from the reactor vessel.

The ETR, located near the pioneer Materials Testing Reactor (MTR), is the only atomic test device in existence with significant space within its core for large-scale experiments. Unlike the MTR, which can accommodate only small samples, the ETR has nine holes ranging in size from 3×3×3 inches to 9×9×36 inches and 131 additional experimental holes, eight of which are 3×3×36 inches or larger, immediately adjacent to the reactor core. Added to the advantage of spaces for large-scale testing, the ETR provides areas of extremely intense sources of neutrons and gamma radiation where materials can be tested in environments equal in severity to, and if necessarey more than, those expected in the reactor for which the material is intended.



The control room is the "brain" of the Engineering Test Reactor

Construction of atomic reactors for production of power still is in its infancy. In the United States emphasis is on the development of new types of reactors and improvement of existing types rather than on building several identical reactors. There has been limited duplication of types in the 267 reactors already built, being built or planned for construction in the United States for installation at home or in



In a building adjoining the Engineering Test Reactor are the large pumps which circulate 44,000 gallons of water per minute to cool the core of the test instrument

The valve control room of the Engineering Test Reactor controls the supply of pressurised water flowing to a building containing a 4,000-horse-power compressor, a waterheat-exchanger and air

In a cable vault room, above interwoven grills, are thousands of feet of electric cable leading to various parts of the building that houses the [illegible] reactor

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other nations. Many different reactor concepts are being explored to determine eventually the most efficient kilowatt-producer. The ETR will serve importantly in this development task.

Since a power reactor is a tremendously costly machine, testing of its parts before construction of the reactor is a time-and-cost-saving operation. The ETR is expected to play a vital role in assuring the efficiency, economy and safety of 30-power reactors planned for construction in the United States. Among those on which specifications are completed are six major types of reactors and 18 different variations or subtypes. Each will have some distinctive design feature considered to be worth development. The ETR will aid in establishing the value of each design feature, thus speeding progress by government and industry toward the development of atomic power-producers that will benefit all nations.—*USIS*

———:O;———

IS WORLD-PHILOSOPHY POSSIBLE?

By BENOY GOPAL RAY, M.A.,
Reader in Philosophy, Viswabharati University

Since the very dawn of human civilization certain problems have arisen in the minds of men and attempts have been made to answer them. Broadly speaking, Philosophy has been a record of such problems and attempts at answers. But in a restricted sense, philosophy has been a record of some specific problems and their proposed solutions. Such questions as—What am I?, What is my destiny?, Can I know Reality?, Is there a Supreme Power? and the like—belong to philosophy taken in the second sense. The problems are not many in number and at one time or other they have arisen in human minds. Hence, such problems are universal but the proposed solutions have varied from age to age, people to people. No final solutions have been arrived at. Had it been so, philosophy would come to a final stop. Sometimes instead of attempting answers, men have only tried to clarify the problems. These attempts either at clarification or solution have been diverse. There have been numerous standpoints in philosophy. In some cases they are contradictory to one another while in others they are complementary.

Has a nation any definite and particular standpoint? Should we answer the question in the negative, such term as Chinese philosophy or Greek philosophy or Indian philosophy becomes meaningless. What exactly do we mean by the term—Chinese philosophy? The only reasonable meaning is—philosophy formulated by thinkers belonging to the Chinese nation. Generally a thinker philosophises in the context of a total environment. Total environment admits of two factors: philosophical heritage and geographical-social milieu. Of the two the first one is more important for our discussion than the second as its influence on philosophising is direct and vital.

What is philosophical heritage? Generally speaking, by it we shall mean the influence that predecessors and contemporaries exert on a thinker when he philosophises. Philosophising proceeds through a matrix which is nothing but this heritage. Aristotle's philosophical heritage can be traced to Plato and Socrates, Sankara's to Gaudapada and Buddhism, Hume's to Locke and Berkeley, and Hegel's to Kant. Philosophical heritage is natural to a particular nation. It grows from within the nation. It is never an artificial convention imposed on a nation from outside. Each nation has its own philosophical heritage to offer. That is why we say that the English are empiricists, the French are deductive, the Indians are otherworldly-minded and the Chinese are ethicists.

If it be admitted that philosophical heritage is national in character, we are confronted with a few questions of considerable importance. First: Are there not alternative answers to a problem in the philosophy of a particular

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nation? The Upanishads are like shot silk that admits of many colours. Idealism, realism, monism, pluralism, subjectivism and objectivism have all entered into the vast storehouse of the Upanishads. Nobody denies that there are alternative answers or solutions. But if one studies them closely, he will be surprised to find that the main character of Indian philosophical heritage runs through all of them. Amongst British thinkers, a Bradley, a Moore or a Ayer may differ from one another but all of them have argued in the matrix of empiricism.

Second: Can there be philosophising in the context of a foreign matrix? Such philosophising even if possible will not be natural to the individual who philosophises. It will form no part of his total being. As such it is bound to be artificial and short-lived. Philosophising that does not start from the inner depths of an individual is a false endeavour. It may shed some temporary brilliance but soon it dies out leaving no trace behind.

Third: If one has to philosophise in the context of his heritage, can there be any real progress of thought? Our answer to this query is—Yes, it is possible. Progress of thought need not imply moving away from the moorings. A child resembles one or other of his ancestors but also differs from him. Every new generation goes beyond the old one and progress lies in it. But going beyond need not mean the rejection of the old. Progress consists in gathering up the past in the present and probing into the future. Rejection of philosophical heritage might lead one not to any progress of thought but to its anarchy or confusion.

If the above meaning of philosophical heritage with all its implications be accepted, all talks of building a world-philosophy become gibberish. Some might argue. A world-philosophy may be woven by taking the essence of each philosophy. In other words they believe in constructing a mosaic-philosophy of distinct essences. Such an attempt is likely to lead one to eclecticism which is anything but philosophy. To use an analogy, it will be something like a bouquet where distinct flowers have been collected together. A bouquet has got no connexion whatsoever with the soil and so it dies out soon. Similar is the fate of an eclectic philosophy. Again a mosaic-philosophy defeats its own aim. Each essence of a philosophy is due to a particular standpoint and it claims to give us a full view of reality. When distinct essences are brought together in a pattern; they may sometimes contradict one another. It is perhaps possible to build up a mosaic-philosophy of contraries but never of contradictories.

Others might argue: A world-philosophy is possible on axiological grounds. That what is true or good or just in one philosophy is also true or good or just in another. By a synthesis of particular values of particular philosophies, a world-philosophy may be formed. An attempt like this is not free from objections. If values were purely objective in character a world philosophy might be a possibility. But some would say that they are subjective-objective. Again values may undergo perpetual modification with reference to changing social conditions. Data of sciences are, generally speaking, objective but those of philosophy are both subjective and objective. This is why we speak of Chinese philosophy or Indian philosophy but we never speak of Chinese science or Indian science. Again, we use such terms as Greek art or Chinese art because art is both objective and subjective.

Still there are others who might argue: A world-philosophy can be built up on the common denominators of different philosophies. But the art of selecting common denominators might do gravest injustice to a particular philosophy. Some of its basic assumptions may be left out. To negate these assumptions is almost tantamount to negating the philosophy itself since all its contents develop round them. Common denominators when selected will be only a few innocuous forms. The richness of a particular philosophy lies more in its contents than in its form. Contents of diverse philosophies are likely to cancel one another and in such a case we will be left only with some empty forms which can hardly justify a philosophy. Again these bare forms will fail to serve the purpose of solutions. As solutions they will be little removed from the problems themselves.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

LORD MAHAVIRA (His Life and Teachings): *By Puranchand Samsookha. Second Edition. Calcutta, 1957. Published by the Jain Swetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a popular account claiming to present a handy compendium of Jainism for the benefit of the lay reader (Preface, p. 9). The weakest part of the book is its historical portion (Chs. II-VI) where the author repeats uncritically some of the canonical legends and miracles of Mahavira's career together with the list of his immediate disciples and his twenty-three Tirthankara predecessors. To this we may add his fixing of a precise date (599 B.C.) for Mahavira's birth (p. 9) as well as his frequent references to the Lichchhavi and Malla "democracies" not to speak of his allusion once (p. 3) to "democratic kingdoms" (*sic*). On the other hand, the author offers a good exposition of the elements of Jaina metaphysics, philosophy and ethics (Ch. IX). Equally welcome is his selection (although all too brief) of extracts from the canon purporting to have been spoken by Mahavira and of parables from the same source (Chs. VII and X). The author writes in an attractive style and the paper and print are good. A word of praise is due for the artistic design of the book-cover which is a facsimile of an old Jaina manuscript.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE TEACHINGS OF THE BUDDHA: *By K. D. Bhargava, M.A. A. Mukherjee and Co., Private Limited, 2, College Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4.*

The slender volume under review is a welcome addition to the large volume of popular literature on Buddhism published on the occasion of the 2500th death-anniversary of Lord Buddha, whom Rhys Davids describes as "the wisest and greatest of the Hindus."

The author describes in simple English the fundamentals of Buddhism and its role as a civilising force in ancient times. After the rise and growth of Buddhism, the author points out, "India became the spiritual mentor of the whole of Eastern Asia."

We are not a little surprised to read in the opening page that ". . . Gautama decided to . . . forsake his wife and *children* . . ." Was not Rahula the only child of the Blessed One? The author would have us believe that caste rules are observed by the Indian Buddhists (p. 2). Are they? Who are the 'Mongs' and the 'Khemra' (p. 15)? Are they the 'Mons' and the 'Khmer', respectively? Many will disagree with the author in his assertion that the Afghans and the Turks were "also influcnced by India" (p. 14) through Buddhism.

Mr. Bhargava gives in the last pages of his brochure an excellent outline of the history of Buddhism in China and shows how the Chinese have adapted Buddhism to their natural genius.

Mr. Bhargava's attempt is laudable; his brochure is worth a perusal, a few mistakes here and there notwithstanding.

WHAT DOES THE WEST WANT?: *By George Catlin. Phoenix House, Ltd., London. Price 10sh. 6d. net.*

Prof. George Catlin, one of the foremost thinkers of our age, describes in the volume under review what he considers to be the political aims and aspirations of the Free World. He gives his own views on the opposing forces of Communism and Capitalism and is not afraid of calling a spade a spade. He is, on the whole, fair and impartial in his analysis and assessment. The outcome of the ideological conflict which has divided the world into two hostile blocs depends more on ideas than on anything

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else. Men and ideas are the most important factors in this cold war. Communism, which has an almost irresistible appeal to the lowly and down-trodden all over the world, scores here over its rival. The West, which represents Capitalism, is inert, unorganised and does not seem to know what it wants. Little wonder it is fighting a losing action in what Prof. Catlin calls "the struggle for the minds of men." His advice to the West is to set its own house in order. The West must take courage in both hands and bid adieu to imperialism, colonialism, racialism and the whole gamut of them.

What the West needs, the learned author concludes, "is not a new imposed public philosophy, but a public drama to capture men's whole souls better than Hegelian Marxism has done. Its theme must be to proclaim the dignity of man and its problem to manifest in what *that* dignity consists. It is not necessary that vast masses should be converted or convinced." (p. 144).

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

MY LIFE AT THE BAR: *By G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker of Lok Sabha. Hindusthan Times, New Delhi. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 5.*

The late Mr. Mavalankar was at the Bar from 1913 to 1937, when he became the Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly. Later he became the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. The whole book is a short thesis on lawyers' duties towards society. We cannot do better than give his views in his own words.

"I have looked upon the lawyer's profession as one of the noblest with untold potentialities for bringing about the greatest good to mankind in general. All the same, I could not ignore the facts of my actual experience at the Bar which clearly shows that the profession has practically lost its idealism and is generally practised with the sole motive of making more money for oneself. Social service as an ideal has hardly any place in the picture. Profit for the lawyer and victory for the client, irrespective of ends and means. There are singular individual exceptions as every cloud has a silver lining.

"To me at least it was a source of continuing pain and disappointment to see the moral failure of the lawyer from whom I expected, and still do, a role of the highest significance in the progress and maintenance of society. I, therefore, thought it advisable to draw the attention of all concerned, and of the young lawyer in particular, to the incalculable harm the latter does, not only to himself but to society in general, by keeping before himself the limited ideal of earning for selfish gain and acting on the doctrine of the end justifying the means."

His views of a lawyer's duties are onesided; perhaps, his experience was unfortunate. The question of legal ethics has been hotly discussed ever since Courvoisier confessed to Lord Broughman, the defence lawyer, that he has committed the murder. It is not what the lawyer thinks about the guilt or otherwise of his client, but what the Judge thinks of the matter that matters. His duty is to examine the evidence by cross-examination and to put the case of his client in the best light. A lawyer works under certain limitations. We know Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to be a kind-hearted man, yet he while at the Bar, argued before the Allahabad High Court that a pauper widow who claimed some Rs. 50 per month as maintenance and a share in the family property but got a decree for Rs. 7 or 8 per month should pay the entire amount of Court-fees amounting to several hundred rupees, which would wipe out his maintenance for several years. The case is reported in I.L.R. 38 Allahabad. He had to put his views on what the law is and not what it shohld be. What the Judges decide is the law.

The book is a thought-provoking one, and should be read by all who has the welfare of our country at heart. The printing and get-up is good.

J. M. DATTA

STUDY ABROAD (*Unesco* publication): *To be had of Orient Longmans Private Limited, 17, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-13. Pp. 719. Price 10sh. 6d.*

This is the Eighth Edition (1956-57) of the International Handbook of Fellowships, Scholarships and Educational Exchange published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation in Paris given in three languages—English, French and Spanish. This publication towards the end of 1956 coincides with Unesco's tenth anniversary. In 1948, the first edition was published giving information on 15,000 individual opportunities for obtaining international fellowships and scholarships. The present edition, covering fellowships and scholarships available, in most cases, during 1957, lists over 74,000 such opportunities, offered by governments, universities, foundations and other types of organisation in more than one hundred States and territories.

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The subjects of study cover almost every field of learning; the awards permit travel and study in almost every country in the world. Donations from the Republic of China, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, the Republic of Korea, Morocco, Panama, Poland and also information on Fellowship programmes of the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics in so far as they relate to non-self-governing and trust territories are given in this volume not shown in the previous edition.

Chapters on "Facilities for Study Abroad: Organisation offering Advisory Services and Practical Help," which give information on the services, other than direct financial aid, offered by 140 organisations in 45 countries, add new features and usefulness to this publication. Chapter on "Teaching Appointments Abroad" should be of special interest to members of the teaching profession who wish to improve their knowledge of other countries. The annual survey of foreign student enrolments at universities and other institutions of higher learning relates to the year 1954-55, and shows an estimated total of 126,000 students in countries other than their own. Information was collected from 56 States and non-self-governing territories.

It is in the fitness of things that *Unesco* which was established, as laid down in its constitution, among the purposes and functions "to maintain, increase, and diffuse knowledge . . . by encouraging co-operation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of persons active in the fields of education, science and culture," has phblished this well-infirmative volume for the benefit of those interested in international co-operation. The contents of the book are given in three languages—English, French and Spanish. Such a useful book deserves to be kept in all libraries—educational, cultural and public—as a book of reference for the benefit of all concerned.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

DHVANYALOKA OR THEORY OF SUGGESTION IN POETRY. *Translated into English with Notes. By Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, M.A., B.T., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Kanara College, Kumta (Karnatak University), Poona Oriental Series—92. Oriental Book Agency. 15, Shukrawar, Poona-2. Price Rs. 12-8.*

The *Dhvanyaloka* of Anandavardhana of Kashmir is a work of great distinction in the long history of Sanskrit Poetics. It propounded a revolutionary theory regarding the basic principle of poetry. As such it had more retractors and adverse critics than admirers and supporters. It was conspicuous by its absence in the general curriculum of studies even in days not long past. It has however earned well-deserved appreciation at the hands of the modern scholar. Ever since its discovery in manuscript form in the seventies of the last century it has succeeded in attracting the attention of generations of scholars who have engaged themselves in the study of different aspects of the work. The results of these studies have appeared in different languages of India and Europe. Curiously enough no complete translation of the work was so long available in English and this desideratum is removed by the work under review. The learned translator has made a special study of the work and has brought out a Kanarese rendering of it, a monograph in Kanarese on Anandavardhana's poetics as well as quite a good number of papers in English dealing with different aspects of the work. Now he comes out with a complete English translation of this important work together with its gloss both of which are supposed to have been written by the same author. It is true mere translations of compressed abstruse texts like the one dealt with here do not go a great way in making them comprehensible to the general reader. And hence we find another scholar Prof. Bishnupada Bhattacharya engaged in bringing out an elaborate English exposition of the text of which two parts containing the first two sections have been published (Calcutta, 1956-57). But it must have to be admitted that translations have their own value and use. They are of special help to the inquisitive reader ignorant of Sanskrit. It is quite reasonable and just keeping the latter in view Sanskrit terms have always been translated and not retained in their original forms as is generally done in works of this type.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

ARTHA-VYAPAR SHABDAVALI; *By Manindrakumar Majumdar, M.A., Professor, City College (Commerce Department), Calcutta. Bookland Private Limited, 1, Sankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta-6. Price Re. 1.50.*

Prof. Majumdar's *Artha-Vyapar Shabda-*

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vali is in the nature of a pioneer work, as it is a much-needed manual of Hindi Commercial terms with their English equivalents. There is a great pleading in favour of Hindi these days, but except for some publications by the Government of India, we find very few concrete instances of constructive effort to establish the language on a practical basis. From that point of view Prof. Majumdar's work has a value all its own. Apart from this, the writer impresses one as having done his work thoroughly and sincerely. Like all pioneers he has to do a lot of spade-work; but this, we are happy to note, he has done very neatly and skilfully and most of his coinages are very appropriate and deserve permanence. The book should find favour not only with students of Commerce but with the commercial world in general.

N. K. Roy

KRAUNCHVADH: *By V. C. Khandekar. Obtainable from Atmaram and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 312. Price Rs. 6.*

This is the second edition of the Hindi translation by Shri V. V. Bhave of the great novelist's original in Marathi. It is a composite picture of the middle-class in Maharashtra, with the overtone that socialism, which satisfies in a wholesome manner the twin human hunger for food and felicity, alone is the key to the Reconstruction of Mankind.

G.M.

GUJARATI

SAHITYA ANE CHINTAN: *By Ramanlal V. Desai, Baroda. Published by the Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, Baroda. Printed at the Lakshmi Electric Printing Press. Baroda. 1952. Thick card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 130. Price Rs. 2.*

Ramanlal V. Desai, though he has passed the whole of his active life in the service of the Baroda State, has not allowed his favourite object in life, devotion to literature, to take a second place. This collection of his writings, scattered in various magazines, in one central place is a happy idea. It consists of about 22 contributions on subjects like Literature and Islam, the mode in which he creates the *personnel* of his famous novels, *The Waghers and the Miana Tribes, The Gita and the Vallabh Creed as They Affect One's Life,* and various other subjects. His range is very wide and the treatment of each topic thorough. His work will live.

K.M.J.

A Long Awaited Book Just Published

HISTORY OF THE RAMAKRISHNA MATH AND MISSION

By

SWAMI GAMBHIRANANDA

Edited by SWAMI MADHAVANANDA

With a Foreword by CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD

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Indian Periodicals

Translation : Free or Faithful ?

Prof. K. Viswanatham writes in the *Triveni*:

There is a movement in the country to have translations of foreign classics made into the regional languages. In the famous Inaugural, Arnold pointed out that we should compare or perish. To know how we stand, we have to note how others stand.

There is a widespread belief that translation means free translation and free translation means applying the scissors, according to one's own *rasikatva* (taste), to the original, excising, adding, changing in many ways. The original is adjusted to the translation on which of course the translator is a redoubtable Achilles. The expression 'the art of translation' is used by the champions of free translation as a critical talisman, a lethal weapon to destroy an opponent. This is a dangerous license. Translation is translation, nothing more, nothing less. Free translation is a contradiction in terms; a free translation is no translation; the adjective 'free' is an awareness of it. My submission is that it may be better than the original. Only one should not call it a translation. A translator's first and last duty is doglike devotion to the original. The champions of free translation argue casuistically that their faithfulness is to the spirit and not to the letter. This is a false dichotomy. In translations the spirit killeth and the letter liveth. If one is not faithful to the original in letter, one is never faithful to the spirit. And who is to decide the spirit of the original ? The free translator himself, of course, who is Sir Oracle. Let students of literature note that in poetry it is wrong to draw a line between the thing said and the way of saying things. This is an old error which dies hard.

Translation, though not so respected as orginal composition, is more difficult than the original. The original is the privileged, chartered libertine of imagination: the translation is bound hand and foot—of course a self-imposed 'imprisoned absence of liberty' in Shakespeare's compressed phrase. Thanslation is not our problem alone; it is everybody's problem and everywhere a problem. In the Loeb Classical Library we have scholarly translations of Greek and Roman classics. Under the editorship of E. V. Rieu we have translations of the classics in the Penguin Series. Arnold's lectures on translating Homer is a classic discussion. Shakespeare's plays are translated into various European languages. The great Russian novels are 'Englished.' Burton, Tawney, Waley, Ruckert are unperishing translators of *The Thousand and One Nights*, the *Kathasaritsagara*, of Chinese classics and *Gita Govinda*. *The Sacred Books of the East* is a monumental tribute to Max Muller and others. Out of this casual list one can extract a number of problems:

i. Should a translation be free or faithful?
ii. Should it be in verse or prose ?
iii. How does the translation of a novel differ from that of a poem ?
iv. How does the translation of, say, *The Prince*, a political classic, differ from that of *Kreutzer Sonata* (short stories)?
v. Is translation into a related language easier than one into an unrelated language ?
vi. Is translation a successful method after all ? or
——— Can two languages exchange ideas? How are we to reconcile conflicting 'sampradayas' (traditions) ?

I shall discuss these views in the reverse order, and go last to the first problem—the crux of the whole discussion.

Great linguists, philosophers, poets and critics like Sapir, Croce, Shelley and Richards say that all translation is vanity. In the nature of things it is like making a rope of sand. Shelley writes : "Hence the vanity of translation. It were as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. The plant must spring again from the seed or it will bear no flower—this is the burthen of the curse of Babel." Croce is equally firmly convinced of the futility of translation. Richards writes on p. 23 of his *Meaning of Meaning* : "On the other hand the more the emotive functions are involved the less easy will be the task of blending several of these in the vocabularies. And further, the greater the use made in the original of the direct effects of words through rhythm

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vowel quantity, etc., the more difficult will it be to secure similar effects in the same way in a different medium." One cannot easily recall to mind a translation worthy of the original.

Translation from one language into another which belongs to the same family, we think, is easy. Translation from Sanskrit into Telugu should not be as difficult as translation from English into Telugu. Roughly, Sanskrit and Telugu have the same vocabulary and frame of reference and association. English and Telugu have not. For instance, we despair of an equivalent for 'godson.' We have no godson in the Telugu world-picture and hence no word picture of it.

But what is synonymity? Like Pontius Pilate's greater question, this waits for no answer because there is none.

Richards points out that translation in a related family of languages is also futile: "How can one compare a sentence in English poetry with one (however like it) in English prose? Or indeed any two sentences or the same sentence in two different settings?" (*Speculative Instruments*, p. 20). It is evident that Basham has not thought as acutely as Richards about the behaviour of words. Basham's paragraph is an excellent epitome of the confused views on translation: the futility of translation, the non-approval of literal rendering, the small respect to the original, the self-stultification of the translator, etc.

It is easier to translate *The Prince* or *Dharma Sastra* or *Principia Mathematica* than *Oedipus Tyrannus* or *Mrichchakatika* or Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*, for example. Hence Sapir suggests two levels in a work of art: the linguistic and the non-linguistic. At the linguistic level translation is as futile as to translate Sanskrit *dharma* or English 'home.' "The murmuring of innumerable bees," is an untranslatable use of language. Collins's

If aught of oaten stop or pastoral song

defies the translator's art as much as Kalidasa's

Toyotsarga-drutatara-gatis tatparam vartma tirnah

with their fine alliteration on it. A language sufficiently mathematized never suffers loss.

Short stories and novels do not suffer any loss, like scientific or didactic or philosophical works which are purely factual or informative. Bethel has drawn a persuasive distinction between novel and poetry, that the former is ideational and the latter verbal. Hence in translation the novel does not abort whereas poetry suffers a sea-change into something poor and petty. Of course there are novels and novels. A novel of Dumas can put on any linguistic shirt but a novel of Virginia Woolf is more or less like a lyric and hence fails to convince us in a translation.

Even among poems the *Gita* is only 'less than archangel ruined' even in a mediocre translation; the majesty of thought buoys it up above the salt sea waves. But the poems of verbal wizardry appear like magicians who fail to bring off the trick, in another dress. Poetry is a Solomon's carpet of irreplaceable words; synonyms do not create a poem. As a matter of fact there are no synonyms at all in language. Poetry is like idiom in language; it can breathe, be alive and kicking in that atmosphere only. Otherwise it is sad like Ruth amidst alien corn. Who can translate 'Tell it to the Horse Marines'? Only a man of Gotham.

If all translation is vanity, a distorting mirror, how are we to get a knowledge of other cultures and literatures? Of course by mastering the language of the originals. If that is not possible, hear what Arnold says: "To understand the grand style of the Greeks, read Milton." On the face of it, it is just like saying that to get a taste of the Indian curry one has to help himself to English pudding. Can we get an idea of Kalidasa by studying Virgil, if we do not know Sanskrit? There is keen insight in

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that profound remark of Arnold; it is implied that all translation is futile. A supreme creative work in one language is the genuine translation of another supreme creative work in another, when both are founded on the same canons. A Gandhiji is a genuine translation of a Christ, though one was a Hindu and the other the founder of Christianity. The grand style of Aeschylus is in the English Milton, not in some translation of Aeschylus into English.

But if no way is open to a reader—the way of mastering the language of the original nor the ability to recognise a spiritual rebirth or reincarnation of that soul—translation is inevitable. Rationing is better than starvation. If translation is an inescapable infirmity, shall it be in verse or prose? The original may be in verse or prose; that is immaterial to a translator. Of course writers feel that verse in the original should be recast in verse only in a translation, and prose in the original should not be versified. Today nobody in his senses will say that poetry is the opposite of prose; verse is the opposite of prose, and poetry is both. Hardy's novels are tragedies. In the words of Virginia Woolf, the death of a hay-trusser in a lonely hut on the Egdon Heath is as tragic as the death of Ajax, the king of Salamis; Mother Cuxsom's elegy takes its place beside *Lycidas* and Synge's dramas are poetic dramas though written in prose. This point needs no labouring. Sober critical opinion has to incline to a prose translation, because it is less harmful to the original than verse translation. Versifiers may lament that the splendour of poetry is diluted into greyish neutral tints. But a prose translation may approximate closer to the original.

A verse translation of Goethe or Shakespeare is out of court, says Arnold. He would rather read Shakespeare in the French prose translation than in Tieck's and Schlegel's verse translation. A verse translation leads to inevitable padding; metre necessitates.

Keats found deep-browed Homer in Chapman but Chapman is full of un-Homeric rhetoric, it is said. There are numerous translations of *Meghasandesam* into Telugu. Has any one the stamp and superscription of the original? Is not Homer the despair of translators? A prose translation is like the skin; verse translation is like a singing robe; it may become a muffling and smothering cloak too. If metre is insisted upon, who can discover the metrical equivalent of *mandakraenta* in English or of the Greek hexameter in Telugu? Verse translation may capture something, but what is gained in the swings is lost on the rounds. Perhaps a prose translation is a safe business. Where there is no hope raised, there is no disappointment felt.

In the light of the foregoing, the question of free translation does not arise. Free translation is a contradiction in terms. Either we are faithful to the original or we are not translating. A free translation is as good as a new creation. Free translators arrogate to themselves the snail-horn perception of a poet's beauty; they are the sole judges of omission and commission; they apply the scissors or bring in the glue pot as their *sahridayatva* dictates. Let translation be translation. The free translators say: "Translation is an art; it is not word for word synonym-hunting affair." Nobody says that translation is not an art; it is truly a rebirth of the original, in a way, more arduous of achievement than the original itself. By calling it an art we should not forget our duty and push the original this side and that; that is being discourteous to the original.

What are our expectations from a translation?

The reader who does not know the language of the original should get a complete view of the poet's world picture, barring of course the wizardry of language which is incommunicable.

The free translators laugh at the faithful ones with an anecdote: "A copyist was asked to copy a file; on a page he found the dead body of a fly; faithful to the task he caught a fly, killed it and glued it to the page." This is better than tearing off the page on the ground that it affects our aesthetic sense.

No translation should ever tamper with the metaphor, the imagery, the ideas of the original. The only thing that is bound to be changed and has to be changed is the syntax. English can absorb 'avatar' but cannot incorporate Telugu accidence and syntax. Sometimes we find that if the translation sticks to the *sampradaya* of a language, the idea in the original is distorted. Loyalty to the original goes clean against *sampradaya*. A crucial instance is the sentence 'My wits begin to shake.' In English, the plural 'wits' is used; there are five wits as we have five *indriyas* or senses, and forcefully suggests the total breakdown of Lear. Suppose in Telugu, we use the singular 'buddhi,' as we ought to, we have falsified Shakespeare's world of ideas. The singular in the translation cannot make the reader understand that 'wits' were five in number. Suppose we used the singular of 'indriyas'; how absurd it is! If Oak is in English, we should not translate it by a word meaning 'Benyan' on the ground that we do not have oaks and oaks go against our *Sampradaya*.

One who distorts the original sins against the light, commits a dark crime. To misrepre-

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a poem is to kill it. As Milton pointed out, to kill a person is to kill one, but to kill a book is to kill the human mind itself. Barring the aforesaid hurdles let us be scrupulously faithful. One language's meat is another's poison. In the same language 'potion' in one context is 'poison' in another.

Any translation is read by two 'reading publics'—one which knows the language of the original, another which does not. And it has to be stated (against the commonly and widely held view) that the first public alone has the right to judge the translation. Arnold has put the matter definitively (*On Translating Homer*, Lecture I, p. 247):

"Let not the translator then trust to his notions of what the ancient Greeks would have thought of him. He will lose himself in the vague. Let him not trust to what the ordinary English reader thinks of him; he will be taking the blind for his guide. Let him not trust to his own judgment of his own work; he may be misled by his individual caprices. Let him ask how his work affects those who both know Greek and can appreciate poetry." That is why Arnold pronounces that even Keats had no competence to judge Chapman because he was ignorant of Greek. In the light of Arnold's judgment a translation from English into Telugu can be competently judged by one who knows English and can appreciate poetry, not by one who knows Telugu alone though it is meant for him.

The Bible is a masterpiece of translation and an exception to the general verdict. A free translation is an adaptation tantamount to a new creation. Who has the courage to say: This is a translation of *Sakuntalam* or the *Illiad* which challenges the original? The free translation arrogates to itself the sole privilege of understanding the author; it is like the interpretation of Shakespeare. Each interpreter paints Shakespeare, in his own likeness. We get a Coleridgean Shakespeare, a Bradleyan Shakespeare, a Senecan Shakespeare. The free translator is like the wood-carver who carved the

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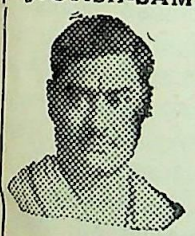

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figure of a horse without the legs and said that it was his idea of the spirit of a horse. 'Base football player' in a play, if literally rendered, gives us an insight into the Elizabethan world of sports and language and Shakespeare's ideas too. The translator who takes liberties with the original is thinking more of his reaction to the original than of the original itself. *Tat tvam asi*—is not realized by him; the mist between him and the original has not defecated to a pure transparency. The Elizabethan translators, says Arnold, could not forbear so much of their own that they changed the character of the original.

Arnold shows that a free translation distorts the original; a word for word school-boy translation is still-born. Translation should neither be literal nor free but faithful. Translation is fresh knowledge, not a new creation. If it is both, it is a divine event. Arnold's own attempts at certain passages in Homer may or may not be better than other translators' efforts. What is important is the right method. Failure on the right lines is perhaps more helpful than success on wrong lines and the competent critic who can decide success or failure is as rare as a competent translation. Success and Failure are the hasty coin of petty minds and do not belong to the world of human effort.

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Technology and its Social Consequences

J. Boel observes in *Social Action*:

A new society is coming into existence. It would be dangerous to deny this fact, or to try to ignore it. It is not so difficult to spotlight the dangers involved in the process of urbanisation which we are witnessing today in India. But on the other hand one should not blind oneself to the latent possibilities and advantages of this new way of life for man. In order to evaluate realistically the importance of these friendly elements, it is worth while posing the question: what are the factors at work in shaping this new society?

Technology

The process of social change is generally ascribed to the interaction of four factors. Besides the physial environment like climate and soil, and the biological element like the size of population and its growth, the balance of births and deaths, etc., there are two other factors at work in effecting social transformations, and these are technology and culture. Technology is the term applied to the progressive control by man over the powers of nature, and includes the means and techniques that have been invented to achieve this end and the consequent regulation of human behaviour for the effective utilisation of these techniques. Culture, on the other hand, comprises the various forms in which man expresses his own nature, such as art, literature, religion, recreation, enjoyment, etc.

It is important to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that technology is only one of the factors which is shaping our future society. We often make the mistake of imagining that industry, the factory, the modern city, and various kinds of modern inventions, necessarily produce the materialistic outlook on life, because of their tendency to make life more comfortable and man more aware of his power and potentialities. The factory and the machine are often considered, more or less unconsciously, as enemies of morality and religion, as rendering religious life more difficult, nay impossible. The age of the paraffin lamp and of the quiet, peaceful village life is very often quoted, with a certain nostalgia, as the 'good old time,' in contrast with the diversity, the hurry, and restlessness of the modern city.

Nobody will deny that wherever technology has found its way into the life of man, other cultural values have been on the decline. Christopher Dawson is right when he says that "a civilisation may prosper externally, and grow daily larger and louder and richer and more self-confident, while at the same time it is decreasing in social vitality and losing its hold on its higher cultural traditions" (*Progress and Religion*, p. 9). But does this mean that the element of decay is inherent in technology as such, that this cultural decline is its necessary concomitant? Or can we say that this failure was made possible because the cultural values themselves, especially religion, have not been able to adapt themselves to face this new power and much more to provide it with a spiritual inspiration?

The Case of France

France is an example of a European country where the age of industrialisation has been disastrous to its cultural and religious values. France, an essentially Christian country, where Catholicism held sway over 90 per cent of the population, rapidly lost its religious beliefs with the advent and progress of industrialisation. The dechristianising process spread rapidly among the French working classes, because of their exposure to the effects of the new civilisation while the Church looked on either blissfully unaware of the change, or helpless because She had not the wherewithal to provide the remedy immediately. But one may pose the very pertinent question: Was this loss of faith due to the fact that the factory system inherently suppressed all religious belief and the influence of the Church or made the practice of religion impossible?

Commenting on the famous words of Pope Pius XI: "In the 19th Century, the Church lost the working classes," a French author pointed out that "these words of the Pope should not be understood as if at a given moment the working class were dechristianized, but in the sense that the Church, during the period of industrialisation, was not alive and *present* to this new world

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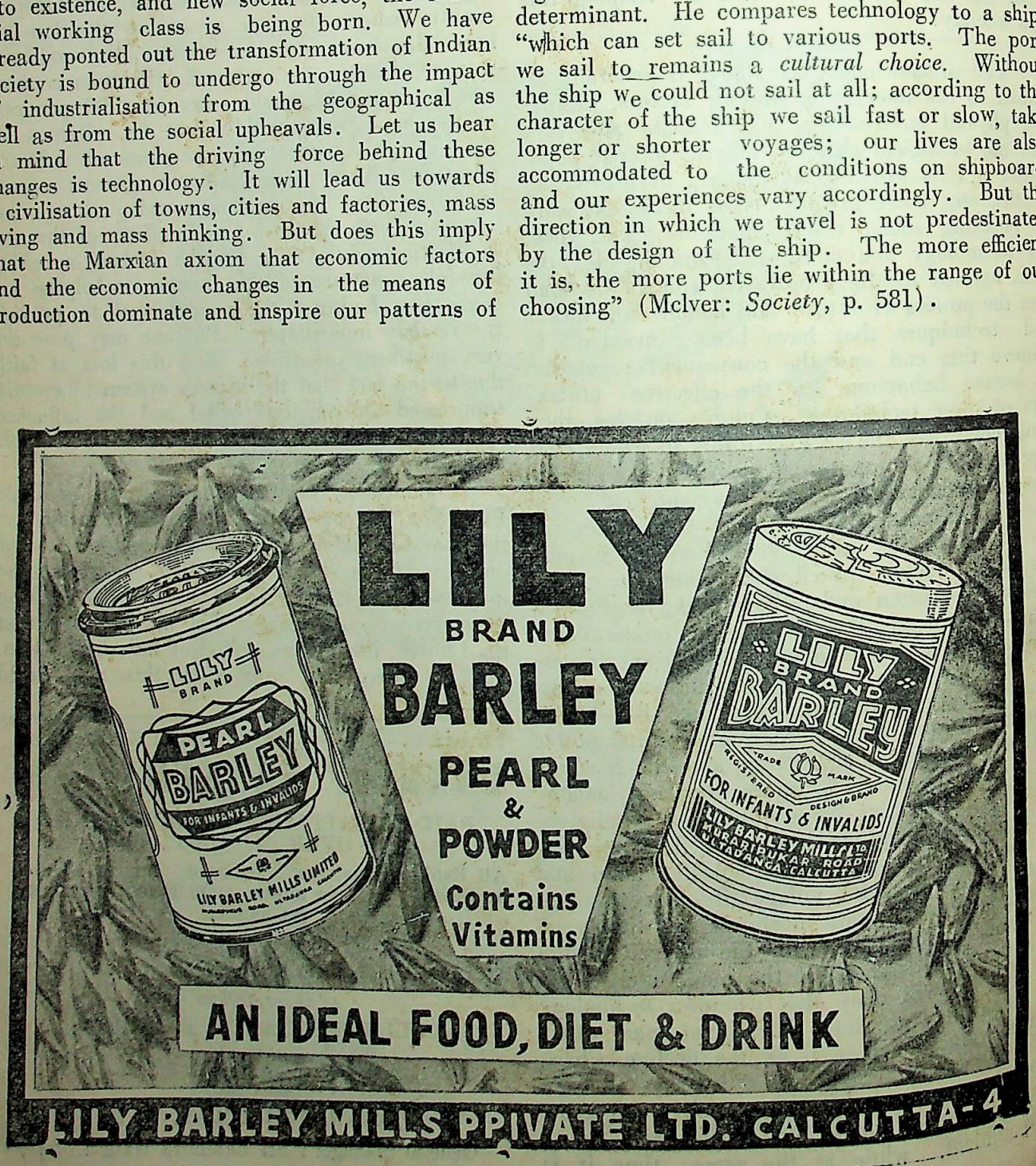
which was being born and as a consequence she 'lost' it by allowing it to come into existence without her." (G. Pourchest: *Masses Ouvriers*, April 1157, p. 37). Do these words imply that the situation would have been different if the Church had been prepared for the change? If that is so, then they contain a serious warning to those countries whose industrial development is still in its initial stages to gird themselves for the change.

A New World

We must realise that a new world is coming into existence, and new social force, the industrial working class is being born. We have already ponted out the transformation of Indian society is bound to undergo through the impact of industrialisation from the geographical as well as from the social upheavals. Let us bear in mind that the driving force behind these changes is technology. It will lead us towards a civilisation of towns, cities and factories, mass living and mass thinking. But does this imply that the Marxian axiom that economic factors and the economic changes in the means of production dominate and inspire our patterns of behaviour, our ways of thinking, our culture and religion? In other words, does the advance of technology lead man towards a world of materialism, a world without God?

The Ship

It is always dangerous to prophesy, especially historical matters, when one is not endowed with the gift of intuition. However on this problem, one can safely rely on the sane and learned opinion of a great sociologist like McIver, who strongly maintains that the technological factor in social change is *not* the final determinant. He compares technology to a ship, "which can set sail to various ports. The port we sail to remains a *cultural choice*. Without the ship we could not sail at all; according to the character of the ship we sail fast or slow, take longer or shorter voyages; our lives are also accommodated to the conditions on shipboard and our experiences vary accordingly. But the direction in which we travel is not predestinated by the design of the ship. The more efficient it is, the more ports lie within the range of our choosing" (McIver: *Society*, p. 581).



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Some 20th Century American Novelists

Philip Young writes in the *American Reporter,* October 23, 1957:

It is convenient that the story of the American novel in the 20th century opens precisely on time—with the publication in 1900 of a novel by Theodore Dreiser called *Sister Carrie.* We say that the story "opens" with this book because there were new attitudes in it, and a new view of American life, which have come to seem somewhat characteristic of this period.

It may be seen as a rebellion from a view of life or American life, that was held by a prominent American novelist of the 19th century: William Dean Howells. Howells claimed that "the more smiling aspects of life are the more American." Indeed it was while Dreiser was reading the sort of thing that reflected Howells' notion of existence in America that modern American fiction was—not born yet but conceived. Conceived we might say on that day in the mid-1890s when Dreiser sat down and began "examining the current magazines." His dissatisfaction with what he found there was epochal:

"I was never more confounded than by the discrepancy existing between my own observations and those displayed here, the beauty and peace and charm to be found in everything, the almost complete absence of any reference to the coarse and vulgar and the cruel and the terrible. Love was almost invariably rewarded . . dreams came true. . . with such an air of assurance, omniscience and condescension that I was quite put out by my own lacks and defects. They . . . wrote of nobility of character and sacrifice and the greatness of ideals and joy in simple things . . . I had no such tales to tell, and however much I tried, I could not think of any."

This was both the start of 20th century American fiction and the note it has most sounded.

There was a great deal of opposition to this *Sister Carrie,* and Dreiser had a hard time even getting it published. Many of the critics were hostile, too. The objection was that this sordid sort of story was just not representative of American life: the complaint was, echoing William Dean Howells, that the material was "outside American society." Actually it was not; the story was the story of Dreiser's own sister: where he changed the facts he brightened them. But for quite a while his books were resisted. Chief among his other novels were *The Financier* (1912) and *An American Tragedy* (1925). In these he takes, respectively, an unscrupulous industrialist, and a boy who murders his pregnant girl-friend and attempts—with some success—to absolve them of responsibility for their crimes: their animal nature and the society that produced them are responsible. They were never free to choose.

These were the beginnings of 20th century American fiction. But the "great" period for 20th century American literature begins with say, the founding of the League of Nations in 1919, and closes a decade later with the crash of the stock market in October of 1929 and the start of the great depression that followed. Here belong, by virtue of the dates of their first important work: Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, John Dos Passos, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner and Thomas Wolfe. All of the writers were active during this period—in several cases they did their best work in it—and now we have named all the really important 20th century American novelists.

The first of these writers to make his appearance was Sherwood Anderson, whose *Winesburg Ohio* was published in 1919. His novels never amounted to much but he wrote some of the best American short stories and several of them are in Winesburg. This is a collection of fine and often moving stories. Anderson's works are marred by murky sexual mysticism, sentimental primitivism and often confused social thinking. But he had a theme, a topic—what Walt Whitman a century ago called "this terrible yearning—this never satisfied appetite for sympathy" in America. And a small part of his work is worth preserving.

If Anderson was a sort of village or provincial mystic, Sinclair Lewis (the first American to win the Nobel Prize for literature) was the village atheist, a provincial iconoclast. But the chief idols that he attacked—and cracked badly if he did not smash them—were the Americans themselves, average middle-class American citizens and their lives in *Main Street* (1920) and in

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Babbitt (1922) he denounced by satire the homely norm of American life as dull, stupid, narrow and fatuous *Main Street* was a rebellion from the notion that the American town is an ideal place in which to live; in Lewis it is the place where "dullness is made God," where petty people live petty lives and tell themselves that they are the greatest and most fortunate people in the world. The book became a symbol for the main streets everywhere in the country. And George F. Babitt, the type of the small-time business man, an ignorant, smug, overgrown baby, became even more famous. Later Lewis turned to other aspects of Amrican life, satirized among other things religion, social work, the medical profession and travel and with his knack for reproducing at least the superficialities of American life in an entertaining and satirical way gave his country a crystal-clear mirror to look in. The image was without depth. If it had been deep it would not have delighted, as it did, many of the very people who were being made fun of. But it was brilliant, it seemed real, and for a long time Lewis was regarded as our foremost living novelist.

It is not of Lewis and Anderson, however, that most Americans think when they think of "the Twenties." This is because both men escaped, by virtue of middle-agedness, the first world war and this was the experience that directly or indirectly cut off the writers, who most distinguished the period from the decades that preceded it. The legend, which has a lot of truth in it, is that a whole generation of writers—Dos Passos Fitzgerald, Hemingway and Faulkner are the important novelists—were taken from quiet childhoods and thrown as young impressionable men, brought up on the state idealisms of 19th century America, into a holocaust which disillusioned, embittered and transformed them into what Gertrude Stein famously called a "lost generation."

F. Scott Fitzgerald, the earliest of these young men to begin his work, never got closer to the actual war than an army camp in Alabama. But he was blessed with a set of antennae that detected accurately what was new in the wind. His *This Side of Paradise* (1920) is a painfully immature performance. But it was the first novel of the really new generation, and in it Fitzgerald described pretty well the situation, when speaking of the world his age had inherited as "this thing knocked to pieces, leaky, red hot, threatening to blow up . . . He went on to say, "they are surprised that we don't accept it with the same attitude of pretty decorous enthusiasm

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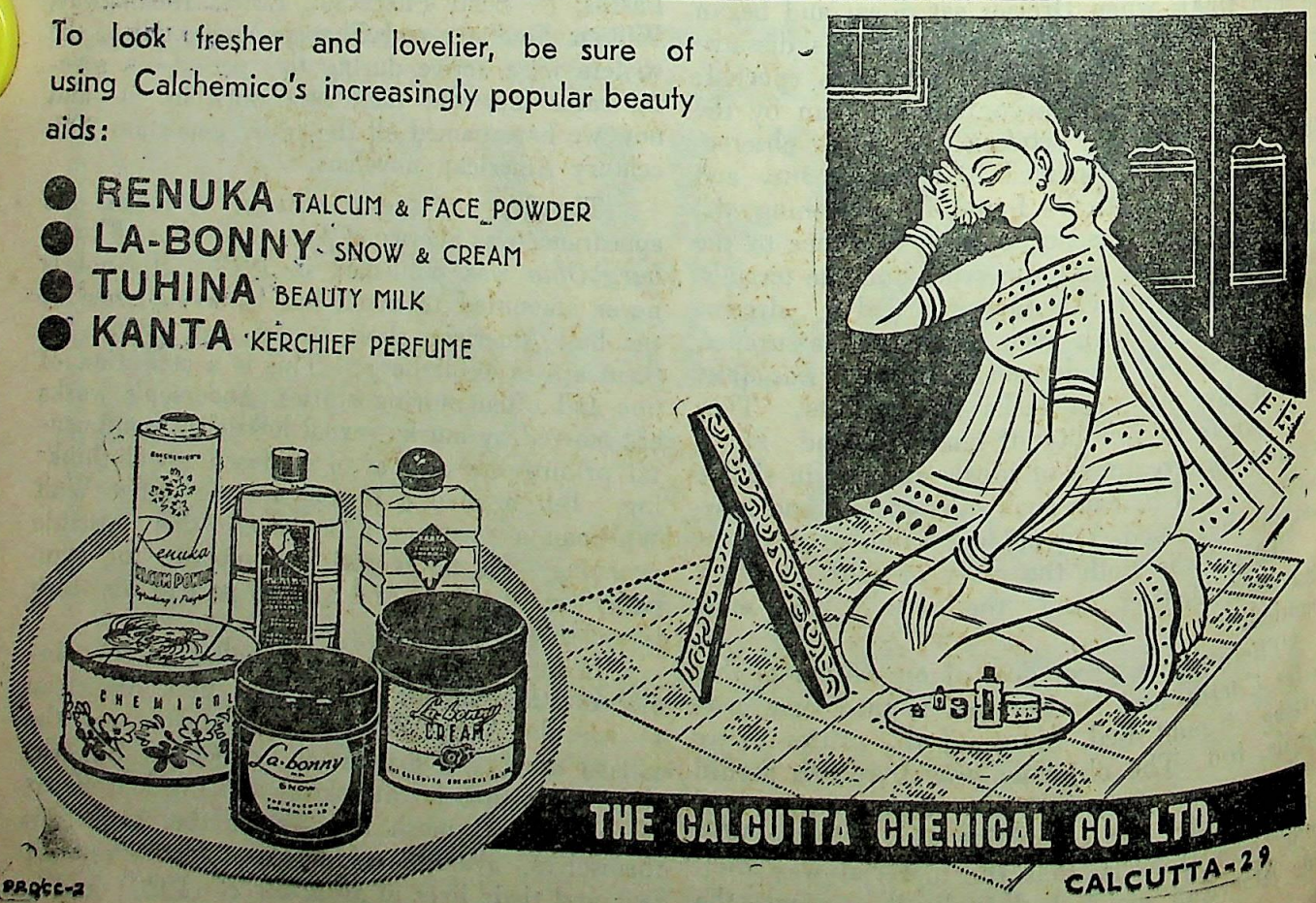

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with which they received it, way back in the Eighties." This was a new voice, and when it matured only five years later in *The Great Gatsby* (1925) we had a richly gifted and potentially great novelist. This gifted disenchanted child, as he has been called, had one other good novel left in him—*Tender Is the Night* (1934). But for the most part the rest of his career was a frightful, macabre disaster brought about chiefly by his addiction to alcohol.

Like Fitzgerald and the others—John Dos Passos began in the Twenties to write out of the bitterness and escapism that followed the war. Like many of them he went from a mid-western childhood to the war and then to live, later, in Europe. But Dos Passos carries the sense of lostness, and of the loss of values into the social novels of the 1930s.

His first significant book was an anti-war novel called. *Three Soldiers* (1921), a grim indictment of an organized society called an army. He took his next big step in *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), which was an attempt to interweave the stories of several individuals in order to represent the life of a great American city (New York). With this preparation he then wrote his most important work, the novels which go together to make up a trilogy called *U.S.A.* This is an epic of failure, the tragedy of a modern industrial society in which the individual is wrecked. In part the trilogy is a technical experiment, but its triumph is a narrative triumph, for Dos Passos has woven together with astonishing grace the lives of many different people, has swept them past our eyes so as to give a convincing picture of a large and complex nation. A flat, sour drabness pervades all three volumes. There is no joy, no happiness; success is empty and failure is pregnant; all the lives are toneless and dismal. But even if one doesn't see the country in this way—and didn't at the time—the whole thing seems when one is reading it intensely real and the indictment is overwhelming.

But Dos Passos never really endorses a better way of running things, and his later books show most obviously a growing distaste for the people who live in the society he attacked. Although he is proud of many elements in the American tradition, and has written quite a bit of non-fiction in which he expresses this patriotism, he has turned bitter in his fiction. He seems today a kind of anarchist, with a hatred of all institutions—but especially of liberal ones—and at the same time his great skill, as a technician, has deserted him.

Another important writer of the Thirties

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—but one who has no really significant connection with the chief social, political and economic preoccupations of the period—is Thomas Wolfe. His first novel, *Look Homeward Angel* appeared in October of 1929, the month of the famous crash of the stock market. The rest of his books were written and published in a time of great social anxiety and stress. But Wolfe was primarily interested in himself, and his four novels were a kind of lyric and passionate diary—which gives, however, a frank, unique and memorable account of the artist and his experience in 20th century America. And Wolfe's personality, which he chiefly conveys, was fascinating. He had a vitality, and a passion for experience, that are unequalled in our literature; he had also a splendid power, a prodigal creativity, and enormous ambitions. He had as well a talent that was natural and extraordinary; great things were expected of him. But in a way his wild energy and appetite destroyed him. He never had or developed the sense of discipline and structure that shape the raw materials of life to art, or the objectivity that gives the writer distance from his subjects and therefore perspective on them, or the talent for discriminating and selecting that is also basic to literature. There is some evidence in his last book that he was beginning to develop the powers he lacked, but his last books were published posthumously, for their author was dead at 39.

Among Americans who care about the state of the arts it is common today to bewail the state of the novel; one hears occasionally that it is "dead" . . . On the other hand . . . it may be that the best writers-to-come are as yet completely unrecognized. Judging from the first books of Lewis, Hemingway, Faulkner, Fitzgerald and Dos Passos—to choose but five examples—who would have known that one day their authors would be illustrious and that three of them would win the highest award the world confers on its writers? Hemingway's first book was simply a kind of joke, but the first books of Faulkner, Fitzgerald, Dos Passos and Lewis were simply terrible; indeed their second books were weak at best, and for the most part much worse than that. It is too early to know not only what will happen, but even to know with any assurance what has recently happened. Nor does it seem by any means certain that the novel is "dead". There are too many competent writers around for that. Anyway, isn't it often at precisely those times when things appear to have come to a halt that some new figure springs out of nowhere, with some new thing to say—or, more likely, some very new ways of saying it—and we are back in business again? There is a lot of evidence in te history of literature for thinking so.

Uday Sankar's Successful Performances in Peking

THE Indian Dance Ensemble led by Uday Shankar now (Aug.) is touring China after a tremendously successful series of performances in the capital. These performances were an outstanding event in the Peking Theatre. Tickets for every performance were sold out days in advance and the superb, accomplished artistry of Uday Shankar's Ensemble have been a central topic of discussions among art circles in the capital. Mei Lan-fang, leading Peking Opera singer, said: "My old friend Uday Shankar has absorbed and developed India's ancient art of dance. India is a country which has a long history of culture and is famous for her achievements in the art of dance. Uday Shankar, based himself on the heritage of the Indian dance, has enriched its dance style by absorbing the best in the dances of other countries. As a choreographer, he has created many new dances reflecting contemporary life."

Speaking of Amala Shankar, who plays the wife in the "Great Renunciation of Prince Siddhartha," Mei Lan-fang said that she impressed the audience with the genuineness of her expression of love for the prince. He added that every dancer, singer and musician in the ensemble performed with creative zeal.

Mei Lan-fang noted the great economy of expression with which some of the dances, such as "Labour and Machinery," "Harvest" and "Assam," reflected labour as the creative force and the struggle of man against nature.

The well-known writer of essays and short stories, and translator of Tagore's poetry, Hsieh Ping-hsin, is another enthusiastic lover of Indian art. She said, "Uday Shankar has created a new Indian ballet based on the Indian folk dances and the classical dance. Uday Shankar himself once said that he gave to the people of all lands the best of Indian dancing which he had absorbed from his people. It is no wonder that such art has won high praise throughout the world."

The Chinese author added, "As a group, Uday Sankar's troupe forms a harmonious, impressive and balanced ensemble. Amala Shankar shows a moving feminine role and gentleness in her dancing of 'Krishnani'." —*China Today*, August 25, 1957.

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